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H. M. J. Klein.

LANCASTER COUNTY
PENNSYLVANIA
A HISTORY

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VOLUME I

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FOREWORD

IN the publication of these volumes, our purpose has been to present, as far as possible, fully and fairly, the fascinating story of Lancaster, together with an appreciative account of the pioneers and prominent men and women who have been identified with the progress of the city and county of Lancaster and who have helped to build this section of the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This work was undertaken because no extensive separate and complete history of Lancaster County has been published in this generation. There is an embarrassment of riches confronting the student of history who takes the pains to investigate the enormous amount of historic lore to be found in Lancaster County.

Few counties in America are more fortunate than Lancaster county in wealth of historic material. Since the days when Professor I. Daniel Rupp, Dr. J. I. Mombert, Franklin Ellis, and Samuel Evans, Esq., incorporated the leading historic facts and data concerning Lancaster county in their interesting narratives, many monographs have appeared through the researches of students of local history. The papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society since 1896 form a body of material, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated as a source of information on various phases of the history of the county.

It is forty years since an extensive general history of the county was issued. During this time much new historic material has been unearthed by students of local history. This material has been carefully examined and accurately weighed and utilized in the present work.

In the past generation, too, many important events of historic significance have taken place in Lancaster county. These events deserve to be embodied and preserved in the form of a permanent record. The rapid strides of the county in agriculture, education, industry, manufacturing and finance in the closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth century furnish a story well worth transmitting to the generations to come.

In addition to a history of Lancaster city and county, the present publication includes the biographies and portraits of prominent citizens. This is an important feature of the work because the purpose of the history is to indicate the present development of the city and county, side by side with its two centuries of growth. In another generation this biographical feature, giving portraits and sketches of representative citizens from every walk of life in the year 1923, will be one of the most interesting and valuable parts of the publication.

In the preparation of this work, a large number of writers have been consulted and due credit has been given to each, wherever possible. The material has been collected from every available source. The editors are greatly indebted to a large staff of assistants who have helped in the preparation of this work by the writing of special chapters.

The chapters on Geology and Topography were prepared by Dr. H. Justin Roddy; on Ornithology, Mineralogy and Mammalia, by Professor Herbert H. Beck; on the German Pioneers, by Dr. George W. Richards; on the Plain People of Lancaster County, by Dr. H. K. Ober; on the Public Schools, by Professor A. O. Roorbach; on the Medical Profession, by Dr. C. P. Stahr; on Agriculture, by Thomas W. Kemp; on Art, by Mrs. J. E. Malone; on Literature, by F. Emerson Andrews; on Courts and Lawyers, by Richard Henry Klein; on Banks and Banking, by Charles A. Sauber; on Manufacturing Industries, by Charles B. Weise; on the Civil War, by Hugh Fulton, Esq.; on the Spanish-American War, by G. E. Downey; on the Revenue History of Lancaster County, by C. H. Martin.

To all those who have given their aid in the preparation of this work, we desire to express our gratitude, and among these we would include the pastors of the churches and officers of the various civic organizations.

H. M. J. K.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1924.

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LANCASTER COUNTY
PENNSYLVANIA

SECTION ONE

LANCASTER COUNTY

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

By H. Justin Roddy.

Lancaster county is a small world in itself. Here may be found, sometimes in real proportions, again in miniature, many of the geographic features and not a few of the social and industrial conditions of the world at large. To picture some of these, to trace their geographic relations, to correlate them with other regions of the world, is the task of some of the following pages.

Description—Lancaster county is one of the border counties of southern Pennsylvania. It lies between the parallels of 39 degrees 43 minutes (Mason and Dixon's Line) and 40 degrees 18 minutes north latitude, and the meridians of 75 degrees 52 minutes and 76 degrees 43 minutes west longitude. Of the ten counties of Pennsylvania along the Mason and Dixon's Line, it is the second west of the Delaware estuary and, therefore, considerably east of the central meridian of the State.

With reference to its neighboring counties, it is northwest of Chester, southwest of Berks, southeast of Lebanon and Dauphin, and northeast of York county. Its border lines are mainly natural ones. The western bank of the Susquehanna river forms the line between it and York county; Conewago creek separates it from Dauphin; South Mountain is partly on the Lancaster-Lebanon border; and Octorara creek for quite a stretch divides it from Chester county.

The area of the county is 941 square miles, or 602,240 acres. This is about one forty-eighth of the State of which the county is a part. Its population in 1920 was 173,797, with a growth in the decade from 1910 of 6,768, or an increase of a little more than four per cent. The density of population at present is 173,797, divided by the area 941, or about 185 people per square mile. Compared with the average density of population in the United States, which is about thirty-five, the county has more than five times the average. This may seem a great density of population, but when one compares it with that of Rhode Island with 500, and with Belgium with 750, it is comparatively small.

The following table shows the growth of Lancaster county from its organization in 1729. Boroughs below 2,000 are counted as rural. Figures before 1790 are estimated from number of taxables:

Date	Rural Lancaster County	Lancaster City	Urban Lancaster County	Total	Increase
1729	3,485	15	....	3,500	....
1738	11,800	1,000	....	12,800	9,300
1752	18,330	1,555	....	19,885	7,005

Date	Rural Lancaster County	Lancaster City	Urban Lancaster County	Total	Increase
1764	26,100	1,900	....	28,000	8,115
1785	30,179	3,000	3,000	33,179	5,179
1800	39,111	4,292	4,292	43,403	13,224
1810	48,522	5,405	5,405	53,927	10,524
1820	61,342	6,633	6,633	67,975	14,048
1830	66,208	7,704	10,423	76,631	8,656
1840	75,780	8,417	11,136	84,203	7,572
1850	78,486	12,369	20,458	98,944	14,741
1860	89,658	17,603	26,656	116,314	17,370
1870	90,379	20,233	30,961	121,340	5,026
1880	100,800	25,769	38,464	139,400	18,060
1890	102,000	32,011	47,000	149,000	9,600
1900	96,400	41,459	62,800	159,200	10,200
1910	94,000	47,227	73,000	167,000	7,800
1920	89,797	52,500	84,000	173,797	6,768

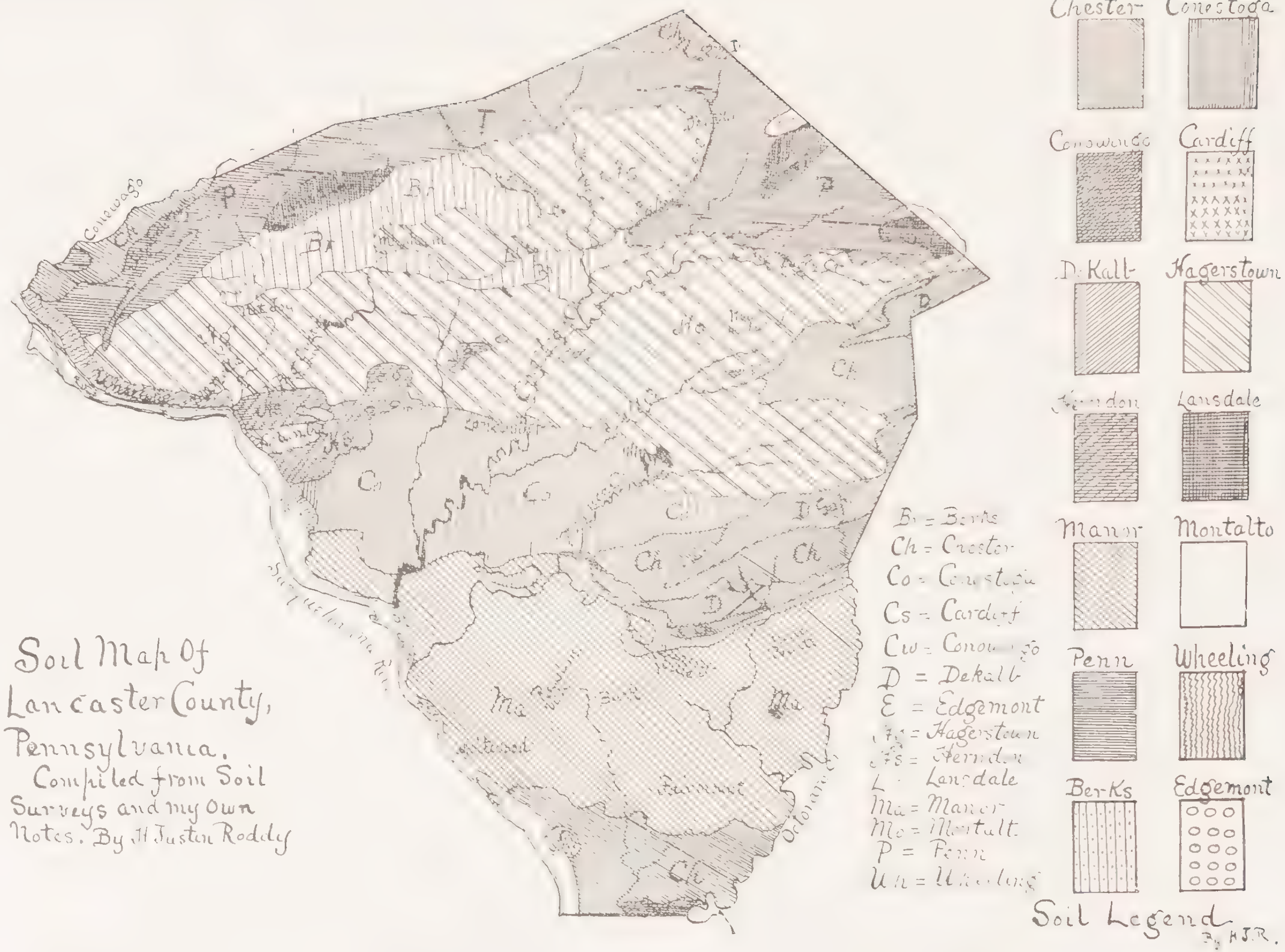
Counting all villages below 2,000 as rural, and all above as urban, the urban population of the county was about 84,000 in 1920. The rural population was, therefore, about 90,000. That is, about forty-eight per cent. of our people live in urban communities, while fifty-two per cent. is rural. In 1910 these percentages were forty-four and fifty-six, respectively, or an urban gain in a decade of four per cent., and a rural loss of the same amount. Studies in all parts of the civilized world show similar changes, with accompanying changes in wages, food, rent, as well as social conditions.

The most notable gains were: Lititz, 77 per cent.; Elizabethtown, 28 per cent.; Ephrata, 17 per cent., and Lancaster city, 11 per cent. Marked decreases from 1900 to 1910, and continuing in slightly lessening degree to 1920, were West Hempfield's loss of 1,200 in twenty years, and East Earl's of more than 1,000.

The county in its general relief is a low undulating plain of very moderate elevation, lying southeast of all the Appalachian ridges. Physically it belongs to the Piedmont province of the Appalachian region. Only a small part of it rises higher than 600 feet, and most of Lancaster county is below 450 feet in altitude. The crests of the ordinary hills in the plain rise to a remarkably accordant level of about 450 feet, and only where the surface is underlain with rocks of superior resistance to erosive processes as at Chickies or in the Welsh mountains, do hillcrests rise above 600 feet or reach in a few mountain knobs of the eastern end to 1,000 feet.

Due to the nature of the underlying rock and their strike or trend of the strata folds across the county, the surface may be divided into three distinct areas or belts. These lie roughly parallel to one another and trend from northeast to southwest. That in the south is underlain with very old crystalline rocks, and has a wonderfully varied and picturesque maze of low hills and shallow winding valleys etched and shaped out of a slightly uplifted old plain. Buck Ridge, Mine Ridge, and the River hills, are the highest and most notable of its scenic features.

The streams flowing across this region are generally small and in deeply and sharply incised stream channels. The largest of these, the Octorara, is on the border of the county and presents the most varied stream features. Next



(Reprinted from Roddy's "Physical and Industrial Geography of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.")

in size is the Conowingo; others are Tucquan, Fishing, Muddy, and Peters creeks. All flow to the southwest into the Susquehanna, and the smaller ones gash the River hills with steep-sided gorges, whose walls are clothed with rhododendrons and beautiful ferns.

The middle belt, comprising fully one-half of the county's area, is underlain chiefly with ancient Paleozoic limestones, often highly crystalline and frequently changed into marbles. Ridges of hills of sandstone and quartzite intersect the plain from the Welsh mountains in the east to Chickies Rock in west, giving a distinctive relief to the landscape through the most fertile part of the plain. Another line of shale hills of later age than the sandstones extends from Akron to Sporting Hill and beyond and again intersects the limestone plain.

The drainage of this belt is effected by the Pequea, the Conestoga, and the Big Chickies creeks and their branches. Of the three the Conestoga is the longest and the largest in volume, so large indeed that it deserves the name of river. The Pequea is the next and the Chickies is the smallest, though all have a goodly volume. All three are tributaries of the Susquehanna, flow in southwesterly directions, and are marked by entrenched meandering courses, often quite picturesque, as at Indian Head, southeast of Lancaster City or Fehl's Point, southwest of Millersville.

The northern belt of the county, extending to the base of the South mountains in the northeast and to Conewago creek in the northwest, has its surface features mainly carved out of Triassic sandstones and shales. Through these, however, run picturesque ridges of trap and related igneous rocks. The most northern angle of the county extends for a short distance into the South mountain area of ancient igneous and crystalline rocks and also attains the highest altitudes, 1,200 feet, of the county.

The drainage of this region belongs to the basins of Conestoga and Big Chickies creeks. Some of the streams are the Cocalico, Hammer creek, and Muddy and Middle creeks. Conoy creek in the northwest is a tributary of the Susquehanna and drains the valley between two prominent ridges of igneous rock trending from northeast to southwest across that part of the county. The northwestern ridge contains a massive pile of these igneous rocks locally known as the Governor's Stables. This ridge in its extension across the Susquehanna forms the natural dam at Falmouth and aided materially in the construction of the important power plant at York Haven.

The Susquehanna river flows for forty miles along the border of Lancaster county, and in that distance falls two hundred twenty feet, or five and five-tenths feet per mile. Owing to this rapid descent the river is generally shallow and its corrasive power very great. Because of the latter, very shallow waters alternate with great deeps of hundreds of feet, where less resistant rocks traverse the stream channel. The same alternation of rock beds causes the varied scenery of the river's banks. Sheer cliffs of hundreds of feet at the Chickies gorge alternate with open country both at Marietta and Columbia, to be repeated again and again as we go from Columbia to the Maryland line. The stream features of this part of the Susquehanna may not be as impressive as the Hudson, but it is certainly more varied and beautiful.

Table showing the length, fall, and average fall of the chief streams of Lancaster county:

No.	Name of Stream	Length	Total Fall	Fall Per Mile
1	Susquehanna	40 miles along border	220 feet	5.5 feet
2	Conestoga	60 miles	390 feet	6.5 feet
3	Pequea	50 miles	500 feet	10 feet
4	Octorara	40 miles	660 feet	16.5 feet
5	Chickies	40 miles	520 feet	13 feet
6	Cocalico	40 miles	710 feet	17.75 feet
7	Little Conestoga (Manor)	38 miles	266 feet	7 feet
8	Little Chickies	30 miles	350 feet	11.7 feet
9	Conoy	30 miles	300 feet	10 feet
10	Conewago	30 miles	425 feet	14 feet
11	Hammer	25 miles	584 feet	23 feet
12	Middle	20 miles	334 feet	17 feet
13	Muddy	18 miles	430 feet	24 feet
14	Donegal Run	15 miles	150 feet	10 feet
15	Big Beaver	12 miles	470 feet	39 feet
16	Little Beaver	10 miles	420 feet	42 feet
17	Fishing	10 miles	538 feet	53.8 feet
18	Little Conestoga (Caernarvon)	8 miles	400 feet	50 feet
19	Lititz Creek	8 miles	203 feet	25 feet
20	Peters	8 miles	400 feet	50 feet
	Total of twenty streams...	532 miles	8,270 feet	15.6 feet

Being beyond the limit of the ice of the glacial epoch and also being in an ancient peneplain, no lakes occur in the county. There is probably the remains of a sinkhole lake near Marticville as shown by the ponds remaining there, the clay beds, and the nature of the underlying rock.

Many small swamps once occupied various sections of the county, but most of them have been drained and the land utilized for crops. A large swamp still exists in Cocalico township and a small one west of Quarryville. Both are noted for rare flowers growing in or about them.

The temperature of the county seldom rises much above eighty degrees Fahrenheit in summer, nor falls much below zero in winter. Twenty degrees Fahrenheit below zero and one hundred degrees Fahrenheit may be reached perhaps once in thirty years. The records kept by Demuth, in Lancaster, show this conclusively. The annual isotherm of fifty-six degrees Fahrenheit passes through the county. The July isotherm is near seventy-three degrees Fahrenheit and that of January about thirty-two degrees Fahrenheit.

The winds are mainly from the southwest, but winds from other points of the compass occur at irregular intervals, due to the distribution of barometric pressures. Thus when the pressure is higher to the west of us, the winds blow from the west, and when the barometer stands high to the east of us the winds shift to the east, and so on. Naturally easterly and southerly winds bring us rain, because in coming from the ocean or gulf regions they are ladened with vapor. But land winds from the west and north are generally dry. Many cyclones with low pressure centers sweep across the United States each winter and spring, and naturally influence our weather conditions both as to temperature and rainfall.

The open level character of our topography is both an advantage and disadvantage. It brings a more general distribution of rainfall over the county, but at the same time favors high winds, both of winter cyclones, with drifting snow, and summer tornadic thunder storms, with torrential rains.

The bed rocks of the earth through the action of the weather and percolating waters break down at their surfaces into rock debris or detritus. This mixed with organic matter slowly forms the soils so necessary for plant growth. Lancaster county is especially favored as to the depth, fertility, and underlying conditions of its soils. At least fourteen kinds exist here, but of these five varieties constitute the main farm lands of the county. Hagerstown loam covers the largest area in the limestone belt, while Conestoga loam covers much of Manor and Pequea townships. The Manor soils cover a large area in the southern third of the county, and Penn and Berks soils are those of the northern belt. A good sub-soil, often clayey in many parts, favors the retention of ground water. In this respect the Hagerstown loam is the most favored.

The sandy element in the soils, especially in some of the hill and mountain parts, makes them acid and favors fruit growing. For tobacco growing such soils need a neutralizing agent as lime to sweeten them and perhaps improve the burning quality of the tobacco leaf when used in cigars. On account of its soils this county is regarded as the garden spot of the United States.

The ample (forty inches) and widely distributed rainfall, as well as the level topography of the county, favor a large supply of underground or soil waters. For these reasons springs and good wells are abundant and rather constant in supplying the homes with good pure water. The springs and well waters have a temperature of about fifty-two degrees Fahrenheit, varying very little throughout the year. Hard waters are the most common in the middle belt, while softer waters predominate in the other belts.

Geology of the County—The surface features and scenery of a region, or its physiography, are the results of a long series of shapings by geologic forces. In one place the etching sculpturing or engraving forces of nature have been dominant, making the higher lands varied and attractive. In another section constructive agents have laid sediments in horizontal beds that serve as a setting for the higher lands. So it has been with Lancaster county for millions of years. Change after change has taken place until its surface has been molded into its present features.

In remote pre-Cambrian time this region was a great highland, designated by geologists as "Old Appalachia." It covered an extensive area reaching from beyond the present site of Atlantic City nearly to Harrisburg on the west, and from Nova Scotia to Alabama. The roots of this highland now form the "Piedmont" region and also the now depressed platform on which rest the coastal plains sands of the Eastern United States. An examination of the dips of the stratified rocks in almost any part of Lancaster county reveal the greatly folded, metamorphosed and faulted character of those ancient highlands and make us realize their great age.

A little later, but still in pre-Cambrian time, the area of the county, now occupied chiefly by the limestones, but also comprising belts of Chickies sandstones and quartzites and olenellus shales, was flexed into a trough and occupied by a Mediterranean sea. Into this from "Old Appalachia" on the east and the lands to the west, streams brought sediments, both visible and dissolved, to make the rocks now forming our richest farming lands.

These rocks must have once been crowded with the remains of the invertebrate life of that ancient sea. But the great age of the rocks now remaining, the immense pressures to which they must have been subjected, as shown by their foldings, crumplings, and clearage planes, and the leachings of water through have all played their part in obliterating most of the evidences of ancient life. In places, however, as in Getz's quarry near Rohrerstown, about Fruitville and Donerville, and elsewhere, trilobites and other forms of life are still abundant. Pteropod and other shells are also found at the Landis quarry, Landis valley, or in the Neffsville hills and Landisville. That the life was varied is shown by the discovery of more than forty species of invertebrates new to science, and the exploration of this field has only begun.

The Mediterranean just spoken of and in which our chief rocks were made, lasted with variations of position and size for many millions of years during which time no less than 30,000 or 40,000 feet of sediment accumulated in it. But as the sediments grew in thickness, the heat from within the earth invaded them and acting on the included water made them a zone of weakness. And in the same way as wood is made pliable by steam and then by pressure can be bent into any shape, these deposits were folded and crumpled into structural ridges and valleys, the beginnings of our present Appalachian mountains. Our region at the same time was upheaved and became subject to the attack of wind, weather, and stream erosion, which by Cretaceous time had reduced it to a plain of erosion. Subsequently uplifts in Tertiary time and on to the present gave it its present level and character.

The entrenched meanders of the Conestoga are striking evidence of the changes given above. For marked meanders are developed only on plains, and when entrenched in narrow, steep-sided valley show that uplift was subsequent to meander development.

Subsequent to the development of the rocks of the middle belt, in Triassic time, the northern belt was shaped by some of the earth's most titantic forces. First a long block of the earth's crust about ten or more miles in width and of hundreds of miles in length was faulted down, making a great rift valley or "graben." This is markedly evident from Falmouth, through Elizabethtown, to Adamstown and beyond. In this great rift were accumlated sands, clays, and muds, under arid climatic conditions, that later became sandstones and shales in which are enclosed stems and branches of petrified trees. The rocks are often red in color and known as new red sandstones. Great lava flows accompanied the making of the rift valley, and from Connecticut to Alabama, lava fields, dikes and other igneous features attract the attention of the most casual observer. The great boulders about Conewago are the weathered remnants of such a flow, and the Devil's Racetrack near Adamstown is another.

Summary—The rocks of the southern third of the county are the roots of the "Old Appalachians" and, therefore, the oldest extended section of the county. On account of their age they contain many mineral veins, especially in the Serpentine area.

Lan-caster a Britannia
1730
1907
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

The middle belt is of Cambrian-Ordovician age and its rocks are limestones, sandstones, and shales. Its soils are of high fertility.

The South mountains in the extreme north contain rocks of great age, probably very early pre-Cambrian lavas and sediments, which have since been highly metamorphosed. They also are broken and modified by the lava flows of Triassic time. None of the various stages of the Laurentian ice sheet reached Lancaster county. But a few species of sub-Arctic plants, as the Prostrate White Juniper and the American Yew, persistent here, show that the temperature then was much lower than at present.

Remains of extinct mammals of glacial times have also been found. The jaw-bone of a mastodon americanus, with teeth in place, was found at Junction, near Manheim, and the tooth of another in the bed of Mill creek, east of Lancaster city. A tooth of the great Columbian elephant, which once lived in North America, is in the collection of the Linnean Society at Franklin and Marshall College, but the exact locality from which it came in the county is not known.

SECTION TWO—CHAPTER II.

TO THE COMING OF PENN.

In the great past, prior to the coming of the white man, the region now known as Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, was occupied by the Indians. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Indian tribes of the Eastern woodlands along the whole Atlantic seaboard, northward as far as Labrador, and southward to the latitude of South Carolina, belonged to the Algonquin family. In the history of the United States they played an important role, becoming the most famous, as they were among the most fearless of the Northern races of aborigines.

Closely allied to the Algonquin stock and touching their country at many points, lived the Iroquois family. They furnished the most considerable break in the continuity of Algonquin occupation. They surrounded lakes Erie and Ontario and occupied the greater part of New York State and Eastern Pennsylvania. A Southern branch of the Iroquois extended to Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia and the Carolinas. The Iroquois stock furnished more than any other the model for the so-called "noble Red Man" of fiction. The historian, Francis Parkman, declares that "their ferocious vitality, but for the presence of Europeans, would probably have subjected, absorbed or exterminated every other Indian community east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio." As a rule, the most persistent warfare was waged between these two great Indian stocks. Occasionally the Iroquois would pursue a war of extermination against their kindred tribes, the Eries, the Neutral nation, the Hurons and the Susquehannocks. The Indian tribes who dwelt among the primitive forests of Lancaster county were the Susquehannocks, the Shawanese, the Ganawese, the Delawares and the Nanticokes.

At the time of the Jamestown settlement in Virginia, the lower valley of the Susquehanna was a vast uninhabited highway through which hordes of hostile savages were constantly roaming between the northern and southern waters, and, where they often met in bloody encounters. The Six Nations of the Iroquois looked upon themselves as sovereigns of the Susquehanna, and guarded with jealousy every attempt of other tribes to settle their territory. Before the end of the seventeenth century the Iroquois Confederacy had obtained dominion over a remarkably large area covering the greater parts of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio and portions of Canada north of Lake Ontario. The Susquehannocks were on the river from which they have derived their name, prior to 1600. According to the "Jesuit Relations" they had come into collision with the Mohawks and in ten years' war had nearly exterminated their enemies.

When Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake and its tributaries in 1608, the Susquehannocks were still at war with the Mohawks. The early Dutch and Swedes called the Susquehannocks the Minquas; to the French-Canadians they were known as the Andastas. At the time of Penn's arrival the English still referred to them as the Susquehannocks; Penn's subjects, however, called them Conestogas. Racially, they belonged to the Iroquois, but had allied themselves with the Algonquins and were constantly at war with the Iroquois Confederacy.

Whether Captain John Smith in his famous voyage up the Susquehanna in 1608, in which he met a hunting party of Susquehannock Indians, came as far north as Lancaster county soil, or whether Etienne Brule, the young French interpreter of Champlain, in his equally famous mission, ever came as far down the Susquehanna as Lancaster county, are two interesting moot questions. At the time of Captain John Smith's description of the Susquehannocks, the tribe had about six hundred warriors. They also had towns fortified against the Mohawks. Their most important fortified town was located near what is now the Witmer farm, in Manor township. After the war with the Mohawks subsided, the Susquehannocks were called upon to defend themselves against the depredations of two other of the Iroquois tribes known as the Senecas and the Cayugas, the result of which was that the tribe was broken up and scattered, the remnant of which was afterwards known as the Conestogas.

The Conestogas were an aggregation of the remnants of a number of tribes. Governor Keith said of them: "The Conestoga Indians were formerly a part of the Five Nations, called Mingoes, and speak the same language to this day (1722); they actually pay tribute now to the Five Nations, and, either from natural affection or fear, are ever under their influence and power." The tribe was located on the Conestoga flats east of Turkey Hill, a few miles below Lancaster. From here they sent messengers to William Penn, concluded with him a treaty "to endure as long as the sun should shine or the waters run into the rivers." When the whites began to settle around them, Penn assigned them a residence on the Conestoga Manor, where they lived in more or less friendly intercourse with the people of Lancaster until the sad catastrophe of the Paxton episode exterminated the tribe.

In the early history of Lancaster county, the village of the Conestogas was the scene of many important councils between the proprietary governors and the Indians of the Susquehanna and of the Six Nations. Governors Evans, Gookin, Keith and Logan held conferences with the Indians there, and William Penn himself is said to have visited them in the village on the manor of Conestoga. The details of these Indian councils form an interesting chapter in our national colonial records.

The Shawanese are, next to the Susquehannocks, the most important of the Indian tribes of Lancaster county. Lewis Morgan says of them that they are not only a remarkable and highly advanced tribe, but one of the highest representative of the Algonquin stock. Late in the seventeenth century three or four score of their families, with the consent of the Governor of Pennsylvania, came from the South and planted themselves on the Susquehanna, located near the mouth of the Pequea creek, where they remained for a generation, and where their Sachem Opessah resided. They were ever restless and quarrelsome, and were soon scattered in different directions. One Shawanese town was established in Sadsbury township, on the Octorara, near the site of Christiana; another was found on the Shawanese run, on the site of Columbia. They gave the proprietors of Pennsylvania considerable trouble until eventually they joined the French on the headwaters of the Ohio during the period of the French and Indian War.

The Ganawese, better known as the Conoys, also came from the South, about the year 1700, and settled near the site of Bainbridge. It is probable that they had settled for a time near Washington borough before moving to the mouth of the Conoy creek. Later they continued to travel up the river as far as Sunbury, and demanded pay of the proprietors of Pennsylvania for the land they had given up in Conoy.

The Nanticokes came from Chesapeake bay. They settled for a time in the Tulpehocken Valley, where they remained until 1721. Due to the large influx of Palatines from the Schoharie Valley, New York, into the fertile district of the Tulpehocken, the Nanticokes became restless and began to move into Cocalico township and establish a settlement along Indian river. Another section of them moved to the west banks of the Susquehanna.

The Lenni Lenapes, or Delaware Indians, as they were called by the Europeans because of the fact that they lived in greatest numbers on both banks of the Delaware river, came in small bands into Lancaster county by way of the Brandywine. They moved to the Susquehanna, joined in numerous treaties, and afterwards allied themselves with the French to fight the English. It was the Delawares who helped to slaughter Braddock's men at Fort Duquesne and to butcher white pioneers in the regions about Carlisle and Cumberland. For a time they linked forces with the Shawanese in this section of the country, but their record here is of passing interest when compared with the more permanent and formidable work of the Susquehannocks.

SECTION THREE

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

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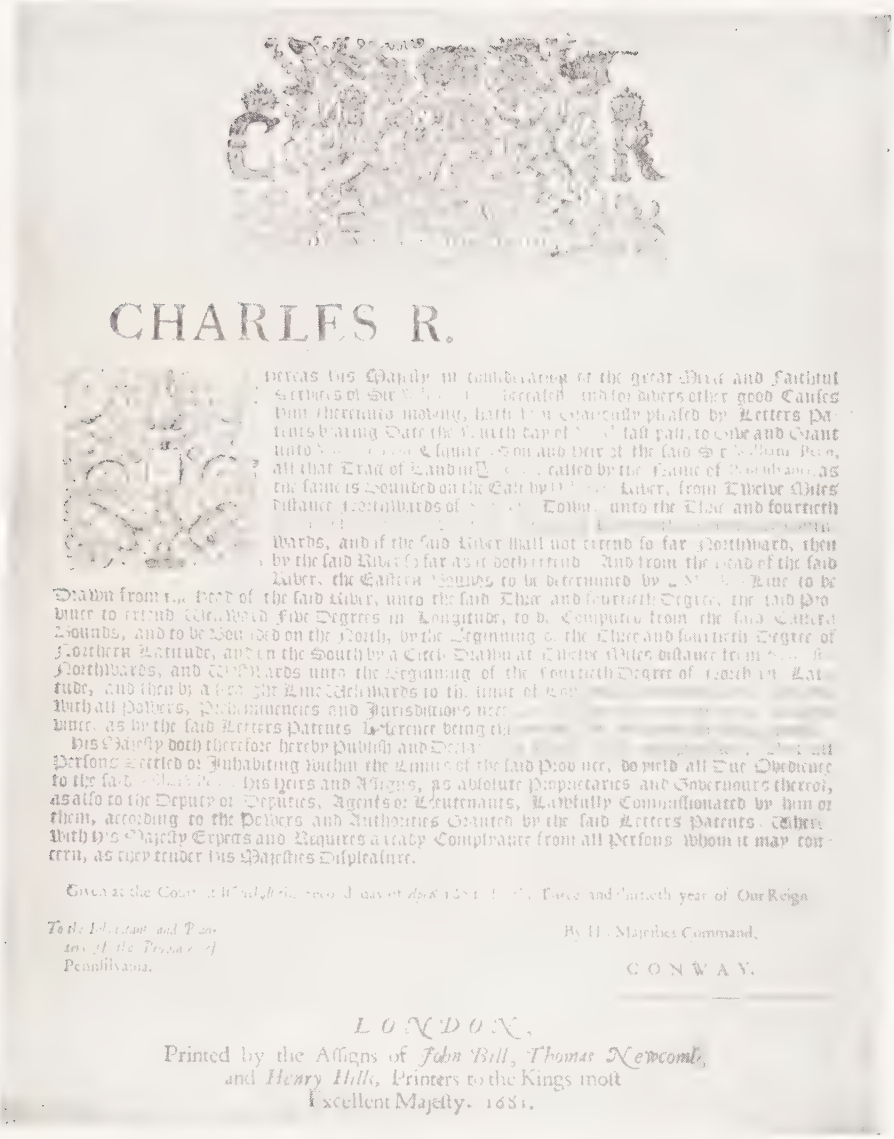
POLITICAL DIVISIONS



CHARLES R.

[W]hereas his Majeſty in conſideration of the great Merit and Faithful Services of Sir [illegible] deceaſed, and for divers other good Cauſes him thereunto moving, hath been Graciouſly pleaſed by Letters Patents bearing Date the Fourth day of [illegible] laſt paſt, to Give and Grant unto [illegible] Eſquire, Son and Heir of the ſaid Sir William Penn, all that Tract of Land in [illegible] called by the Name of [illegible], as the ſame is Bounded on the Eaſt by [illegible] River, from Twelve Miles diſtance Northwards of [illegible] Town, unto the Three and fourtieth [illegible] wards, and if the ſaid River ſhall not extend ſo far Northward, then by the ſaid River ſo far as it doth extend. And from the head of the ſaid River, the Eaſtern Bounds to be determined by a [illegible] Line to be Drawn from the head of the ſaid River, unto the ſaid Three and fourtieth Degree, the ſaid Province to extend Weſtward Five Degrees in Longitude, to be Computed from the ſaid Eaſtern Bounds, and to be Bounded on the North, by the Beginning of the Three and fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle Drawn at Twelve Miles diſtance from [illegible] Northwards, and Weſtwards unto the Beginning of the Fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a ſtreight Line Weſtwards to the limit of [illegible] With all Powers, Preheminences and Juriſdictions nece[illegible] vince, as by the ſaid Letters Patents (Reference being th[illegible]

His Majeſty doth therefore hereby Publiſh and Declar[illegible] all Perſons Settled or Inhabiting within the Limits of the ſaid Province, do yield all Due Obedience to the ſaid [illegible] his Heirs and Aſſigns, as abſolute Proprietaries and Governours thereof, as alſo to the Deputy or Deputies, Agents or Lieutenants, Lawfully Commiſſionated by him or them, according to the Powers and Authorities Granted by the ſaid Letters Patents. Wherewith His Majeſty Expects and Requires a ready Compliance from all Perſons whom it may concern, as they tender His Majeſties Diſpleaſure.

Given at the Court at *Whitehall* the ſecond day of *April* 1681 [illegible] Three and thirtieth year of Our Reign.

To the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennſilvania.

By His Majeſties Command.

CONWAY.

LONDON,
Printed by the Aſſigns of *John Bill*, *Thomas Newcomb*,
and *Henry Hills*, Printers to the Kings moſt
Excellent Majeſty. 1681.

WILLIAM PENN PROCLAMATION, APRIL, 1681

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

In 1681 William Penn became owner of the land since known as Pennsylvania. His title was by Letters Patents granted to him by King Charles II, whose Proclamation, bearing date of April 2, 1681, and addressed to "The Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsylvania," is quoted in full in the Manor Township chapter of this compilation. In that chapter also will be found extensive survey of William Penn's plan, soon expressed, to build a Capital City on the Susquehanna, probably in what is now Lancaster county. While positive evidence is lacking, it is deemed probable that "in 1683 William Penn journeyed to our region and visited the Susquehannocks (Indians), now called Conestogas, in Manor township, near Turkey Hill," states Eshleman.

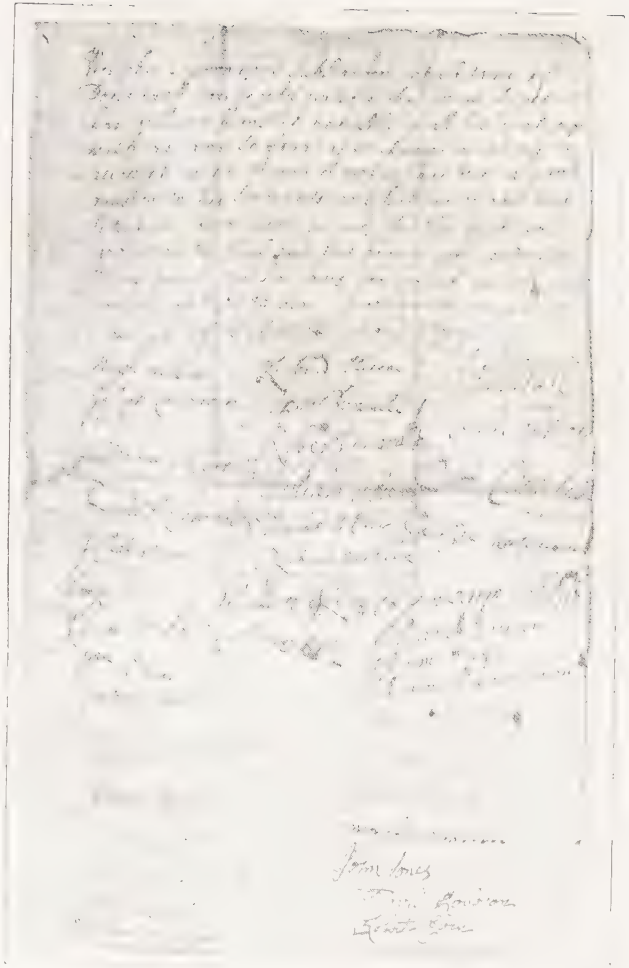
Welsh Quakers purchased a "barony" of forty thousand acres of Pennsylvania land from William Penn, in London, in 1681; and in the next year migration began, the Welsh gentry and their servants settling mainly in Chester county, and reaching out some decades later into what is now Caernarvon township of Lancaster county. The claim made that Sadsbury township was "the first settled and the earliest organized * * * in Lancaster county" is decided, so far as available documentary evidence makes that possible, in the chapter that surveys the history of the original Sadsbury township, which included the "Servants' Tract." Therein is quoted, also, the "William Penn Deed" for the three hundred and seventy-five acres "in the Province of Pennsylvania (towards the Susquehanna river)," granted to John Kennerley in 1691. John Kennerley, a Quaker, resident in Chester county, by this evidence was the first white settler within Lancaster county, if the residential claims of the somewhat nomadic Indian traders be not considered; and it is claimed that John Kennerley actually was in residence in 1691, near what is now Nobleville in the present township of Sadsbury, Lancaster county. There is evidence that Isaac Taylor, surveyor of the Proprietary Government, "located a tract near Nobleville," in 1700; that William Clayton, former member of Penn's Council of State, "took up another tract adjoining the old Sadsbury meeting house;" that Thomas Story and James Logan, government officials, "located large tracts in the Pequea valley, northward from the Gap." Further very early history of Sadsbury township deals with the warranting, in 1702-1703, of what is known as the "Servants' Tract," of 1,050 acres, on a part of which the borough of Christiana stands; and of the actual surveying of that tract in 1709; but the servants named do not appear to have taken up residence in Sadsbury, for on April 18, 1702, they did "grant, release and confirm all the said land, amounting in the whole to one thousand and fifty acres, unto Phillip Howell, formerly of Philadelphia, Taylor." This was undoubtedly one of the first tracts of land surveyed in the present Lancaster county, though perhaps not the first, for it is asserted that land within Little Britain township was surveyed in 1704, though "not occupied by an actual residential settler until 1715."

However, not any of the foregoing may resonably be deemed as beginning the actual settlement of that part of Chester county which became Lancaster county in 1729. The first permanent settlement was that made by Mennonites from Switzerland and the Palatinate, in 1710. The story of this pioneer settlement is given in the Conestoga Township chapter, though the actual settlement was in West Lampeter, which was embraced in the original Conestogoe township of Chester county.

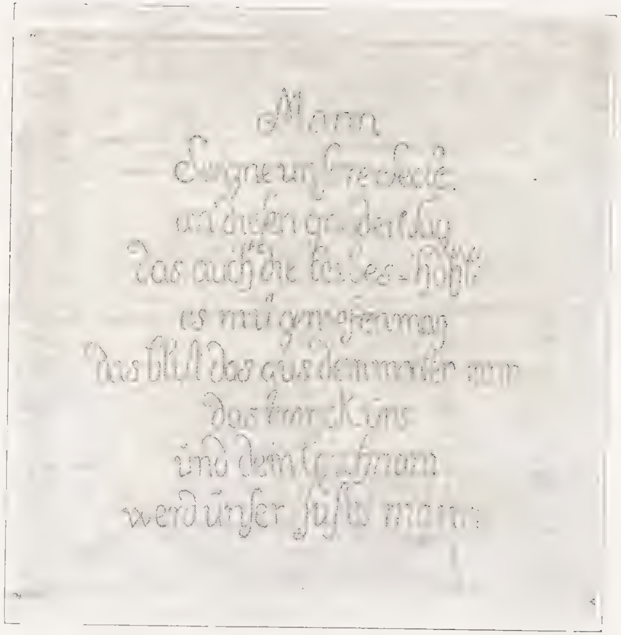
The influx of settlers continued steadily thereafter, Huguenots coming into the Pequea Valley Strasburg region in 1711-12, English coming into Salisbury township at about the same time, Ulsterites or Scotch-Irish passing beyond the Quaker and German settlements to the region later constituted as Donegal township, and to the southern townships, commonly described as the "Lower End," between the years 1715 and 1720; and the Welsh settling in Caernarvon township from about 1718. There were early settlements in Paradise township, Matthias Slaymaker being a settler in 1710, it is stated. Hans Graaf, the pioneer settler in Earl township, was in the Pequea Valley some years before he moved "his wife, children, and chattels" within the present limits of West Earl township, in 1717. An English Quaker settlement began to grow strong on the London Company's land in West Lampeter township, in the third decade of the eighteenth century; other Quakers were settled in Little Britain township, coming mostly from the Nottingham settlements beyond the southern border. Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff settled in Manheim township in or soon after 1717; warrants were issued to Hans Brubaker, Christian Hersey and others in the same year for land in the Hempfields; and settlement had by that time reached the point where the settlers were reasonably able to expect better facilities of local government. The records of Isaac Taylor, surveyor, show that as early as 1714 the "lands surveyed on Pequea and Conestoga" aggregated 58,937 acres, states Eshleman, Volume XII, No. 1, of the Papers of Lancaster County Historical Society; and in 1719 James Steel, one of the Land Commissioners, wrote of the "unwillingness of the commissioners to grant any more lands at present" about Conestoga. In the same year, James Logan, Provincial Secretary, in a letter to Surveyor Taylor, pointed out that "all but a few points were taken up at Pequea," and in another letter soon afterwards stated that while "Madam's Point" on the Conestoga was still vacant, "there was very little of it."

Through the interest taken in historical matters by Mr. Gilbert Cope, the assessment lists for most of the years from 1718 to 1729 for that part of Chester county which is now Lancaster, were saved from oblivion, and in 1916 were copied into the records of the Lancaster County Historical Society (*vide* Vol. XX, No. 7). The names for the first year (1718) are stated in the Manor Township chapter. The assessment lists for that year are for one township only, Conestoga, which, states Samuel Evans, was "laid off and erected" in that year, embracing all that portion of Chester county "lying west of Octorara creek, and extending northward to and including the Welsh settlements along the eastern branch of the Conestoga."

Formation of Townships—At that time Pennsylvania had but three counties—Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, all erected in 1682. Chester county extended indefinitely westward approximately along its present latitudinal lines, and Conestoga township of Chester county seemed to have an equally



ORIGINAL RECOMMENDATION OF JONAS DAVENPORT, INDIAN TRADER, SIGNED BY THE INHABITANTS OF DONEGAL (CHESTER) NOW LANCASTER COUNTY, PA., 1724-25



OLD MORAVIAN COMMUNION CLOTH FOUND IN THE SISTERS HOUSE AT LITITZ, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

undefined limit westward. As a matter of fact, it reached to the frontier, which had not up to that time passed beyond the Susquehanna river. As settlement increased, it became necessary to divide Conestoga township. In 1720 one assessment paper was headed "Pequea List," and in 1722 the lists were three: East Conestoga, Pequea, and West Conestoga, "also known as Donegal township." Samuel Evans states that in 1720 the township of West Conestoga was erected, embracing all of the territory west of Pequea creek, adding that "in 1722 this name was changed to Donegal, in deference to the Scotch-Irish settlers who then composed nearly the entire population of that township." According to the same historian, the township of Pequea was erected in 1721, with boundaries not clearly defined, but believed to include the settlements along Pequea creek and its branches "now in Salisbury township." By the way, it was much to the eastward of the territory within the present Pequea township, which was not erected until 1853.

The township of Tulpehocken, Chester county, was organized in 1725, but that is to the northward of the present limits of Lancaster county. In 1725, according to the assessment lists, Pequea had thirty-two taxables, Conestoga two hundred thirty-eight taxables, in addition to fifteen freemen, and nine under the "head rates" classification. Donegal had fifty-six taxables. This information leads Eshleman to calculate that there were approximately 2,660 persons in Lancaster county at that time.

In the next year or two it became increasingly evident that a nearer place than old Chester for the transaction of legal business, and the proper civil government over that part of Chester county which lay westward of the Octorara, was advisable. It soon became imperative, for certain lawless bands were roaming over the Conestoga region, carrying on their villainies almost immune from punishment by the civil government; furthermore, the provincial representatives found it difficult to collect the taxes. Other evidence multiplied sufficiently to convince the Provincial Governor in 1729 that the time had come to erect a fourth county division of the Province, for the Conestoga region and westward had become too thickly peopled to be well administered from a county-seat "about one hundred miles away." Eshleman writes: "These and other causes led the citizens of this neighborhood in the winter of 1728-29 to take the first steps to form a new county. They began work by circulating a petition throughout the neighborhood, setting forth that, by reason of their great distance from the county town, where the Courts are held, offices kept and annual elections made, they are under great inconvenience, being obliged to travel 100 miles to recover debts," and so forth. The actual petition, in the original, seems to have been forever lost, and it was not until 1908 that Mr. L. R. Kelker and H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., discovered in a large box at Harrisburg a certified copy of this interesting petition. It had been made by John Wright and Thomas Edwards, both of whom had prominent part in the movement and became original officers of the new county division. The petition, according to the certified copy, reads as follows:

> *To the Honourable Patrick Gordon, Esqr., Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware and Council:*
>
> The Petition of the Inhabitants of the upper part of the County of Chester, Sheweth, that by Reason, of the Great Distance we live from the County Town where Elections & Courts are held, and Publick Offices kept, The arm of Justice is weakened, The benefit of many good and

wholesome Laws almost if not Intirely Lost & ye preson who has Occasion to apply to them, put to great and Burdensome Expence, Thieves, Vagabonds & Ill people Boldly infest our parts (Counting themselves beyond the Reach of Law) to the Disturbance of the Peace & very great Damage of the Inhabitants it being almost Impossible to take and Secure such Villains where Justices & Constables are so thin plac'd as not one in Twenty or thirty miles & Assistance Difficult to be raised on Such Occasions Amongst people who would freely Serve but are Deterred by want of Ready cash, to bear ye Charges of a Journey of Eighty or a hundred Miles to the County Jail, And as we are mostly now Settlers far from a Market, and Trade and Comerce among our Selves mostly by way of Barter, Money cannot be Supposed plenty. Therefore when Law Suits prove Necessary to Recover our Just Debts, the trouble and Expense of Traveling to Obtain a Writt or Summons, having it Served bringing Evidence (when Needful) attending Two or Three Courts, the Repeated Journeys amount to three or four hundred miles, besides the loss of much time, All which being a ready Money Charge makes the Recovery of a Small Sum more detrimental than the loss of it, and is a very Great Oppression of the Debtor, and in debts, under forty shillings which cannot be recovered, without an Execution, The Action Drops rather than Cause so great a charge as would Accrue if the party be sent to Jail & taken from his friends (if any) who might assist him. Runaway Servants & Suspicious persons who often come this way to hide among us or Escape into the back parts of Maryland are seldom taken up. The Reward for Runaways not Answering the Trouble, and to far to send Suspected Person til they can make proof of their Clearness. Our highways are unrepaired. Townships undivided nor Bridges Built, where they are wanted, nor can our Taxes be as Regularly Laid or our Grievances likely to be Redressed when the mean distance to the nearest place of Appeals is at lease fifty miles, And Neither Comishoner nor more than one Assessor (if that) Elected in many years within the Circle of five hundred ffamilies. These and many more Inconveniences of the like Nature, & from the same Cause which may occur to you on a serious Reflection we humbly offer to your Consideration—Hoping, as we are His Majesties' Liege Subjects, and Justly Entituled to all the ease & advantages the Law will afford, You will in your Care, for the Publick good be Ready to Redress. And in Order thereto as most of your petitioners Living fifty or Eighty miles from Chester & some much further, and ye Bounds yearly Enlarging.

We humbly pray you would be pleased to Order a Division to be made between the uper and lower part of Chester County, which uper division when so made may be a County, and called ye County of ——— with Privilidge granted to Elect Representatives, A Sheriff & other officers in number and manner as they are now Elected in Chester County and have all other Officers, Officers' powers and privilidges Equal with other countys.

This we humbly conceive would be the most Effectual means of Redress, of Great Ease and benefit to your Petitioners, and no ways Prejudicial to Chester County or the province in General and for which your Petitioners as in duty Bound shall pray &c.

Pat Anderson, Ephrm Moor, Hugh Scott, Andrew Kilbrath, Caleb Pierce, Jno. Walter, Alex White, Robt. Allison, David Jones, Thos. Tinball, Wm. Meben, John Wright, Tobias Hendrick, Sam'el Blunston, Ed Smout, (illegible), Robt. Barber, John Postelthwait, Thos. Gaill, Saml. Taylor, Jno. Swift, Jun., Jno. Davis, Thos. Owen, Jno. Linvil, Albertus Hendrix, Jos. Low, Frances Worley, Joseph Jarvis, Jno. Cowin, Da'd Cowin, Christian Stoneman, Dan'el ffiere, Jacob Miller, Thos. Folkins, John Musgrove, Henry Carpenter, John Stowfer, Gordon Howard, Jno. Sterrett, Zacharies Moor, Jno. McLean, Jno. Catherwood, Jno. Miller, Jno. Allison, Jno. Harris, Saml. Scott, Wm. Allison, James Smith, James Robinson, Moses White, James Miers, Jno. Macfarland, Thos. Howard, James Patison, Jno. McCurry, Jacob Bar, Saml. Bar, Abraham More, Christian Mosar, Jacob Funk, Jacob Fincher, James Hendrix, Joseph Higingbotham, Caleb Baker, Jos. Minhall, Geo. Middleton, Casper Loughman, Wm. Lindvil, Isaac Woodrow, Simon Woodrow, Peter Lemon, Christian Lemon, Gabriel Carpenter, Hans Grove, Robt. Cloud, Jno. Musgrove, John Sickray, Jno. Huwoll, Jacob Lawson, Robt. Cleas, Thos. Wilkins, Wm. Hayes, Jno. Killbrath, Jno. Griffith, Ri'd Hastings, Sm'l Taylor, Nat Watkins, Jno. Killbrath, Jur., James Gibson, Jos. Kennedy, Thos. Hains, Thos. Willson, Jos. Thatcher, James Killbrath, Jur., Pat McKinley, Saml. Parker, John Kellso, Moses Thomson, James Killbrath, Robt. McFarlan, Arthur Patison, Jno. Miller, Caleb Worley, James Hendrix, Jr., Geo. Hill, Jno. Hendrix, Robt. Wilkins, Enock Davies, Tobias Hanspaker, Charles Jones, Hugh Brown, Wm. Hughes, Jno. Futhey, Saml. Jones, Morgan Jones, Henry Jones, Francis Jones, John Minshall, Evan Evans, Ric'd Moor, John Walker, William Willis, Alex McKeen, Saml. McGomrey, Geo. Muffet, John Muffet, Walter Tidiford, Robt. Killbreth, James Crody, Wm. Allison, Sam'el Hunybrook, James Doke, Richard McLewie, Jno. White, Jno. Taylor, Thos. Mitchell, Abraham Sott, Jas. Work, Ed. Dodgery, James Swafford, John Klemson, Jno. Miller, Ben Heath, Thos. Clark, John Boyle, Pat Black, Geo.

Bohnson, John Mitchell, Ri'd Allison, Jonas Davenport, Wm. Brian, Hugh White, Thos. Black, Pat Campbell, James Stuart, Geo. Stuart, Wm. Richardson, James Morris, Joseph Mays, Geo. Thomas, John Powell, Saml. Swallow, Daniel Cookson, John Abbott, Saml. Vernor, Dav'd Vernor, John Williams, James Gelt, Wm. Willson, Dan'el Harmon, Ri'd Owen, Thos. Edwards.

There seems little doubt that this petition and probably the subsequent work of organizing the new county division, rested mainly upon the efforts of the English-speaking settlers. Eshleman states that there are not "over twelve or fifteen" German names among the one hundred eighty-two signatures written on the petition. John Wright and perhaps Thomas Edwards were the two most instrumental in carrying through the project. On February 6, 1729, the petition was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor, Patrick Gordon, and to the members of the Council. Action was soon taken, for on the next day Governor Gordon addressed a message to the Provincial Assembly upon the subject. It read in part as follows: "Upon a mature consideration thereof and a proper inquiry into the allegations of said petition, I am of opinion that it may greatly conduce not only to the peace, good order, and ease of these inhabitants, in particular, but also to the security of the whole government."

While pointing out that action in reality was vested in the Proprietary, and in himself as his deputy, he thought it better to acquaint the Assembly with the petition, inasmuch as their number would be increased, in the event that a new county division should develop therefrom; and he hoped that any action he might take would be supported by the joint and unanimous concurrence of the whole Legislature. It was only, however, after a long debate, upon the third reading of the petition and message, that the members of the Provincial Assembly, on February 11, 1729, approved the motion made, "that the said petitioners have leave to bring in a bill according to the prayer of said petition." On the next day, a committee consisting of one member from each county was formed "to draw an answer to the Governor's message advising the erecting of a new county." On February 14, the committee reported the answer they had drafted. It was approved by the Assembly on February 15, and read as follows:

> We have taken into consideration the petition of the inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester County recommended to us by the Governor and are of opinion it is reasonable that a due provision be made by law for the ease and convenience of the people of that part of the county. As to the new members of the Assembly, a law will be made for that purpose. And forasmuch as the Governor thinks a division necessary, we humbly propose that he will be pleased to appoint some persons inhabiting the lower parts of Chester county with a like number of the inhabitants of the upper parts of the said county to view and make report of the proper place for making the division line between the two counties, which is, however, humbly submitted to the Governor's judgment.

On February 20, Lieutenant-Governor Gordon appointed Henry Hayes, Samuel Nutt, Samuel Hollingsworth, Philip Taylor, Elisha Gatchel, James James, John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Samuel Blunston, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Edwards and John Musgrave, to meet with John Taylor, surveyor of Chester county, "at some convenient place near Octorara creek, and cause a marked line to be run from the most northerly or main branch of Octorara northward, or to the east or west thereof, as shall be found most convenient to the next high ridge of barrens that trend from thence to Schuylkill river, keeping near and proceeding along the ridge."

It was but to be expected that some opposition to the proposed division of Chester county would develop in some parts east of the Octorara, though it seems strange that opposition should arise in the west. Remonstrance of divers citizens of the upper parts of Chester county was made in March, and was duly read in the Assembly, where the remonstrance was ordered to lie on the table. Other petitions met a like fate, and on May 2, 1729, the survey of the Boundary Commissioners was returned and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor. On the same day, Governor Gordon and his Council decreed and declared the said upper parts of Chester county "be erected and are accordingly erected into a county by the name of Lancaster County." The Provincial Secretary made known the decision of the Governor and Council to the Assembly on the same day, and "hoped the Assembly would take due care to make the necessary provisions" to erect Courts of Judicature, by enacting a bill for the purpose. Evidently, harmonious accord did not then exist between Government House and the Assembly, for the members of the latter on that very day voted "not to consider at present the bill to provide for the affairs of the new county." On May 3, the Governor urged prompt action, but the Assembly continued inactive. On May 6, another message was sent to the Assembly by Governor Gordon. It read, in this connection:

> Dispatch all bills that are necessary to prevent the growing disorders in this country. While you are guarding against the inundations upon us, of such as may add to these disorders, you cannot but think with me, that it is absolutely necessary to enable the inhabitants on Susquehanna to exert the powers of Government in those parts, where great numbers of the worst seek shelter in the hope of immunity in their greater distance from more regular administration of Government. I must, therefore, desire that you would also dispatch the bill for erecting these parts into a county, together with the steps I have already made of it.

The measure was debated in the House during the whole of the next day, and on the following morning, May 8, was read for the third time, passed, and sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. On May 9 it was returned to the House, with amendments suggested by the Governor and Council; and the House concurring, the bill was engrossed and passed. On the next day, May 10, 1729, it was signed by Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, and became law. The new county of Lancaster thus took entity as the fourth county division of the Province of Pennsylvania, on May 10, 1729, by virtue of the said "Act for erecting the Upper Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania, lying towards Susquehanna, Conestogoe, Dunnegal, etc., into a county." This act provided and declared "that all and singular, the lands within the Province of Pennsylvania lying to the Northward of Octorara Creek, and to the Westward of a line of marked trees running from the North Branch of the said Octorara Creek northeasterly to the River Schuylkill, be erected into a county, named, and from henceforth to be called Lancaster County; and the said Octorara Creek, the line of marked trees and the river Schuylkill aforesaid shall be the Boundary Line or Division between the said County and the counties of Chester and Philadelphia." The name Lancaster was given to the new county by John Wright, who was born in the English shire (or county) of Lancaster, otherwise called Lancashire.

Upon the passage of the act creating the new county, Lieutenant-Governor Gordon appointed the following named residents as justices of the peace, to constitute the first court of the county of Lancaster: John Wright, Tobias

Hendricks, Samuel Blunston, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Edwards, Caleb Pierce, Thomas Reed, and Samuel Jones. These magistrates sat at the tavern of John Postlethwaite, near Conestoga creek, in Conestoga township, on June 9, 1729, going into conference then with the most prominent inhabitants, "to agree upn the names of townships, and define their respective boundaries." The limits of seventeen township divisions were delineated, and are described in the respective township chapters. The seventeen original townships of Lancaster county were: Drumore, Sadsbury, Martock, Conestogoe, Hempfield, Donegal, Derry, Peshtank, Lebanon, Earl, Warwick, Manheim, Lancaster, Leacock, Lampeter, Salisbury, Caernarvon. The townships of Robinson, Berne, and Tulpehocken, which were organized before Lancaster county was formed and are now in Berks county, were not mentioned. Only two of the other original townships, Conestogoe and Donegal, are defined. Pequea township apparently passed away entirely, being absorbed by Salisbury township, and possibly in part by Sadsbury. The seventeen townships defined on June 9, were confirmed, as to boundaries, at the Magistrates' Court which sat at Postlethwaite's on August 5, 1729. It is not known when Cocalico township was organized, but evidently it existed in the fall of 1729, for then the magistrate appointed a constable and overseer of the poor for that township. To care for the necessary enforcement of the civil government in the new county prior to the first election, which was to take place in the first week of October, 1729, Robert Barber, who lived near Wright's Ferry, was appointed sheriff of Lancaster county. Andrew Galbraith became the first county coroner, by appointment, giving way to Joshua Lowe, of Hempfield township, who was elected coroner in October. At the same time John Galbraith and Robert Barber "were returned for sheriff." The county commissioners elected in October, 1729, were: John Postlethwaite, Conestoga; John Davis, Caernarvon; George Stewart, of Donegal. John Postlethwaite was selected as president of the board. He also was elected county treasurer for 1730. The county assessors elected in 1729 were: Patrick Campbell, Donegal; Joshua Lowe, Hempfield; Richard Huff, John Dearer, John Callwell, Isaac Robinson, Salisbury. The first clerk of the boards of commissioners and assessors was Richard Marsden. The remainder of the story of the organization of Lancaster county is part of the history of the courts, and will be properly covered in that chapter.

Brecknock township seems to have been erected out of unorganized territory in about 1740, and lost some of its territory when Berks county was organized. All the other township divisions of the present county of Lancaster came into being by separation of territory from the original townships of 1729 erection. Out of the original Sadsbury township have been formed the present townships of Sadsbury, Bart, and Eden; out of the original Drumore have come East Drumore, Drumore, Colerain, Little Britain, and Fulton townships; out of the first Strasburg came Paradise township; the original Earl now has three parts—Earl, East Earl and West Earl townships; the original Warwick township is now represented by Warwick, Elizabeth, Clay and Penn; the original Donegal has yielded East Donegal, West Donegal, Conoy, Mount Joy and Rapho townships; the original Conestoga township is, of course, the mother of all, but the Conestoga township of 1729 constitution has yielded Pequea township; Providence township was formed from part of Martock (Martic); East Lampeter and West Lampeter, from Lampeter township; East Hempfield and West Hempfield and Manor, from Hempfield township; East Cocalico, West Cocalico and Ephrata townships from the original Cocalico township; and Leacock township gave part of its territory to form Upper Leacock. Lancaster township has held its original limits, excepting where Lancaster City has encroached.

York county was erected out of part of the original Lancaster county on August 19, 1749; land was surrendered by Lancaster on January 27, 1750, to form Cumberland county; Berks county was erected on March 11, 1752, out of parts of Philadelphia, Chester, and Lancaster counties; Northumberland was set off on March 21, 1772, composed of parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Bedford, and Northampton counties; and Dauphin was formed out of part of Lancaster county on March 4, 1785. The next and last separation of land from Lancaster county was in 1813, when Lebanon county was formed. Since that year the boundaries of Lancaster county have remained unchanged, though many attempts have been made to reduce still further its territorial bounds. George Steinman, Esq., in 1904, read a paper, entitled "Territorial Raids on Lancaster County," before the Lancaster County Historical Society. He showed that an attempt was made to form a Finley county out of the townships of Earl, Caernarvon, Salisbury, Sadsbury, Strasburg, and Colerain, in the county of Lancaster, and of West Fallowfield, East Fallowfield, Sadsbury, West Caln, Brandiwine, West Nantmill and Honeybrook, in the county of Chester. The petition was circulated "in or about the year 1800, or a little later," and bore the signatures of David Whitehill, William Boyd, Joshua Haines, of well-known Lancaster county familes. An attempt was made in 1819 to form a Penn county out of land taken from Lancaster and Chester; in 1820 John Lightner, of Lancaster county, sought to get legislative action to erect a county of Conestoga out of parts of Lancaster, Chester, and Berks; a determined attempt was made in 1824-26 to form a county of Conewago out of parts of Lancaster, Dauphin, and Lebanon, taking the townships of Donegal, Mount Joy and Rapho from Lancaster, Derry and Londonderry townships from Dauphin, and Londonderry township from Lebanon county. An attempt was made to organize the same townships as a county of Monroe in 1832. Residents of Columbia sought to make that borough a county town, at the expense of Lancaster and York counties in 1852, and in 1854 Ephrata had like aspirations. In 1858 men in the southern townships of Lancaster county endeavored to form a new county of Octorara, with Oxford in Chester county as the shiretown. However, "we can to-day congratulate ourselves upon the failure of all these schemes for our territorial dismemberment," writes Mr. Steinman. Had they succeeded, Lancaster "would have been shorn of the fairest portion of her domain," including Caernarvon, Salisbury, Earl, Leacock, Sadsbury, Strasburg, Colerain, Drumore, Little Britain, Fulton, Bart, Eden, Mount Joy, Donegal and Rapho townships, taking into consideration only those petitions that reached the House of Representatives. Many other attempts were made, but since 1813 Lancaster county has held its own, which is in area nine hundred seventy-three square miles. Its greatest width from north to south is about forty-one miles, and from east to west about forty-five.

Its expansion, along industrial, commercial, scientific and other lines will be extensively surveyed in later special chapters of this work. The degree of expansion, as shown by assessment lists, will be well understood by the following: In 1718, number of taxables, 130; total valuation, $10,645.02; tax levied, $106. In 1923, number of taxables, 104,818; total valuation, $160,313,841; tax levied, $405,285.42.

To explain these figures: The first assessment list for "all the land settled in the county from Octorara creek to the Susquehanna river" was that of 1718, for Conestoga township; it assessed the value of the property of one hundred thirty residents, twenty-nine of whom were classed as "English inhabitants," twelve as "Freemen," also English and Welsh, and the remainder as "Dutch inhabitants." In addition there were fourteen other landowners classed as "Non-resident." The total valuation for taxation was £2,248, which at the rate of three pence in the pound would make the tax levied for the purposes of the county in 1718, £27 5s. 4d. Thus, the revenue of the county was approximately $106 for that year, at the normal rate of exchange. The assessors' returns for Lancaster county for the year 1923 show 104,818 "resident taxables," owning real estate valued at $124,128,436. The total value of real property "taxable for county purposes" was $117,984,970, which was increased by $42,328,871, the value of personal property taxable; the actual tax levied amounted to $235,969.94 for real property and $169,315.48 for personal property.

The statistics of population are equally striking. According to Eshleman, Lancaster county had approximately 2,660 inhabitants in 1725, and he estimates the number of inhabitants as 3,500 in the year 1729, when the county was organized. The first Federal census taken was that of 1790; and from that year the decadal statistics can be given. They are:

Year	Population
1790	36,147
1800	43,403
1810	53,927
1820	67,975
1830	76,631
1840	84,203
1850	98,944
1860	116,314
1870	121,340
1880	139,447
1890	149,095
1900	159,241
1910	167,029
1920	173,797

Immediately following this chapter will come those that survey the history of the townships, in the following order:

Chapter IV—Manor Township, beginning with Wm. Penn's Plan of establishing a Capital City on the Susquehanna.

Chapter V—The Original Sadsbury Township, including the present townships of Sadsbury, Bart and Eden, and reviewing also the boroughs of Christiana and Quarryville.

Chapter VI—Conestoga Township, which was the original township of Lancaster County, and in which is a review of the County Organization proceedings which centred at Postlethwaite's Tavern, in 1729.

Chapter VII—Strasburg Township, with its early Huguenot settlers; and sketching also the Borough of Strasburg.

Chapter VIII—Salisbury Township.

Chapter IX—The Original Drumore Township, tracing the history of the

Scotch-Irish settlements in southern Lancaster, the townships of Drumore, East Drumore, Colerain, Little Britain and Fulton.

Chapter X—The Original Donegal Township, tracing the history of the Scotch-Irish settlements in northern Lancaster, in the townships of East and West Donegal, Conoy, Mount Joy, and Rapho.

Chapter XI—Caernarvon Township, the Welsh Settlement in Lancaster County.

Chapter XII—Martic Township.

Chapter XIII—The Townships of Earl, West Earl and East Earl.

Chapter XIV—Leacock Township.

Chapter XV—Lampeter Townships, East and West.

Chapter XVI—Manheim Township.

Chapter XVII—Hempfield Townships, East and West.

Chapter XVIII—The Original Warwick, and its subdivisions, the present townships of Warwick, Elizabeth, Clay, and Penn.

Chapter XIX—The Townships of Cocalico, East and West, with surveys of the Boroughs of Adamstown and Denver.

Chapter XX—Ephrata, Township and Borough.

Chapter XXI—Brecknock Township.

Chapter XXII—Upper Leacock Township.

Chapter XXIII—Paradise Township.

Chapter XXIV—Pequea Township.

Chapter XXV—Providence Township.

The story of Lancaster Township will be embodied in the narrative of Lancaster Townstead, Borough, and City.

CHAPTER IV.

MANOR TOWNSHIP.

Also Reviews of Washington Borough, Millersville, and Other Places.

The history of Manor township connects or supplements most important history of the earliest days of the settlement of Pennsylvania. Worthy Lancaster historians, Diffenderfer and Sachse in particular, have carried their research to the point where it is no longer to be doubted that William Penn originally intended to place his Capital City on the banks of the Susquehanna, and that he clung to his original plan with tenacity for a number of years after settlement of the Province had begun. And it is almost equally clear that Penn's Capital on the Susquehanna would have been placed somewhere within the limits of the present Manor township of Lancaster county. In following the connection from the beginning, Sachse points out that the first printed document relating to the Province as a Colony of Penn is the Proclamation of King Charles II, issued on April 2, 1681. It was addressed "To the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsylvania," and reads:

Charles, R.

Whereas, His Majesty, in consideration of the great Merit and Faithful Services of Sir William Penn, deceased, and for divers other good Causes Him thereunto moving, Hath been Graciously pleased by Letters Patents bearing Date the Fourth day of March last past, to Give and Grant unto William Penn Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir William Penn, all that Tract of Land in America, called by the Name of Pennsilvania, as the same is Bounded on the East by Delaware River, from Twelve Miles distance Northwards of Newcastle Town, unto the Three and fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, if the said River doth extend so far northwards, and if the said River shall not extend so far Northward, then by the said River so far as it doth extend; And from the Head of the said River, the Eastern Bounds to be determined by a Meridian Line to be Drawn from the Head of the said River unto the said Three and fourtieth Degree, the said Province to extend Westward Five Degrees in Longitude, to be Computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and to be Bounded on the North, by the Beginning of the Three and fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle Drawn at Twelve Miles Distance from Newcastle Northwards, and Westwards unto the Beginning of the Fourtieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a straight line Westwards to the limit of Longitude above mentioned, together with all Powers, Preheminencies and Jurisdictions necessary for the Government of the said Province, as by the said Letters Penetts, Reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

His Majesty doth therefore hereby Publish and Declare His Royal Will and Pleasure, That all Persons Settled or Inhabiting within the Limits of the said Province, do yield all Due Obedience to the said William Penn, His Heirs and Assigns, as absolute Proprietaries and Governours thereof, as also to the Deputy or Deputies, Agents or Lieutenants, Lawfully Commissionated by him or them, according to the Powers and Authorities Granted by the said Letters Patents; Wherewith His Majesty Expects and Requires a ready Complyance from all Persons whom it may concern, as they tender His Majesties Displeasure.

Given at the Court at Whitehall the Second day of April 1681. In the Three and thirtieth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesties Command, CONWAY.

To the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsilvania.

Without delay, William Penn took advice as to the best means of developing the commercial and natural resources of the Province, and published two tracts in that year (1681), one to "those who are the Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province," and the other "Some account of the Province of Pennsilvania in America." His next step was to organize "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsilvania." Among the plans put forward by Penn was one to lay out a "great" city upon either the Susquehanna or the Delaware, "wherever the commissioners appointed by him could find a suitable location." Sachse writes: "There can be no doubt that both Penn and his associates of the Free Society of Traders seriously considered the former site as the most advantageous," and further, "it is but little wonder, considering the great distance between the promoters of the new colony and their possessions, and the lack of any knowledge but what was based upon imperfect information, that both Penn and the Free Society of Traders were forced to leave some of the vital details of the settlement of the Province to the discretion of some subaltern whom they sent out for the purpose. There is a strong basis for the assumption that in the early days of the movement some if not all of the principals favored the Susquehanna as the best site for the commercial and political capital of Pennsylvania." The articles of agreement of the Free Society of Traders, adopted May 29, 1682, provide in Article XXI for the setting up of "two or more General Factories in Pennsilvania, one upon the Chesapeake Bay and the other upon Delaware River," but stipulated "that the Government of the whole be in the Capital City of Pennsilvania."

For the purpose of developing his grant, William Penn in 1681 sent out a commission to act with William Markham, his deputy, as Governor. William Crispin, of this commission, was surveyor-general, but died before reaching the Province; therefore, in 1682, William Penn appointed Captain Thomas Holme as commissioner and surveyor-general. Among Penn's instructions to Holme was one to select a suitable site for a great capital city, to contain not less than ten thousand acres, at a point "where navigation was best, and large ships might lie close to the bank, the land being at the same time dry, high and healthy." The exact wording of this part of Penn's instructions is as follows:

> That having taken Wt care you can for the Peoples good in the respects aboves'd let the Rivers and Creeks be sounded on my side of the Delaware River, especially Upland in order to settle a great Towne and to be sure to make your choice where it is most Navigable, high, dry and healthy. That is where Ships may best ride of deepest draught of water if possible to Load, to unload at Ye Bank, or Keyside without boating or litering of it. It would be well if the River coming into Ye creek be Navigable, at least for boats up into Ye Country, and Yt the Situation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, Wch is best knowne by digging up two or three Earths and seeing Ye bottom.

As to why Penn should plan a city so large as to cover ten thousand acres, it was once suggested (by Dean Prideaux) that the Proprietor had in mind the plan of ancient Babylon.

Surveyor-General Holme duly prospected, surveying the west bank of the Delaware river, and he chose as the most favorable spot the west bank of that river between Pennepack and the Poquessing. There he began to lay out Penn's "great city," and as his base line he ran a broad highway due east and west, calling it Susquehanna street, intending that it should be continued to that river, to connect the two waterways. That tract Holme later took as part of his own land, and called it the township of Dublin. Markham and the other commissioners favored the location now known as Pennsbury; but when William Penn arrived in the following October and came up the river and landed at Upland, "he was so pleased with the high bold shore, covered with lofty pines, that he modified his instructions, reducing the size from 10,000 to 1,280 acres, and gave his consent to locate a town there, which we now know as Philadelphia."

But William Penn still was interested in the Susquehanna, and after Holme had finished the platting of Philadelphia, Penn instructed him to make a map of the Province. The map was published between 1686 and 1689. As soon as Holme's map was ready for distribution, Penn issued printed proposals for the settlement of a large city on the banks of the Susquehanna, and, as a later document showed, it was to be located where the Conestoga flows into the Susquehanna. The document is entitled: "Some proposals for a second settlement in the Province of Pennsylvania," and carried on the title page the information that it was "Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked Billet in Halloway Lane, Shore Ditch, 1690." It reads:

> Whereas I did about nine years past, propound the selling of several parts or shares of land, upon that side of the Province of Pennsylvania, next Delaware river, and setting about a place upon it for the building of a city, by the name of Philadelphia; and that divers persons closed with these proposals, who, by their ingenuity, industry and charge, have advanced that city from a wood to a good forwardness of building (there being above one thousand houses finished in it) and that the several plantations and towns begun upon the land, bought by those first undertakers, are also in a prosperous way of improvement and enlargement (inasmuch as last year ten sail of ships were fraightet there with the growth of the Province for Barbados, Jamaica, &c. besides what came directly from this kingdom). It is now my purpose to make another settlement, upon the river of Susquehannagh, that runs into the Bay of Chesapeake, and bears about fifty miles west from the river Delaware, as appears by the Common Maps of the English Dominion in America. There I design to lay out a plan for the building of another city in the most convenient place for communication with the former plantations on the East; who, by land, is as good as done already, a way being laid out between the two rivers very exactly and conveniently, at least three years ago; and which will not be hard to do by water, by the benefit of the river Scoulkill; for a branch of that river lies near a Branch that runs into the Susquehannagh River, and is the common course of the Indians with their Skins and Furrs into our parts, and to the Provinces of East and West Jersey and New York, from the West and Northwest parts of the continent from whence they bring them.

Penn offered shares in the proposed settlement at the rate of 3,000 acres for £100, the purchaser being also given "a proportionable lot in the said city, to build a house or houses upon." In addition to the purchase price, there was to be a ground rental or quit-rent of "one shilling for every hundred acres forever." And Penn seemed to promise to make the new city his own place of residence, for his pamphlet stated: "And further I do promise to agree with every Purchaser that shall be willing to treat with me between this and next spring, upon all such reasonable conditions as shall be thought necessary for their accommodation, intending, if God please, to return with what speed I can, and my family with me, to our future residence." He stated that the Susquehanna river was broader than the Thames at London Bridge; that "great quantities of deer, and especially elks, * * * use that river in herds;" and that fish were "in great plenty."

The proposition did not apparently meet with much success, but the following references to a document of 1701 throw light on the subject. The paper was discovered in about 1896. Regarding it Diffenderfer writes: "Where it passed the two hundred years of its existence is beyond even conjecture. * * * By some fortuitous accident or circumstance it was dragged into the light, and its story is now made public." The paper, of course, has direct interest to citizens of Lancaster county. It reads:

> Certain Concessions Granted by Wm. Penn, absolute Propty. and Govervt. of the Provinces of Pennsilvania and Territories thereof unto several of those Psons who in the year 1696 Did Subscribe for Lands to be Layd out upon ye river Susquehanah as also to such other purchasers as have or shall subscribe in order thereunto in this year 1701. The Considiarion and times of payment as ye S. (said) Lands being incerted in the Preamblos to ye S. Subscribers.
>
> That a Tract of Land Shall be Layd out to ye S. purchassors upon Susquehanah River at or near ye mouth of Conestoga Creek and Extending up ye S. river upon ye several Coursos thereof Twelve miles on a Direct line or Less at ye Choice of ye purchassors or other to begin at any place above the S. Conestoga Creek at ye Elections of ye S. Purchassors Provided they be limited to fifteen miles front upon the said river as afs. Together with ye Proprietrys tenth hereinafter reserved unless ye quantity Exceed a hundred thousand acres In which Case they may add a proportionable front to ye river.

The whole of the document is published in Vol. II, No. 1, of the Papers of Lancaster County Historical Society. Briefly, it provided that "a Chief Town" should be laid out within the tract of about 150 miles; that the tract should be a county and have township divisions not exceeding six thousand acres in extent; that the county should have power to elect two representatives to the Assembly; that "ye Courts of Judicature shall be kept in the S. Chief Town, which Town shall have a Charter of Privileges for ye Good Government;" that "ye S. County Shall be Called * * * and ye other Towns to be hereafter named by ye Purchasors." It further promised that roads should be laid out, and promised free grants to those who would establish inns along the highway, "it being needful that several Stages or Inns Should be settled upon the S. roads for ye accomodacon of passengers and ye more easy and Speedy Setlemt of ye S. Tract for ye Incouragmt of ye sale and settlement of ye Proprietrys other back lands." The Penn family intended to retain an especial interest in this tract, for they reserved for themselves one-fifth of every township. The document is dated August 25, 1701, and signed by William Penn. His signature is above the following:

> We whose names are underwritten who are now with the proprietor and Govenour at New Castle at ye Signing of ye above Concessions being subscribers for Land at Susquehahah Do in behalf of ourselves and many others that have Subscribed and offer to Subscribe of both Provinces accept of ye above Concessions as Witness our hands and seals this Thirty first Day of the eighth Month one thousand Seven hundred and one. Signed by Edw. Shippen, Caleb Pusey, Jno. Guest, David Lloyd, Saml. Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Tho. Story, Robt. Assheton, Paromlus Parmyter.
>
> Recorded in ye rolls Office at Philada. in Book C. 2 vol. 3. page 171 to 175 ye 25th 10th 1701 by me Tho. Story.

It is not surprising that the undertaking did not prove to be possible for any syndicate of that early day of little money, even though that syndicate had the Provincial Government's support. As a matter of fact, William Penn reached the state wherein he had to place his personal affairs in the hands of a trustee, and indeed eventually was imprisoned for debt. But he had tenaciously clung to his original project of developing a city on the Susquehanna, and hoped that the "Concessions" of 1701 would have accomplished that purpose. He had himself visited the region, it seems, before drafting the "Concessions." His "journey into the interior of his Province" was in the spring of 1701; the fact is referred to in a letter written by Isaac Norris, and quoted by Janney, in his life of Penn. Norris wrote: "I am just come from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the Governor. We had a round-about journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's palace at Conestoga; from thence crossed it to the Schoolkill."

Governor Evans visited the Indians at Pequea, Conestoga and Paxtang, in 1707, but even then there was not a permanent white settlement in what became Lancaster county. In 1710, however, the first settlement was made, but many years were destined to pass before the Susquehanna was reached by the white settlers. Sixteen years after the penning of the "Concessions," the Penns apparently had to become reconciled to a modification of their plan for the great Susquehanna city. In 1717 Surveyor-General Jacob Taylor received an order which read:

> These are to authorize and require thee without any delay to survey or cause to be surveyed all that tract of land lying between Sasquahannah river and Conestoga creek, from the mouth of said creek as far up the river as the land already granted to Peter Chartier, and then by a line running from the said river to Conestoga creek, all which tract of land for the proper use and behoof of William Penn, Esq., proprietary and Governor in Chief the said Province, his heirs and assigns forever. Given under our hands, March 1, 1717-18.

It seems that this was done primarily to protect the personal interests of the Penn family, for they had set their minds upon reserving a "manor" in that rich part of Lancaster county; and there was need for action, for the Conestoga country was being settled with comparative rapidity. Diffenderfer writes:

> The county had become pretty well settled around Lancaster and southward to the Susquehanna. Sypher, in his history, estimates that more than 59,000 Germans alone were in the Province prior to 1727, and a full share of these were scattered in the vicinity of Lancaster. William Penn, in his instruction to Jacob Taylor for the surveying of Conestoga Manor had to be content with only 16,000 acres instead of his original 100,000 acres. A larger area than 16,000 acres would, in 1717, have included many lands that had already been sold and would have created annoyance through interference with already existing titles. In fact Secretary Logan and Indian-Agent John Cartilege (Cartlige, Cartlidge, Cartledge) had already taken out warrants for 500 acres each in the lower part of what became Conestoga Manor. And many of the German immigrants were, quite possibly, squatting within the bounds of the Manor. The

land patent records do not afford much enlightenment as to date of settlement, for some were not secured for fifteen or twenty years after the settlers had taken possession. Some of the Indian traders had also been granted tracts within the Manor, but, officially, the position as to this Penn Reserve, Conestoga Manor, in the 'thirties, as stated by Thomas Penn, was that there then still remained unsold 13,400 acres. Spark's "Life of Franklin" gives the information that Thomas Penn, some time between 1731 and 1740, estimated the 13,400 acres which still remained unsold in Conestoga Manor, at £40, Pennsylvania currency, per hundred acres, or £5,360 ($14,293) for the entire tract. "Almost any 100-acre farm in Manor is now worth what the Proprietaries 180 years ago would have been willing to take for it all.

Manor township, as now bounded, embraces 25,700 acres, including the whole of the original Conestoga Manor tract, and an additional adjoining acreage on the north. The northern boundary of the original Conestoga Manor was a line running from a point marked by a locust tree on the banks of the Susquehanna, on the site of the present borough of Washington, in an easterly by northeasterly direction, to a point marked by a white oak tree near the Little Conestoga, not far from where Brenner's mill later stood. The line corresponds with the road running from Brenner's mill to Washington borough. As now bounded, Lancaster township lies on the east; the Hempfields, East and West, lie on the north; the Susquehanna river forms the western and southwestern boundaries; and the Conestoga creek the southern and southeastern bounds. Manor township is rich agricultural land, the best tobacco land probably in the county. The soil is rich limestone, undulating in most parts but well-watered and fertile. Tobacco is the most valuable crop.

Indian History—It has been claimed that Susquehannock Fort, which came so prominently into the boundary dispute between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, was within what is now the limits of Manor township. But Judge Landis, in an exhaustive study published in 1910, has almost conclusively shown that the Susquehannock Fort, or the chief fort of the Susquehannock Indians, in the latter part of the seventeenth century was on the western bank of the Susquehanna river almost opposite Washington borough. Taylor in his first map of Conestoga Manor, made in 1717, marked what was then an old fort site "on what is now H. G. Witmer's farm, which may have been one of several forts which the Susquehannocks occupied many years before," states Landis. Watson calls it Fort Demolished. In the southern part of the township was the important Indian town of the Conestogas. "The town lay to the east of Turkey Hill, about two miles west and north of the Conestoga creek, and about one mile west of the Little Conestoga, on the land which afterwards came into the possession of the Mellinger family. The place still bears the name of Indian Town. Early in the eighteenth century James Patterson and Peter Chartier, Indian traders, the former a Scotch-Irishman and the latter a Frenchman, probably Canadian-French, were in the region. Martin Chartier, father of Peter, was in the territory much earlier. Landis writes:

> On Taylor's map of Conestoga Manor of 1717, the site, which is now the Stehman property (Washington Borough) is the location of Martin Chartier's trading post. The Shawanees and Gawanese Indians were also located there at this period. Martin Chartier and several other French traders arrived in this section about 1687. Chartier located his trading post at the Shawanese Indian town near the head of the Pequea Creek, and married a Shawanese woman. Governor Evans remained with him from Saturday evening, June 28, to Monday morning, June 30, on his visit here in 1707. Although Chartier was a Frenchman, he was loyal to the English, as was shown by the assistance which he gave Governor Evans at this time in the capture of the French trader, Nicola. Soon after this period Chartier and the Shawanese

> located on this tract along the Susquehanna, where Chartier died in 1718. Martin Chartier must have been a man of considerable prominence, as James Logan attended his funeral. His son, Peter Chartier, came into possession of this property after his father's death. * * *

Martin Chartier was evidently buried with Indian rites. On the Stehman farm were uncovered in 1873, while digging a cabbage trench, portions of a skeleton, an iron helmet, a cutlass, some cannon balls, and other relics. Judge Landis writes:

> I doubt if another such grave could be found anywhere. As we know that Europeans do not bury their guns, nor did the Indians wear iron helmets, one can come to only one conclusion concerning this grave, and that is that this was a European, buried with Indian rites. As Martin Chartier was an Indian by marriage, this was probably his grave. The finding of these cannon balls reminds one of the reference which is made by Companius and also by the Jesuit that "the Susquehannocks used a cannon with which to defend their fort, and which they took with them when in battle." * * *
>
> About one mile down the river from Chartier's trading post Taylor's map marks a fort on where now the H. G. Witmer property is located. * * * Watson calls this site "Fort Demolished." * * * We know that this was the home of the Susquehannocks and the Senecas before they moved to the Indian town of Conestoga, and it is almost certain that it is the new fort which they were building in August, 1676, after their defeat by the Senecas, and after Edmond Andros had purchased this territory east of the Susquehanna from them for the Duke of York and courted their friendship.

Patterson, the other Indian trader, eventually settled on a farm of two hundred acres, near Washington borough and directly east of Peter Chartier's tract, which presumably was of like extent. Whether they were free grants is not clear. Patterson had a larger tract on the western bank of the Susquehanna, though he died in Conestoga Manor, in 1735. He did not take up his Conestoga Manor land until 1717, and may perhaps be looked upon as one of the first legitimate settlers in Manor township. Secretary James Logan was too much an official of the Provincial Government, and too obviously a speculator in land, to be classed as a settler. He owned large tracts in other parts of Lancaster county, and sold them in small parcels, as opportunity offered.

The Cartliges (or Cartlidge), two brothers, Edmund and John, who are stated to have owned land in Conestoga Manor before 1717, when Penn ordered it to be surveyed, come into the settler class, though they traded with the Indians. They were Quakers. Edmund was a justice of the peace for Chester county at one time. They settled on the west side of Conestoga creek near its mouth, a mile or two from the Conestoga Indian town. Several Indian conferences were held at his house. His brother John settled a few miles east of the Conestoga, it is said. Once, while trading in Maryland, they were attacked by a drunken Indian. They killed him in self-defence. They were imprisoned, but were soon released, the Indians themselves interceding for them. They returned to the Conestoga, and there remained for twenty years. James Logan eventually purchased two hundred acres of John Cartlige's tract of five hundred acres. This purchase was on November 18, 1734. Five years earlier, James Logan had paid £500 to Andrew Cornish and his wife Elizabeth for the three hundred acres of land at the mouth of the Little Conestoga creek.

Early Settlers—The Conestoga Manor was apparently to be owned by distinguished men. If William Penn had any intention of making it his place of residence, or perhaps his "country seat," he probably wished to have as neighbors men of his own social station. This may have been in his mind when he reserved for his own family an estate of three thousand acres, the section north of Turkey Hill, and granted fifteen hundred acres of the northeastern section to Andrew Hamilton, Esquire, of Philadelphia, then one of the most eminent lawyers of America. This tract Hamilton sold in 1739 to Michael Baughman, for £5,000.

The Germans came rapidly into the Conestoga country and eventually into Conestoga Manor, but the whole of the eastern part of the township was taken up before any of the western part was released. The settlers were mostly Mennonites, among the early families to settle being Herr, Baughman, Mayer, Shank, Killhaver, Funk, Kauffman, Hostetter, Oberholtzer, Ziegler, Witmer, Miller, Newcomer, Correll or Charles, and others. A few English families came in, the most prominent being the Wright family. It is recorded that the Wrights owned 1,500 acres, patent for which was granted to them on December 13, 1735.

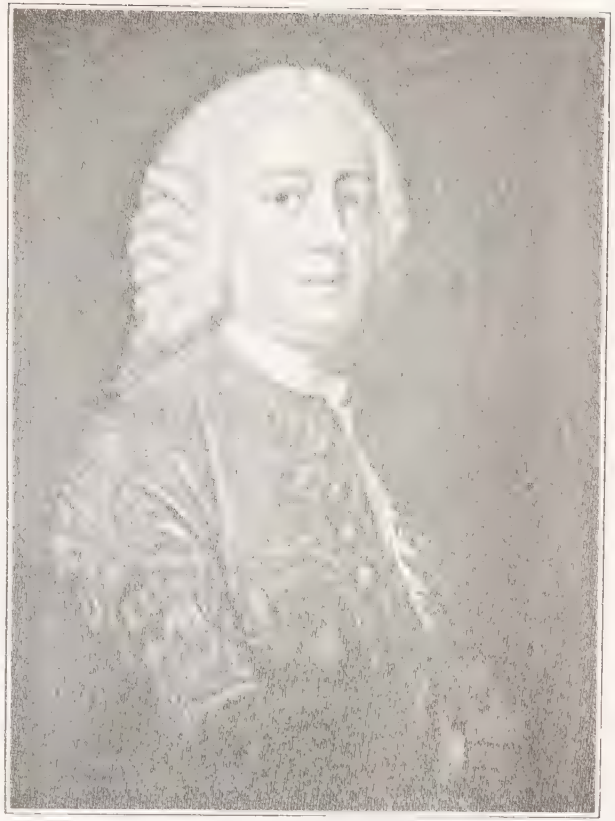
Rupp has the following "Note" as to Conestoga Manor:

> This survey (ordered in March, 1717) included rising of 16,000. It was afterwards sold in small tracts and patented. The following were the principal patentees: Israel Pemberton held 300 acres, date of his patent, October 1st, 1723. The Messers. Wright own 1500 acres—date of patent, December 13, 1735—sold afterwards in smaller parcels to John Herr, Andrew Stineman, Daniel Lintner, Jacob Kilhaver, Rudy Herr, Jacob Frantz, Godfrey Klugh, Mathew Oberholtzer, Rudy Herr, Jr., John Kilhaver, Christian Hershy, Andrew Kauffman—James Pattison, 107 acres, Nov. 21, 1734; James Logan, 700 acres, patent dated July 15, 1737, afterwards held by George Brenner, Phillip Brenner, Christian Stouffer, Casper Souter, Adam Fisher, Valentine, Rummel, Lawrence Cliffer, Christian Stake; Michael Baughman, 480; Michael Mayer, 131 acres, both same date, Feb. 20, 1738; Michael Mayer, sen., 217 acres, patent dated October 16, 1737; Abraham Steiner, 63 acres, May 3, 1740; John Wistler, 167 acres, July 3, 1741; Jacob Kuntz, 166, Anna Ottila Betty Koffer, 166; Jacob Hostetter, 475; John Shank, 197 acres, patent dated July 30, 1741; Edward Smout, 113 acres, June 21, 1743; Michael Baughman, 339, May 28, 1752; Abraham Hare, 424, April 22, 1751; Jacob Wistler, 125, Valentine Miller, 140, both May 25, 1756; Martin Funk, 237, December 18, 1758; Jacob Wistler, 202, Jacob Shuck, 185, Aug. 18, 1759; Abraham and John Miller, 89, Valentine Haith, 29, Robert Beatty, 226, Feb., 1760; Samuel Herr, 347, John Keagy, 188, Henry Funk, 150; Jacob Wistler, 173; Ludwich and Frederick Ziegler, 209, June, 1760; John Witmer, 77, Abraham Miller, 204, Rudolph Herr, 176, Jacob Witmer, 77, Nov., 1761; James McMaster, 247, April, 1761; John Keagy, 159, Henry Funk, 177, David Hare, 195, John Miller, 150, George Adam Dustler, 112, John Corroll, 209; Christian Stoner, 244, all dated 1761; Michael Kauffman, 161; John Kauffman, 118; Jacob Kauffman, 167; Christian Kauffman, 163; Michael Kauffman, 118, Abraham Steiner, 200, John Wormely, 115, Jacob Wistler, 19, John Kreemer, 184, Bartholomew Butt, 40, John Graff, 136, all dated 1762; Philip Ulweiler, 39, Benjamin Miller, 220, David Hare, Jr., 94, Peter Snyder, 86, Henry Atkinson and Adam Bigging, 49, Peter Witmer, 132, dated 1763; John Miller, 60, Jan. 19, 1764; John Newcomer, 109, Joseph Nelson, 109, Jacob Wisler, 178, Mary Wright, 119, dated 1767; John Kendrick, 558, James Pratt, 232, 1768; Henry Buckley, 150, 1769; William Wright, 257, 1770; Ulrich Rebur, 232, John Manning, 165, 1772; Jacob Ashleman, 340, 1774; Indian Town, 414; Blue Rock, 800 acres. We omitted fractions of acres.

It does not necessarily follow that the date of settlement is that shown above; as a matter of fact, the settlers in the majority of instances were upon the tract many years before they received patent. But from the above it is obvious that the greater part of Manor township was settled before the Revolution, and that there were not many large holdings. "The lands of the township continued to be divided among new purchasers. Farms were cultivated in every portion. Turkey Hill and the tract in the northwestern part began to be settled and grist mills and saw mills were erected in all parts. Land was then valued at from twenty-five to thirty dollars an acre; good horses were valued at ninety dollars, and cows at fifteen dollars. Timber was cut down and the ground rapidly cleared and converted into highly productive fields, and orchards were planted. The village of Millersville was laid out before the Revolution, and a tavern was erected on the site of the present 'Black Horse' in 1769 or 1770. The toil and industry of the Swiss and German settlers in Manor soon made that township the most highly productive agricultural district in the county. A Mennonite meeting house was early erected in the centre of the township, on the land later owned by C. B. Herr. The northern boundary of Manor was pushed about a mile and a half north of the original line." Such was the development in Manor township during the Provincial period.

It is of interest to compare the above list with the earliest assessment lists for that section of Chester county which now is Lancaster county. Gilbert Cope in 1876 found "in the dark recesses of the basement of the Chester county court house" the earliest assessment lists. They cover the period from 1718 to 1726; and while they do not include the names of all who were in the Conestoga country in 1718, they nevertheless make it possible to be sure that many of those who are named in the Rupp list above, as receiving land patents in the thirties and forties, and later, in the eighteenth century, were actually in the territory in 1718 or before. Eshleman gives a list of those settlers also whose names are not shown on the assessment lists but are of record as having been naturalized prior to 1718 and obviously were in the region. Taking the assessment list for the year 1718 for Conestoga township, which at that time embraced for taxation purposes all the land between the Octorara creek and the Susquehanna river in Lancaster county, those who were classed as "English Inhabitants" were Francis Worly, John Cartledge, James Hendricks, James Letort, James Patterson, William Sherrel, John Kendricks, Collum Macquair, Thomas Baldwin, Thomas Gale, Alexander Beuse, John McDaniel, Richard Carter, John Linvill, Robert Wilkins, John Farrer, John Grist, William Hughes, Peter Bezaillon, John Comb, Joseph Row, Andrew Mason, Joseph Hickman, Daniel Cookson, Thomas Clark, William Clark, Stephen Atkinson, Morgan Jones, Edmund Cartledge (collector). The trade of only two of these is shown, James Letort and Peter Bezaillon having the words "French trader" after their names. There were several others, however, in that list whose chief reason for being in the territory was that they traded with Indians for peltries. In the "Freeman" classification were John Harriss, David Priest, Robert Middleton, Richard Grice, Nathaniel Christopher, Thomas Perrin, Samuel Birchfield, William Ludford, Thomas Wilkins, James Davis, Evan Evans, Thomas Jones. Then follows a long list of "Dutch Inhabitants." They were:

Martin Kendig, Martin Milin, Christian Herr, John Herr, Wendall Bowman, Jacob Miller, Joseph Steman, Daniel Harmer, John Miller, John Funk, Henry Carpenter, Henry Haines, Christopher Franciscus, Peter Beller, Benedictus Venerick, Daniel Ferree, John Ferree, Philip Ferree, John Brubaker, Jr., Jacob Brubaker, Peter Swarr, Abraham Herr, Melchoir Erisman, Christian Hershey & Son, John Tomp, Henry Bear, Michael Bowman, Hance Burkholder, Hance Newcomer, Melchoir Brenneman, George Kendrick, John Natts, Jr., Michael Shank, Jr., Jahn Natts, Sr., Henry Funk, Benjamin Witmer, Isaac Lefevre, Richard Davis, John Milen, Thomas Falkner, Hans Haure, John Taylor, Martyn Baer, Immanuel Herr, Henry Kendig & Son, Jacob Moyer, Hans Shopf, Hans Keage, Jacob Grider, Jacob Hostetter, John Widmer, Andrew Kauffman, Isaac Kauffman, John Brubaker, Felix Landes, Jacob Kendrick, Jr., Jacob Landes, Jr., Martyn Boyer, Hance Boyer, John Bowman, Benedictus Brackbill, Christian



THOMAS PENN, PROPRIETOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

ROBERT FULTON

Inventor of Navigation by Steam. Born Lancaster County, November 14, 1765

Shank, Michael Shank, Sr., John Shank, Rudy Moyer, Hance Brand, Hans Groff, Sr., Hans Groff, Jr., Peter Yorte, Theadorus Eby, Hans Currick Moyer, Christian Schank, Jacob Landes, Hance Henry Neff, Michael Miller, Charles Christopher, Woolrich Howry, Isaac Frederick, Christian Stone, Hans Weaver, Woolrich Howell, Peter Laman, Stoffel Brenneman, Jacob Hoover, Jacob Kendrick, Isaac Lefever.

James Logan is listed among "Non-resident Lands upon the River Pequea," 1,000 acres being marked opposite his name.

Eshleman's list of those who were in the Conestoga country prior to 1718, who had complied with the Naturalization Act but whose names for some reason are not shown on the assessment list for 1718, adds the following names to the record:

Jacob Funk, Francis Neaff, Francis Neaff, Jr., John Burkholder, Jr., Abraham Burkholder, John Hess, John Frederick, Christian Breneman, Mart. Harnish, Jacob Buckwalter, Felix Landes, Jr., Adam Breneman, Michael Mayer, Peter Burgbalter, Jacob Nissley, Jacob Snavely, Jacob Good, John Woodslagle, Christian Sowers, Daniel Ashleman, Christian Peelman, John Henry Neaff, Jr., Jacob Biere, John Jacob Snavely, Woolrich Roat, Jacob Bochme, George Weaver, John Mire, Jacob Miller, Jr., Peter Aybe (Eaby) Christ Stoner, Adam Brandt, Fred Stay, John Swope, James Lerow, John Aybe, John Cauffman, Michael Deneder, Andrew Shultz, Jacob Howser, Christian Breneman, Emanuel Carpenter, Gabriel Carpenter, Daniel Herman, Christian Herman, Mathias Slaremaker, Big John Shank, Jacob Churts, Jacob Snavely, Jr., John Woolrich Hoover, John Croyder, John Leeschte, John Hanpher, Martin Graeff, Peter Smith, Peter Newcomer, Jacob Bare, Jr., John Henry Bare, Jacob Weaver, Henry Weaver, John Weaver, David Longanecker, Woolrich Howser, Henry Musselman, Martin Miller, Hans Good, Jacob Light, Casper Loughman, John Line, Bastion Royer, Simeon King, Everhard Ream.

This, of course, covers the whole of Lancaster county, but the names compared with those given on Rupp's list of landholders in Manor township will give the student some satisfaction in determining date of settlement. There is good reason to believe that some of the pioneers merely squatted in Conestoga Manor in the first instance.

Washington Borough—Washington borough was brought into establishment by means of a lottery drawing. It is a consolidation of two places founded in the same year by the same means, Charlestown and Washington. Charlestown will be referred to also under the heading of Blue Rock. As now constituted, Washington borough is a mile long north to south, and a quarter of a mile wide east to west, having a mile frontage on the Susquehanna river.

On June 1, 1810, Charles Smith Sewell and Ann Catharine, his wife, sold one hundred and ten acres of land to Jacob Dritt, of Windsor township, York county. The land had originally been part of the Chartier grant, which had been in the possession of Martin Chartier even before the surveying by Jacob Taylor in 1717-18. Peter Chartier succeeded his father in ownership, though possession was, it would seem, for some time doubtful, for it was within the 3,000-acre tract Penn had intended to reserve for his own family. The land was surveyed in 1737, and eventually part came into the possession of John Keagy, some of whose land passed to his son-in-law, Charles Smith Sewell, part of which the latter sold in 1810, as before stated, to Jacob Dritt, Esq. It was Dritt's intention to divide into lots and sell by lottery. It was not the first attempt Dritt had made to found a town in that spot. In 1807 he had laid out the town of Woodstock, on the site of the later Washington, and had advertised it as a "free port situated on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, near the Blue Rock, in Manor township, in Lancaster county," and had announced that three hundred lots, "exclusive of four appropriated for public worship by the Mennonite, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Moravian congregations, and one for a market-house," would be sold by lottery, the drawing to take place on March 14, 1807. The grand prize was to be $800, which he himself would pay to the holder of Lot No. 16, putting said lot to public use for landings." A bridge across the Susquehanna river had been projected, and there was also to be a ferry. But the Woodstock lottery seems to have been unsuccessful, and the newspaper of February, 1811, had another announcement by the same gentleman. It referred to a town "on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, near the Blue Rock, in Manor township, Lancaster Co.," one hundred and twenty-two lots of which were to be balloted for. The town had been laid out in January, 1811, and its name was to be Washington, but it was to all intents the same townsite as that which he had named Woodstock four years earlier. However, the drawing of Washington lots was duly held, and afterwards Mr. Dritt announced in the journals that he would meet the "adventurers" at the home of Mrs. Jefferies, in Columbia, on the 17th and 18th of May, 1811, to execute the land-titles. "All who resided in Lancaster or north of that place were privileged to call on Henry Carpenter, surveyor, for their titles after the above date." He seems to have been more successful in the second lottery. Four years later he made a will and appointed Jesse Roberts and Samuel Donham his administrators for the Washington lots. Dritt was drowned while crossing the Susquehanna in 1822.

The other part of Washington borough, Charlestown, or Blue Rock, has been referred to elsewhere, briefly. I. S. Clare wrote regarding this townsite promotion:

> The town of Charlestown, now constituting the upper ward of the borough of Washington, was laid out by Joseph Charles, Jan. 4, 1811. It contained sixteen acres, divided into forty-seven lots, sixty feet front, with a spring at the south side. This town was in Manor Township, seven hundred feet along the east bank of the Susquehanna River, three miles south of Columbia. The lots were laid out by Joseph Charles and were sixty by one hundred and eighty feet. the wedge-shaped tract of land to the north of Charlestown separating that village from Fairview, was owned by a man named Scott, who afterwards sold his land to the late Henry Ortman.
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> Joseph Charles had bought the lower part of the tract upon which Charlestown was built from John Stehman. He had bought the upper part from John B. Haldeman, of Donegal, who had married a daughter of Stehman. * * * That part of Charlestown north of Lancaster Street was laid out first. Joseph Charles advertised lots Jan. 4 and Aug. 16, 1811. The lots were drawn by lottery Sept. 8, 1811, and were assigned to lot-holders Sept. 27, 1811. On Oct. 6, 1811, one hundred and forty-three parchment deeds were ordered. Joseph Charles died in 1814. The bulk of Charles' lots were drawn by Chester County people—the Greenes, the Michenors, the Robertses, and the Mendenhalls.

There seemed to be a bright future ahead of both places, and for some years after their platting, and sale by lotteries, the local real estate market was particularly active. There was much genuine development, many good buildings being erected in the first decade; but speculation passed so far beyond reason that deals were made from $1,200 to $1,500 dollars a lot. The bubble burst in about 1820, and many were reduced to bankruptcy and ruin. The two villages were merged as the borough of Washington in 1827, the act being approved on April 13, but this did not improve matters appreciably. Its importance was lessening each year; and soon, when the railways began to compete very successfully with the waterways, the future of Washington looked darker. There had been quite a considerable business in the place in the days of rafting on the Susquehanna; but each year that industry was shrinking, for the settlers farther up the Susquehanna were passing out of the lumbering stage. Also the financial panics of 1837 and 1857 neutralized most of the efforts made to develop Washington in other directions. Business began to look better in Washington at about the time of the Civil War, and the best buildings have been erected since 1860, but the decline in recent decades has been steady. The population, in fact, is now not half what it was forty years ago. In 1880, Washington had more than nine hundred inhabitants; the 1920 census-taking credited the borough with only four hundred twenty-five residents.

In the rafting days there were twelve or fourteen hotels in the village, and in the spring of each year the river would be lined with rafts for miles, the raftsmen centering in Washington, as the principal town. Among Washington's leading business men of that time were Jesse Roberts, lumberman; John Herr, George Brush, Joseph Green, Rhinehart Michener, storekeepers. Later business leaders were William Ortman, Isaac Shultz and John Brush, tobacco growers and curers; Louis Urban, Washington Wrighter, Daniel Neff, House and Shuman, Joseph H. Shultz, lumber dealers; Levi Haverstick, saw and planing mill. Rafting as an industry had passed from the Susquehanna in about 1840, and Washington did not develop anything to adequately replace it. Tobacco-farming came to be an appreciable industry, and there was considerable fishing; and with the news of the coming of the railroad in the seventies, the borough again spurted forward. The Columbia and Port Deposit railroad, which runs through the town, along the river, was finished in 1876, and the borough reached its zenith of prosperity soon afterwards. In 1880 its population was nearing a thousand; it had two churches, three schools, two hotels, a post office, one edge-tool factory, two cigar factories, and most of the services one would look for in an enterprising, flourishing town. To-day it has dwindled to one-half its former importance. There are still two churches, but they are necessarily weaker than they were. There were at one time four congregations, the others being Evangelical and Presbyterian. The old Blue Presbyterian church was built in 1826 by Israel Cooper, but with the dwindling of the Presbyterian membership the Church of God Society rented the building. John Brush later used it as a tobacco house; he tore it down in 1861. The Evangelical congregation built a church in about 1838, which building also was in time acquired by John Brush, and used by him as a tobacco house. The existing churches are the Methodist Episcopal and the Church of God.

Millersville—The important village of Millersville—of sufficient importance to be accorded the dignity of borough status, one would think—was settled by the Mayer family probably before 1718, though the date of the patent granted to Michael Mayer is October 16, 1738. The reasons for so thinking have already been stated in this chapter. But while the Mayer family comes first into the Land Office records, and, in the absence of other evidence, will be credited as the first to settle upon land in the vicinity of Millersville, the place of honor as the founder of Millersville must be accorded to John Miller.

This has been made clear by documents discovered since the writing of the last general history of Lancaster county.

It appears that Millersville was established by means of a lottery scheme, in 1764. It was not altogether a discreditable beginning. Indeed, lotteries were favored in those days for the better consummation of most important projects. Churches, municipalities, States, even great Nations, put forward lotteries as a means of procuring the money with which to accomplish certain designs. Scores of public lottery drawings were authorized in the early days for the needs of this county. Lotteries helped to fill the war-chest of the Patriots during the struggle for independence, so that Millersville can hardly be looked upon as having been founded by illegitimate means. The particular circumstances as to the beginning of Millersville and the finding of the documents referred to, were stated by S. M. Sener, Esq., in a paper read by him in 1899 before the Lancaster County Historical Society. The paper may be given almost in full here. It reads:

> A few years since, when workmen were building the new store of Steinman & Co., on West King Street (Lancaster), while engaged in cleaning up the loft of the old building, there was found an account book of John Miller, the founder of Millersville. How the book got there no one knows, but it and some other documents were contained in a small chest, or wooden receptacle, along with which there was a piece of paper inscribed: "Keep this chest till I come for it." The book is a large folio of about 300 pages, bound in leather, and gives by items the various debts due to and by Miller, and the amounts were recorded in pounds, shillings and pence. It is written in German, and the accounts in it run back to 1745. Among the names of those who dealt with Miller are found John Ross, Jacob Eicholtz, David Trissler, Abram Haire (Herr), Mathias Slough, John Albright, Martin Funk, Christian Musselman, Peter Ashleman (Eshleman), Christian Herr, Roger Connor, Joseph Simon, and hundreds of others all familiar in this locality.
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> From the old accounts some idea may be gleaned as to the relatives of John Miller, as items are charged against "Jacob Miller, my brother;" "Matthias Miller, my brother;" "Peter Miller, deceased brother;" "Henry Miller, John Miller, of York County, Mary Miller, William Miller, John Miller, son of Jacob, and George Miller, cooper." The account book shows that John Miller was a blacksmith, as the various items charged were for work done and material used by such a mechanic. It also shows that in 1763, he and Jacob Miller, his brother, and Simon Mordecai must have engaged in the distilling business, as there is an account showing that each of them was charged with £124 "on account of the distilling business."
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> Along with the account book were a number of agreements entered into between John Miller and various parties, showing that Millersville was founded by way of a lottery and ground-rent scheme. On October 16, 1738, Michael Mayer took out a patent for 217 acres, the boundaries of which formed a parallelogram, the tract being located in Conestoga Manor. It had been surveyed in May, 1737, and the original patent was given by Thomas Penn, Esq. Michael Mayer and his wife, Elizabeth, conveyed the tract to their son, Michael Mayer, on June 2, 1745, and on May 8, 1749, Michael Mayer, Jr., sold the tract to John Miller, blacksmith, of Lancaster, for £60 (Ellis and Evans state the sum as six hundred pounds). On June 4, 1761, John Miller received a patent for 150 acres adjoining the above tract, and also a patent for an additional 60 acres on January 19, 1764. On March 29, 1764, he purchased 8¾ acres from John Correll, and these tracts contained in all about 460 acres. He sold 103 acres to Isaac Kauffman. In 1764 he laid out a town called Millersburg, in five-acre lots, subject to an annual quit-rent of three shillings. The town contained in all 300 acres, and the agreements entered into with purchasers set forth that: "Whereas, the above-bounden John Miller hath laid out 300 Acres of Land in Lots or Pieces, of 5 acres in each Lot, to be disposed of, or Sold in Fee, at the Rate of Ten pounds per Acre Purchase-money; and reserving an annual Rent of Three shillings, Sterling money of Great-Britain, or the Value thereof in Coin current, on each Acre, at the Rate of Sixty-five per cent, payable to the said John Miller, his Heirs or Assigns, yearly forever, which said five Acre Lots of ground are to be drawn for by Ballot."
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> The agreements further set forth that in case a purchaser should draw by ballot the "Lot whereon is erected the Big Brick House," he was to pay to John Miller an additional sum of £50 over and above the £10 purchase money; and if the purchaser should draw the "Lot whereon the Still House is erected he shall pay the sum of £15 over and above the £10 purchase money."

The agreements show that among the purchasers were Abraham Woleslagel, George Moore, Michael Cryder, Michael Gross, Michael Bartius, Barnard Hubley, John Wright, Peter Kegy, George Ross, and others too numerous to mention.

The founding of Millersville no doubt involved John Miller in debt, as in 1765 we find him confessing judgments, as follows: To Samuel Miles, £65; Jacob Rupley, assignee, £146; the same, £41; Michael Gross, £800; Anna Marbourg, £40; Michael Gross, £220; James Ralf, £708; George Graeff, £1,000; Michael Cryder, £600; George Craig, £30; Jacob Immell, £200; George Graeff, £500. Total £4,350.

Finally, on February 9, 1767, a warrant was issued for his arrest for debt, and his appearance at a Court to be held in May following, at the instance of Jacob Witmer, to whom he was indebted £22.

One of the account papers shows that some of the children of John Miller were Jacob, John, Henry, and Matthias. Another document shows that Sarah Brownfield was indentured to John Miller as a servant girl on August 2, 1765, for a period of six months, in consideration of the sum of £2 paid for him to Matthias Bough, keeper of the jail.

After founding Millersville and being arrested for debt, John Miller came to Lancaster again to live, and is said to have built the house on South Queen Street, at the corner of Mifflin Street, which afterwards was known as the Yeates Mansion. He was a very progressive man for the time in which he lived, but plunging too deeply into building and other ventures he failed. He is said to be buried in Bethany Lutheran Graveyard, Millersville. There is no tombstone to mark his grave. The grave is said to have been located in a corner of the graveyard, which has since been cut off from the same. The bricks used in constructing Miller's homestead were larger than those of ordinary use, and were evidently imported brick, similar to those in the Hand Mansion at "Rockford." Mr. Abraham Frantz's house in Millersville is constructed from some of the brick and also some of the woodwork taken from the Miller House.

A very interesting reminiscence is related by a descendant of John Miller, which had been told to her in 1885 by her grandmother, who was then in her ninetieth year. It is to the effect that John Miller was married when he came to America and among his children was Jacob, then a lad of nine years of age. They drove from Philadelphia to Lancaster, fording the Conestoga, and on its banks John Miller left his family and goods, and taking Jacob, who was his eldest son, along, he started westward to find a suitable spot for a settler's home. When he came in 1749 to what is now Millersville, he found a gently rolling land, and fine straight trees, and said to his son: "Here we will make our home; these are the largest trees we have yet seen and the soil is good, else the trees would not make such a good growth." John Miller left his son there while he went back to the Conestoga for the remainder of his family; but unfortunately he lost his way, and did not reach them until night. In the morning the family started out with forebodings as to the fate of the nine-year-old Jacob, but they found him safe and well. The boy said that when darkness came on and his father did not return, he climbed into a tree, and, wrapping a blanket around himself, he tied himself fast to the tree and there spent the night. He said that some wild animals were snarling and fighting around him in the woods during the night, but they did not disturb him.

Grants of the land were obtained as above stated by John Miller. The Indians in 1749 were kind and generous to Miller's family. If Miller killed a pig or a calf, he would give his Indian neighbor a portion, and in return the Indian brought him some wild game. In no instance were the relations of Miller and his family with the Indians other than pleasant.

From this brief sketch it is seen that John Miller was the founder of a town which has been known as Millersburg, Millerstown, and since about 1855 as Millersville. The original price of all the lots in Millersville was £56, but in 1774 the price had advanced to £140, as shown by a deed of conveyance from Henry Korbman to Paul Houseman. The town evidently did not increase rapidly in population, as in 1795 it contained but fifteen houses, while in 1824, sixty years after its founding, the number of houses scarcely exceeded a score.

After the death of John Miller, his son Jacob, above mentioned, seems to have carried on a similar lottery scheme whereby to dispose of some lots of ground in Lancaster Borough.

Indeed, lotteries were not then "unorthodox;" other Lancaster county places in which lotteries had part in their early development include Marietta, Washington, New Holland, Intercourse, Warwick and some others.

Millersville had a tavern as early as 1764, it is stated. It was kept by Hausman, and stood upon the site where in 1825 Abraham Peters built the "Black Horse." There was a store in the hamlet in 1769 or 1770, it is said, but the first of which there is clear record is that established by Philip Shissler in about 1789. John Lintner added to the boundaries of Millersburg, or Millerstown, in 1810. It was known as Lintner's Division, and embraced that part of the village on the road from the "Black Horse" Inn to Lancaster. It was made a post-town as early as 1820, Abraham Peters being the first postmaster. The place took the name of Millersville in about 1855, at which time the normal school project was begun. Up to that time the village had not appreciably grown, but with the very notable expansion in academic activities the village was carried forward to important place among the communities of Lancaster county. Long since it has been sufficiently large to have claimed a borough charter, and there are many boroughs with less inhabitants. For instance, Millersville is about four times as large as Washington borough. The population of Millersville in 1880 was about twelve hundred; the 1920 census does not report Millersville separately from Manor township, but the place has at least 1,400 inhabitants.

The Millersville State Normal School is very properly one of the principal normal schools in the State of Pennsylvania. It was the first to be established; was opened, indeed, two years before the normal school law was passed, and its total enrollment must now have reached if not passed the 50,000 mark. The history of this renowned institution will be found adequately reviewed in another part of this work.

Millersville is a banking town, the Millersville National Bank having a good record of growth. It is served by two electric railways, the Conestoga Traction Company and the Lancaster & York Furnace Street Railway Company, and its business includes some tobacco factories, a garment factory, three groceries, a drug store, two general stores, two hardware stores, four automobile garages for public use, and several other establishments. The Manor Turnpike Company was chartered in 1839. It originally was owned almost exclusively by wealthy farmers of Manor township, and after the main turnpike had been operating for some time, it was extended to Safe Harbor. The part beyond Millersville, however, was not kept in good order, and the turnpike for fifty years or more has really ended a little to the westward of the normal school at Millersville. The Millersville and Lancaster turnpike is the route of the street railway, which was constructed from Lancaster to Millersville in 1874 at a cost of $40,000. In 1877 the line was extended to the western end of Millersville, which is a straggling village, two miles long. The public school history of Millersville will be reviewed elsewhere, and it need only be stated here that in the matter of public schools the village has been satisfactorily served, though they have, of course, been somewhat obscured by the greater school within the village bounds.

Union Hall was erected in 1861, by Christian Herr, and acquired ten years later by Jacob Pickel. Its history embraces several decades of good use for public meetings, and fraternal exercises. The three hotels Millersville has known, include the "Black Horse," and that in Lintner's Division, for many years owned by Christian Herr.

Millersville has six strong churches—the Mennonite, the Reformed, the St. Paul's and Bethany Lutheran, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Union Evangelical. The Mennonite congregation is the largest. The old Mennonite organizations in Manor township were active from the first decades of settlement, but the first church edifice to be built in Millersville limits was erected in 1843, for the joint use of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations, who long prior to that year had had active societies in the village. The Union church stood about half-way between the site of the Normal School and the Black Horse Hotel. The building was of brick, and was demolished in 1871, when both congregations erected separate churches. Part of the Lutheran congregation separated from the original body and built a one-story brick church in the lower end of the village, about four hundred yards west of the Normal School, in 1876. The first church was served by ministers from other places for many years, among them the Revs. Fritchey and Boyer. Early resident pastors were Revs. Reed and Markley. The younger church had as early pastors, Revs. Pore and Eckert. Both St. Paul's and Bethany have strong Sunday schools, having about two hundred scholars. The Reformed church, built on Main street in 1871, was situated between the Black Horse Inn and the Normal School. It had a lofty spire, as indeed had the Lutheran church built nearby. Early pastors of the Reformed church were Revs. Steckel, Shenkle, and Moore. The enrollment of the Reformed Sunday school exceeds two hundred members. The Evangelical Church Society built a brick meeting house on the main street, about half a mile west of the Normal School, in 1852, on the turnpike leading to Safe Harbor. The building was enlarged in 1866, and at that time a steeple and bell were added. Early pastors were Revs. Litzenberger, Harper, Baker, Disinger, Chubb, Zern, Shoemaker, Stirk, Specht, Weidler, Laros, DeLong, Hershey and Hoover. It is a flourishing church, with a vigorous Sunday school, the latter having a membership of about two hundred and fifty scholars. The Creswell United Evangelical Church was organized at about the same time as the Millersville congregation, and its church was built at about the same time. It was served originally by the Millersville pastors. The Evangelical congregation at Pittsburg was at first a part of the Creswell society. The division was made in about 1870, when the Pittsburg members erected a stone church. There is only the United Evangelical congregation at Millersville, but at Creswell there are two Evangelical societies, the Evangelical Association, and the United Evangelical.

Safe Harbor—(See also Safe Harbor, Conestoga township). This is a village of about five hundred inhabitants, and is not as safe as its name seems to assert, for it was almost swept away in 1904. The place was settled more than a century ago, and even a disaster which well-nigh obliterated it could not quite close its career. It has recovered from the frigid experience of March, 1904.

Israel Nestleroad, a tavern-keeper in Manor, at the mouth of the Conestoga, secured a patent for Sandy Island in 1811, and in the next year sold it to Martin Stouffer, John Stouffer, John Sourbeer and Christian Kneisly. The village of Millport, which later took the name of Safe Harbor, was platted in 1811 on the right bank of Conestoga creek, at its mouth, and the lot-holders in 1815 were Philip Brenner, William Bushrun, John Bean, Adam Fogle, storekeeper; John Funk, Sophia Wright, Jacob Guck, cooper; Henry Hoffman, Henry Klein, Samuel Kimmens, Daniel Kendig, John Kendig and Catherine Logan. The town was laid out by Jacob Miller and his mother, the widow of John Miller, who established Millersville by means of a lottery; and this may have been another of the townsite-exploitation-by-ballot schemes of the Millers. At all events, quite a number of people were attracted by the proposition, some of the earliest lot-holders being Israel Nestleroad, Jacob Logan, Christian Kneisly, Christian Otto and John Umbach, Philip Urban, and the Strasburg Company, of which Mike Withers was a large stockholder. The Manor side of Safe Harbor did not, however, sell as quickly. There were at least two inns at Safe Harbor in its first years, Urban's and Kneisly's. In course of time the ironworks on the Conestoga side tended to add to the importance and business of Safe Harbor, but that connection passed its zenith during the Civil War. Still, the Columbia & Port Deposit railroad passing through the lower end of Safe Harbor kept the residents optimistic.

The village went along without unusual or extraordinary happenings until March 8, 1904, when an ice gorge almost destroyed the place. A severe winter and rapid thaw had so choked the rivers with ice that a terribly destructive force rolled irresistibly up the Conestoga when the ice and water from the Turkey Hill gorge came down. It spread destruction over a wide area. The original wooden trestle bridge over the Conestoga had been replaced by a railway bridge of massive stone construction, "designed to resist any gorge the Susquehanna might generate," but "it crumbled like dust" before the rush of ice and only a portion of one of the piers remained upright. The ice piled up over the whole of the flats, and did much damage to Safe Harbor houses. Flood and pressure of ice threatened to carry away many that stood far back from the river. Some of the houses were almost hidden by the ice-jam. The dwelling house of Benjamin L. Lawyer was carried off its foundations for about ten feet, the owner almost losing his life in trying to reach the second story and the roof. The home of William R. Rile became a total wreck; the brick building occupied as a general store by John D. Tripple crumbled; a stone dwelling house owned by the Shober Estate had its front walls crushed in; the water reached to between three and four feet on the second floor of the Exchange Hotel, and Landlord Herr "figured in a daring rescue of his son, John and Reuben Brady," who were in danger of being carried off by the icy flood. On the Manor side, twenty or more dwellings suffered damage, and the county bridge was wrecked. The damage caused by the freshet was almost incredible; and even two weeks later the landscape far beyond the banks of the river seemed to be nothing but broken ice. At that time, stated the local paper: "Except for the hundreds of sightseers who visit the place, Safe Harbor to-day is a prototype of Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village.'" But when the ice disappeared, the inhabitants again took possession, and in time made good the loss. Safe Harbor is still a place of about five hundred inhabitants, has some factories, a church, school, two hotels, and other establishments.

Other Places—Blue Rock, south of Washington, in Manor township, was platted in 1811 by Joseph Charles. It was at first named Charlestown, and consisted of two hundred lots, sixteen acres in all, extending on the Susquehanna seven hundred feet, in Manor township. It was well planned, and the landing "was considered the best ever offered for sale in Lancaster county, being nearer Lancaster than any other shore on the river, and fifteen miles from Strasburg." The advantages were probably optimistically presented in the lottery announcement, for this was another town-founding by lottery. The land was on the Blue Rock farm, and the holder of ticket for "Lot 24 was entitled to a new two-story dwelling house * * * worth $7,000; Lot No.

25 to an ice house; No. 28 to a large new barn, valued at $3,000; No. 16 to a log dwelling. Lots were drawn by lottery, $330 being paid for each lot, $130 cash, when a deed would be made out." Joshua Scott made a plan and wrote the deeds. Joseph Charles, however, died in 1814, before sales were effected. Included in the assets of the new community was a charter for a bridge across the Susquehanna from Blue Rock (or Charlestown), in Lancaster county, to Pleasant Garden, York county. The act was passed on April 11, 1793, but the bridge was never built. The lot-holders were William Lewis, James Redman, John Kauffman, Francis Gordon, John Getz, Abraham Bitner, Joseph Kinch, Peter Protzman, George Beitz, George Beitz, Jr., and Peter Bachman. The Blue Rock farm later passed into the possession of the Shultz family, and Charlestown was merged with Washington.

It may be supposed that Fairview also was a lottery promotion, for it was laid in the very same year, 1811. It was located on the other side of Washington borough, just north of it and about two miles south of Columbia. There were forty-one building lots on fifteen and one-half acres of riverfront land. Innkeeper Stahl was the promoter. The place was called Shultztown; and in the early days of the use by whites of the Susquehanna river it had some possibilities. During the rafting season, it was a busy place, having three taverns. Stahl's tavern was "quite a famous place." It is still a place of some business, a lumber yard and a saw mill being for many years operated by Levi Haverstick.

Highville, on Turkey Hill, about one mile north of Safe Harbor, is a place of about one hundred fifty inhabitants; has a store and church and school. The church, which belongs to the United Brethren in Christ, was built about fifty years ago, of brick. It and Stehman's Memorial, which was erected about 1857 in the Stehman district, constitute what is known as the Manor Charge, the present minister being W. G. Hess. He also has charge of the Green Hill United Brethren Church, in Conestoga township. Pittsburgh is a small village on the lower end of Turkey Hill, about a mile distant from Safe Harbor. It has a school house and an Evangelical church; the latter has been already mentioned. Masonville is about three miles west of Millersville, and is a Mennonite centre, the old Mennonite church of stone at that point having been built much more than a century ago. The old Mennonite congregation in the Masonville district is a large one, and the Sunday school has an enrollment of about two hundred. Creswell was a post-town quite early; it is a place of about two hundred fifty population, and received its name at about the time it was made a post office, that being the name of the Postmaster-General in the early part of President Grant's administration. Creswell has two Evangelical churches, as has already been noticed. Highville was founded, as Newmarket, in 1816, by William Green, of Columbia. Habecker's Mennonite church is one of the old Mennonite meeting houses; the new Mennonite meeting house is about half a mile south of Millersville. Two miles to the westward from Millersville, the Dunkards in 1876 erected a meeting house of brick. And there is the Central Manor Church of God.

Among the prominent men of Manor township who have held public office as justice of peace since the adoption of the State Constitution of 1838 were: Rudolph Wissler and John Shissler, elected in 1840; John Wright and John Shissler, 1845; George Hawthorne, 1850; Charles Denues, 1857; A. R. Witmer, 1862; Tobias Kauffman, 1866. Early State Representatives included Jacob Kimmel, 1803; Jacob B. Shuman, 1845; Abram Peters, 1861; Charles Denues, 1864. Shuman was also State Senator. Abraham Peters was also very prominent in educational matters.

The population of Manor township is quite large, as township divisions in Lancaster county go; in fact, it leads all the townships. Millersville district in 1880 had 2,043 inhabitants of the total count of 5,053 for the township. The township in 1920 was credited with 4,658 inhabitants, of which Millersville had probably 1,400. To the Manor township figure must be added the 425 residents within Washington borough, separately tabulated.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORIGINAL SADSBURY TOWNSHIP

Sadsbury township is claimed to have been the first settled and the earliest organized township in Lancaster county. This claim is based upon the belief that John Kennerly was resident within the territory in 1691. Quite possibly he was, but, even so, the counter-assertion that the Mennonites were the first to settle in Lancaster county is hardly weakened.

The "William Penn Deed," which gave John Kennerly right to three hundred and seventy-five acres of land situated in that portion of the "Chester Valley" which runs through Lancaster county, was vised by the Hon. W. U. Hensel in 1896. The full text of the deed for the land which comprised the tract upon which Ambrose Pownall resided, "east of Nobleville, in the township of Sadsbury," in 1896, begins:

> This indenture withnesseth yt William Penn of Horminghurst in the county of Sussex, Elgd., for & in consideration of Twelve pounds four shillings to him in hand paid Hath by these presents granted Three Hundred Seventy-five acres of Land Cleare of Indian incombranches in the Province of Pennsylvania (towards the Susquehanna River) to John Kennerley of Shavingta, County Chester, cheese factor his heirs and assignees & him there of enfeoffed every acre to be computed according to the statute of ye thirty-third of King Edward the First to have and to hold to him his heires and assigns for ever together with all & every the Lands Isles Islands Mynes Mineralls (Royall one Excepted) woods fishings hawkings fowlings & all other Royalltyes profits comodityes & hereditaments insoever unto the same—belonging Yielding & paying therefore yearly and every year unto the sd William Penn his heirs and assignes imediatly from and after the expiration of the first five years next after the day of the date hereof the Rent of one shilling for every hundred acres NEVERTHELESS the sd William Penn for himself his heirs & assignes dote agree to & with the said John Kennerley his heirs and assignes yt ye sd three hundred seventy five acres is only to becum due & payable imediatly from & after the taking up & seating of ye sd lands & not before & proporeanably for ye sd rate for every Quantity there of yt shall be taken up & seated & not otherwise, & the said William Penn hath made Thomas Loyd Robert Turner Willm Markeham Arthur Cooke John Goodson Samuel Jenings Samuel Carpenter or any three of them to Deliver Seven thereof accordingly in Witness whereof the sd Willm Penn hath here unto sett his hand & seale this Sixteenth Day of ye fifth Month called July In ye year of our Lord One thousand six hundred Ninety one.
>
> WM. PENN (Seal).
>
> Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us
>
> SUSANNA MORRY
> Wm. Penn to John Kennerley. JEAN + JEND
> her mark.

This is all the evidence that can be found to support the assertion that a lone Quaker drifted over the border-line into what is now Lancaster county, and settled within a mile of Christiana, in Sadsbury township, in 1691.

However, there were many transactions in land within Sadsbury township earlier than the date of the warranting of land in the Pequea Valley to the leaders of the first Mennonite emigrants. William Penn himself chose a tract in the original Sadsbury in 1700; it is still known as the "William Penn Tract," and is one thousand acres in extent, situated directly south from the Gap, and embracing the old Shawnee Village. At about the same time, others of his retinue selected tracts for themselves in that region, mostly in Sadsbury township. "His surveyor, Isaac Taylor, located a tract near Nobleville, and William Clayton, an ex-member of Penn's Council of State, took up another tract adjoining the old Sadsbury meeting-house property of later date. Thomas Story, a member of Penn's Council, and James Logan, Secretary of the Province, also located large tracts in the Pequea valley, northward from the Gap." but those of the names that appear on the earliest tax-lists (1718) are in the "non-resident" classification; therefore it would seem that these early land dealings had speculative motive, rather than legitimate colonizing intent. The region was attractive both to William Penn and his officials, it would seem, because of the belief, or knowledge, that it had potentialities in mineral wealth. Possibly it was the only land open to settlement at the time of the warranting, in 1702, of the tract known as the "Servants' Tract," which was 1,050 acres in extent, and situated in the present Sadsbury township; in fact, the borough of Christiana stands upon part of it. The land was surveyed in 1709, but of the patronymics stated in the deed for the "servants' land," only two or three were represented in the Sadsbury of fifty years later; and these two or three names are such common ones that there is no reason to confidently suppose that those residents of 1756 were descendants of the Welsh servants who received grants fifty years earlier. The deed for the "servants' land" names John, Margaret, Daniel and Elinor Thomas, Anthony and Elizabeth Morgan, Evan and Margaret Williams, Abraham Jane Thomas and John Pratt, Edmund and Alice McVeigh, John Jones, Richard Kenthroll, John Floyd, Humphrey Edwards, Jeremiah Osburne, Elias Curne, Jacob Willis.

It is believed that all of these servants, upon release from service, returned to Philadelphia, perhaps to Britain. But whatever else they may have done, or wherever they may have gone, there is evidence that they jointly and severally deeded their tract of 1,050 acres "unto Philip Howell, formerly of Philadelphia, Taylor," on April 18, 1702, the deed reciting that the persons named above "having come over Servants into the said Province at the Settlement thereof & thereby having severally rights to fifty acres of land each in the Province, by virtue of the Proprietary's promise in England, Did, for the consideration of thirty-five pounds, fifteen shillings, grant release and confirm all the said land, amounting in the whole to one thousand and fifty acres, unto Phillip Howell, formerly of Philadelphia, Taylor," and so forth. It further appears that the said Phillip Howell was financially embarrassed in his last days. His widow Ann remarried, but was unable to clear the debt, and eventually the property was seized by the sheriff and sold in two parcels. John Moore bought 800 acres. Thomas Moore and his wife Mary, on July 7, 1727, sold the "Servants' Land" to John Fleming.

It is not generally supposed that the settlement of Sadsbury township began in the first decade of the eighteenth century; but one can hardly doubt that there were settlers in the Octorara valley in the second decade. On page

117 of Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844) is the following information:

> Joseph Cloud, in 1717, took up 500 acres near Pequea creek. The same year, settlements were begun on the banks of Octorara. William Grimson, constable of Sadsbury township, in 1717, was among the first settlers on the Octorara; his neighbors were the Cooksons, Mayes, Jervis, Irwins, and some years afterwards the Pattersons, Darbys, Mackrels, Leonards, Jones, Steels, Matthews, Cowens, Murrays, Millers, Allisons, Mitchels, and others, all of whom settled on or near Octorara.

Sadsbury was a township of Chester county, but other records seem to indicate that part may have been within the Pequea township which came into the assessment records in about 1720. The bounds of that township are not known, but are looked upon as including all that is west of the Octorara, in Lancaster county, up to about Conestoga township. Sadsbury township of Lancaster county of course came into existence in 1729, when the county was erected.

Division of Township—The original Sadsbury township of Lancaster county included the greater part of the Octorara valley; its boundaries, as they were settled and agreed upon by the magistrates and inhabitants of the said county on the 9th day of June, and confirmed by the Court of Quarter Sessions the first of August ensuing, 1729, were described as follows: "Beginning by the county line at the mountain which divides Octorara and Pequea, thence westerly along the said mountain to the northwest corner of John Keyl's land, thence by said land to the southwest corner, and thence south 200 perches, thence east to Octorara, thence up the said county line, and along the said line to said place of beginning." These boundaries included the whole of the territory now embraced in Bart and Eden townships. Bart township was erected in 1744, and Eden in 1855. The organization of Bart resulted from a petition circulated in 1743, and directly from the work of a commission consisting of Calvin Cooper, George Leonard, Sr., Samuel Ramsey, Robert Wilson, and James Miller, appointed by the court in November, 1743, to divide Sadsbury township. All the land in Sadsbury township west of what is now the eastern boundary of Bart township was included in the original Bart in 1744; and that division stood until 1855, when the court decreed that the land now in Eden township be set off from Bart for the purpose.

As to the origin of the names of the townships. Sadsbury is supposed by Dr. Dubbs to have taken that name after that of an obscure village in England, maybe in a spirit of irony prompted by the action of the neighboring township, Salisbury, in borrowing the prestige of the great cathedral city of the latter name in England. The more probable explanation, if the small village of Sadsbury be the derivative, is to be found in the humility of the Quaker settlers. Bart township is stated to have been so named in honor of Sir William Keith, who was an English baronet, the abbreviation of which is "Bart." There is not good basis for such a belief unless it be in the fact that twenty-five years before Bart township was organized, Sir William Keith, in his authority as Governor of the Province, drove away from the Gap Ridge, in Bart township, some adventurers from Maryland who had discovered copper and were preparing to exploit their discovery. But Sir Wiliam Keith was not one of the Penn syndicate eventually organized to exploit those mineral deposits, and he had no landed interests in the region, so there seems only a faint reason to believe that he was in the minds of the organizers when they gave the name "Bart" to the territory. Dr. Dubbs put forward the suggestion that the derivative was Jean Bart, a fisherboy who became a famous French admiral, and who had successfully "contended with the proudest aristocracy in the world." But he died thirty-two years before Bart township was organized, and the settlers of British origin were not at that time so belligerently opposed to English royalty as they later became. So there does not seem any good reason to connect the French admiral, Jean Bart, with Bart township. Also there does not seem to be as much excuse for naming Bart township after a Nova Scotian village of that name as after the Bartley family, which actually was resident in Bart township at about that time. The derivation of the name of Eden township is more satisfactorily traced. It appears to have been named after the Mount Eden furnace, which had entered somewhat importantly into the industrial importance of the region a decade or so earlier. It seems, however, that George W. Hensel, who was one of the most influential residents, sought to have the new township named "Ashland," that being the name of the residence of Henry Clay, the great statesman. Again, one might with reason suppose that the unusual name of a bordering township, Paradise, might have brought like assertive thoughts to the namers of Eden, for, undoubtedly, the valley of the Octorara has entrancing natural beauty. Hon. W. U. Hensel, in a monograph on "Gentle Jimmy Brown, the Bashful Bard of Bart," selects one of his (James Scott Brown's) poems to convey an idea of the beauties of the Octorara. He writes: "* * * who that has gone down the Octorara in the early spring will deny descriptive power and genius scarcely inferior to that displayed by Sir Walter Scott's word-painting of the Trossachs, to the obscure local author who penned these lines:"

The maple, ensign of the Spring, unfurls
A crimson banner where the water purls:
She crowns the dogwood in bright-spotted snow,
While starred with violets gleams the ground below.
Young, lustrous green the woods around assume,
Which deepens still—a dark delicious gloom,
The tulip-tree, her cups with honey stored,
Invites the bee to her ambrosial board.
Incense, from forest temples, pure to God,
Magnolia's flowery censers breathe abroad.
Where chiming waters lonely sing unseen,
From rock to rock, the laurel, ever green,
Throws o'er the vast undesecrated aisles
Of sanctuary hills, her blossomy smiles.
Pure worshippers, in those green avenues
Of the cathedral wood, are flowers whose hues
Are altar flames, their fragrant incense given,
A silent offering, undefiled, to Heaven:
They in this Minster stand as they have stood
The priests and prophets of the templed wood.
The primrose and the daisy deck the walk;
The blue bells hang back on their pillared stalk;
The mosses gray, from trees and rocks depend;
And o'er the streams the azure lilies bend.
The flamy phlox afar in scarlet glows;
The meadow-pink unfolds, the wind-flower blows;
And numerous shrubs, which scarce possess a name,
On their hill-shrines, enkindle odorous flame.
The humming bird in green and crimson vest,
On buzzing wings, works at her mossy nest;
Then o'er the expanse of grass, from that to this,
She gives each blushing flower a flying kiss.

Briefly, the watercourses within the three townships that formed the original Sadsbury are tributaries of the eastern and western branches of the Octorara creek. They are named later in this chapter. And in the western part of Eden township is Beaver creek.

Sadsbury township has the distinction of being one of the regions in which William Penn planned to establish a manor. That portion of Sadsbury lying south from Gap Ridge was called Penn's Manor of Springtown. The original settlers in the Octorara region were Quakers and Presbyterians. The early families of Sadsbury include the Cooper, Moore, Pownall, Williams, Longhead, Sproul, Irvin, Heard, Morgan, Slokom, Kennard, Brinton, Walker, Musgrave, Rockey, Townsend, Thompson, Whiston, McGowan, Reid, Ashleman, Shannon, Gray, Tate, Work, Anderson, Bailey, O'Connell, Smith, Thompson, Noble, Haladay, Pebels, Jones, Duncan, McCumsey, Kish, Giley, Gay, Cotter, Hall, Brown, Webster, Farr, Cumins, Garner, Welch, Bealy, Carr, Long, Hope, Hery, Chamberlain, Wilson, Arnen, Worley, Gaston, Carne, Wogan, Martin, Lealor, Tweed, Patterson, Ross, Hathorne, Adams, Parks, and some others. In 1758 Calvin Brown was listed as a weaver, Calvin Cooper as a fuller, Jonas Chamberlain as tanner, Joseph Cutter as cordwainer, Joseph Ellet as miller, William Farr as carpenter, Solomon Ferree as innkeeper, Robert Gaston as cooper, John Gilland as weaver, Samuel Hall as chairmaker, James Moore as miller, John Murray as currier. In 1779 Nathan Cooper is described as a wagonmaker, John Largen as weaver, James Rea as reedmaker, and Thomas Steal as mason.

Early settlers in Bart township included the families of Andrews, Brown, Breadley, Baughman, Brison, Bartley, Bayor (Beyer), Coulter, Cunkle, Carr, Cammell, Casey, Coulter, Common, Downing, Dunlap, Denny, Denen, Duncan, Eaken, Henning, Feling, Gray, Hannah, Heckman, Heidelbaugh, Henry, Hickman, Harvey, Huston, Holmes, Ivers, Jenkins, Kyle, Cannon (Kanan), Kennedy (Kanady), Leonard, Laskey, Losey, McClure, McDowell, McCarter, McWilliams, Myer (Mire), Moore, Mays, Miller, McBride, Morrow, McCowan, McCherry, Neaff, Noble, O'Neil, Paxton, Ramsey, Reed (Reid), Richardson, Russell, Rockey, Shearer, Sides, Shurtes, Smith, Stuart, Shannon, Scott, Trout, Templeton. These were in Bart township in or before the fifties of the eighteenth century, as shown by tax lists. Some other early families were Snodgrass, Warfel, Walker, Waltz, Waggoner, White, Wilson, Young, File, Money, Tatta, Slaymaker, Eckman, Kern, Works, Laughlin, Barclay, Cunningham, Bailey. William Downing erected a grist-mill near Green Tree Inn in 1747; Felix Baughman was the original patentee of 600 acres at Georgetown, and built a mill near that place in 1765; Andrew Work was county commissioner in 1744; William McClure lived near Green Tree Inn in 1750, the first patentee of the land in that vicinity being George Leonard, who secured title to 104 acres in 1739. Early settlers in Eden township include the Kenn family, Henry, Barr, Risk, Eckman, Bushong, Gilbert, Breneman.

Township Development—Solomon Ferree was one of the first tavern-keepers in Sadsbury of whom there is record. The Green Tree Inn in Bart township has an interesting history. It was perhaps at one time owned by James Fulton, father of the famous Robert. It is not known who built the inn, or when. The first owner of the 104 acres which was its site, and adjoining land, was George Leonard. He sold in 1742 to James McConnell. Part of the tract was sold by John McCarter to James Parry, who in 1763 sold to

Thomas and William Smith. They had been interested in the Martic furnace, and may have been the builders of the Green Tree Inn; at all events, they laid out a town at that point, naming it Smithburg. The townsite embraced nineteen acres, and was sold very soon after platting to James Fulton, who was Mr. Smith's son-in-law. Mr. Fulton in 1764 sold to Robert Thompson, a storekeeper, and the place then became Thompsontown. It did not develop much, and cannot now be traced, with the exception of the inn. Georgetown, in Bart township, had as many as three inns and only six other dwelling-houses a century ago. At that time, or earlier, a tavern was kept near Camargo, in Eden township, probably by James McCall. It ceased to be a public-house in about 1859. Jacob Hawks was innkeeper at Hawksville for many years; the inn was closed in 1861. Patrick Ferry erected a tavern on the top of a ridge one and a half miles east from Quarryville. The place became known as "Dry Wells," because of the fact that several wells were sunk before water was found. Patrick Ferry was the innkeeper during his lifetime; his widow married Samuel Sharp, who was afterwards innkeeper. The tavern was burned in 1844.

Boroughs—Christiana, in Sadsbury township, is the principal place in the Octorara valley. It is at the junction of the Octorara and Pine creeks, and the greater part of the townsite is on land granted to or claimed by servants in 1702-03. The land surveyed in 1709, to comprise the "servants' tract," was 1,050 acres in extent, and the title-deed stated that: "Whereas John Thomas, Margaret Thomas, Anthony Morgan, Elizabeth Morgan, John Jones, Richard Kanthroll, Daniel Thomas, Elinor Thomas, John Floyd, Humphrey Edwards, Jeremiah Osburne, Elias Curne, Jacob Willis, Evan Williams, Margaret Williams, Edmund McVeigh, Alice McVeigh, Abraham Pratt, Jane Pratt, Thomas Pratt, and John Pratt, all of the province of Pennsylvania, having come over servants into the province at the settlement thereof, and thereby having severally rights to fifty acres of land each in said province, by virtue of the Proprietary's promise in England," and so forth.

The first white settler in the vicinity of Christiana was, it is said, John Kennerly, a Quaker, who settled as early as 1691 within a mile of Christiana. It would seem that he was a squatter, for there is no trace of deed, survey, or warrant bearing his name. William Noble was the first to initiate business enterprise in the Christiana district. Upon his farm on the Octorara he had grist, merchant, and saw mills, a store, wheelwright's shop, smithy, and nearby a woolen mill. He also burned much lime. When it became certain that the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad would pass through or near his farm, he made further business plans. In 1833 he built a foundry and smithy near the railroad route, a waterwheel house and a machine-shop, bringing them into operation in 1834. With the completion of the railroad, he built a warehouse known by his name. These various enterprises constituted an encouraging beginning for Christiana. For some years Mr. Noble conducted the foundry in partnership with others, but finally withdrew, leasing the plant to Colonel James Boon and William Dripps. In 1838 Mr. Dripps built a plant at Coatesville, and drew most of the business from the Noble plant to his. Operations ceased in the former in 1844, but two years later the foundry was again put into operation by S. L. Denney, who also erected a machine-shop, which expanded into an important industry as the Christiana Machine Company.

In 1844 Hugh McClarron erected a warehouse near the later site of the railway warehouse. There he handled grain and produce. By the way, Christiana was then known as McClarronville. The hamlet consisted then of the farm buildings of Samuel Slokom, an inn which later became Harrar's store, two dwellings, and the industries before mentioned, warehouse foundry and machine-shop. In 1847 Moses Pownall and Joseph C. Dickinson purchased part of Denney's twelve-acre plot, and upon it erected another warehouse; it was at that time that the village was first named Christiana, that being the given name of the first wife of William Noble. In about 1850 the Miller brothers began to manufacture light carriages in Christiana, employing five workmen. Successive owners of the business included Thomas Ghrist, Enos Frame, Lingerfield Hirst; but expansion did not come, noticeably, until after it had passed into the possession of the Harpers, in 1877. Joseph D. Harper continued the factory in substantial operation for more than thirty years, for many years turning out a carriage every second day. The automobile industry, however, seriously affected this business. Taylor Harper now handles automobiles. In about 1850 Henry Pownall established a brickyard in Christiana. It was operated by him and others for perhaps thirty years. Joseph C. Dickinson built an hotel in 1854, and in that year the route of the railroad through Christiana was changed somewhat, the original route being more to the eastward than the present. In 1859 two churches began to rise in Christiana, the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal. In that year William P. Brinton erected a small greenhouse in Christiana, this business expanding considerably as the years passed. In 1866 John G. Fogle began to manufacture furniture in Christiana; in 1870 Joseph H. Fogle laid down a planing mill, also taking over the furniture plant from his father seven years later.

Christiana became the metropolis of the eastern part of Lancaster county in the sixties and seventies, drawing also from contiguous parts of Chester county. In 1863 Christiana Lodge, No. 52, I. O. G. T., was organized; in 1871 the Masonic Hall was erected, that structure being by far the most elaborate up to that time built in the village. It drew to it in 1873 Colerain Lodge, No. 417, F. and A. M., which had been organized at Kirkwood in 1868; and, with the removal, the lodge-name changed to "Christiana." The Masonic Hall was constructed of brick, and was a three-story-and-basement building. Another fine brick building erected in 1871 was the Christiana schoolhouse, the largest in the township, three stories high, but not quite as large as the Masonic Hall. A Library Association was organized in 1800, beginning as a Reading Circle, the Christiana Library Association being formally organized in 1881, with John Pownall as president and Dr. E. Plank as librarian. In 1882 the National Bank of Christiana was organized, with capital of $50,000, and Samuel Slokom as president. The first banking quarters were in the hotel building; T. D. Slokom was the original cashier. The present Christiana National Bank was organized on January 4, 1904, it is said. In May, 1883, Christiana developed a newspaper of its own, the "Christiana Ledger," which was still running in 1922, and still owned by one of the founders, Andrew J. Melcher, who during the forty years has had appreciable part in most of the important civic movements in the place. He gave the borough its electric-light plant, and was prominently identified with the raising of Christiana from village to borough status, in 1885-86. Andrew J.

Melcher and J. M. White were the original joint-owners of the newspaper, which, however, soon passed to Mr. Melcher.

Christiana has electric as well as steam railway facilities, and is within accessible distance of Lancaster and Coatesville. Forty years ago the village of Christiana had a population estimated at 800; the Federal Census of 1920 showed that Christiana borough then had 985 inhabitants. Forty years ago Christiana had four general stores, one hardware store, one grocery, three millinery stores, two drug stores, two restaurants, a bakery, three shoe-shops, two tinshops, two smithies, one implement warehouse, one coal and lumber yard, three livery stables. Change in mode of transportation has brought six garage and automobile-service stations into establishment in the borough, but there has not been much other change. Christiana in 1922 had five groceries, one drug store, three general stores, three hardware stores. It has been a banking town for forty years, and some of its old industries have been continued to the present. The Christiana Machine Company established in 1833 is still in existence. It was not known by that name, however, until 1878, when N. F. Burnham, of York, joined the Broomells in reorganizing the Broomell business. The Broomells had owned the plant since 1863. Maurice J. Brinton still owns the nursery business established by William P. Brinton in 1859. The grain-warehousing business established by Pownall and Dickinson in 1847 and expanded by Brinton Walter from 1873, is still being conducted by the Christiana Grain and Supply Company, the partners being L. J. and L. Shoemaker and John C. Hayes. The David Lumber and Planing Mill Company, which is now a branch of the Milton W. Young Company, of Philadelphia, continues the Christiana Planing Mill established by Joseph H. Fogle in 1879, and taken over by Harry Davis in 1883. W. H. Brown has long been an undertaker in Christiana; Mark P. Cooper has had a lumber and coal business for many years; John D. Harrar & Son have long had their mercantile establishment. The Christiana Silk Mill is one of the important industries of the "East End." Further references to Christiana industries, churches and schools will be found in later sections of this chapter.

The name Christiana is associated with an *ante-bellum* event scarcely less known in political history than John Brown's raid and the Harper's Ferry riot. In September, 1851, the first blood shed in the United States in resistance of the odious Fugitive Slave Law was along the "long lane" leading from the State or Valley road to the Noble road, about a mile west. Gorsuch, a Maryland slave-owner, was killed, his son badly wounded, the Federal deputies-marshal dispersed, and the fugitive escaped to Canada. Scores of negroes and a half-dozen sympathetic Quakers were taken to Philadelphia to be tried for treason, and the eyes of the country were for a time focussed on the scene of the memorable "Christiana Riot." It determined the election of a governor, and the course of Pennsylvania politics for some years."

Thaddeus Stevens, the representative of Lancaster county in the National Congress in 1850, was outspoken in his denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and he had considerable support in his constituency. There was, however, a strong faction in support of the measure, and in parts of the county the question was heatedly argued. In the Octorara region as early as October 11, 1850, at a public meeting in Georgetown, Bart township, four miles from the later scene of the riot, open defiance of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave

Law was decided upon. William L. Rakestraw presided, and Elwood Cooper was secretary; and a committee, consisting of Thomas Whitson, Elwood Cooper, Cyrus Manahan, Edwood Griest and Joseph McClelland, reported and published vigorous resolutions denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law, and grimly resolved and declared that they would "harbor, clothe, feed and aid the escape of fugitive slaves, in opposition to the law." Three of the white men who were outstanding factors in the subsequent riot and who were tried for treason were Castner Hanway, Elijah Lewis, and Joseph Scarlet. William Parker was one of the outstanding figures among the colored participants. However, it will be unnecessary here to further review the Christiana Riot, which has been very fully reviewed in volume xv of the Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, by Hon. W. U. Hensel.

Quarryville, a borough situated partly in Eden township and partly in Drumore, is the most aggressive place in the southern part of Lancaster county. It is the nearest point on the steam and electric roads for many parts of the "lower end" of the county; and that fact is probably the explanation of its continued growth.

The line of demarkation between the German and Scotch-Irish regions of Lancaster county seems to be at Quarryville, where the limestone soil ends. The region below Quarryville is slaty, and rich soil like that which is on the limestone cannot be found below Quarryville, in Lancaster county. This perhaps is the fundamental reason why the "lower end" of Lancaster county has not advanced as obviously as has the German section. The Palatine settlers were good agriculturists, and they were good judges of soil; and as they were the first to reach the region, they selected the choicest lands. The Scotch-Irish had to be content with poorer land. They were mostly industrious, but somewhat restless; and while the Germans as a class held closely to the land, the Scotch-Irish shouldered the musket when there was need. Still, in any case, they could not be expected to get as much out of their land-tillage as their Teutonic neighbors could from better land.

The fact that the limestone measures ended at Quarryville and that the land below was more impoverished than that on limestone bed northward gave that locality the initial industry which originated the town and the town name. One of the discoveries of the early part of the nineteenth century in Pennsylvania was that burnt limestone was a good dressing for impoverished soil. The farmers south of Quarryville needed it, and about a century ago an enterprising owner of limestone land in Quarryville devised a way of disposing of it that was somewhat unique. He laid out an orchard into lots much as one would plat a townsite; the only difference was that these quarter-acre or eighth-acre lots were sold or leased for quarrying purposes, not for residential. Farmers of Drumore, Colerain and Little Britain townships bought lots, and during the winter months quarried limestone from their lots and hauled it to their farms, where they had wood in abundance. There they burned the limestone as needed. Among those southern landowners who might be looked upon as early residents in Quarryville (seeing that they lived part of each year on their quarry-lots, in small cabins) were Joel Brown, Timothy Haines, Thomas and Samuel Patterson, Alexander Rumer, Robert Clark, James McPherson, the Ritchies, Ralstons, and others. The Lord of the Manor, as it were, was Abram Barr. It was he who laid out the land in quarry-lots, and for thirty years before that time the great stone mansion built by his father,

QUARRYVILLE
ST. PAUL'S REFORMED CHURCH
CHESTNUT LEVEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (BUILT IN 1765)
LITTLE BRITAIN CHURCH

Martin Barr, had been the most conspicuous in the neighborhood. It became known as "The Ark," and was the subject of an interesting paper by Leander T. Hensel in 1898. The paper entitled "The Ark: a Famous Last-Century Mansion," is to be found in volume II-5 of the Lancaster County Historical Society Papers. In part, it reads:

> Situated in the northern end of the borough of Quarryville, perched on a slight hill, stands a large stone building, known for many years as "The Ark," and the hill on which it stands as "Mount Ararat." These names, it is said, were given by a noted wag of his day, named Longenecker, soon after the house was built. It was erected in 1719, by Martin Barr, and was his farm or manor house, being situated nearly in the centre of the lands he then owned. His estate consisted of several thousand acres of land, running north for almost two miles, and about that far south. The farm was almost a mile wide from east to west. His land began at a farm now owned by John P. Rohrer, north of Camargo, and, extending south, took in the Henry Keen farm, at Spring Grove, in East Drumore. On the east, his land ran as far as the Moses Bair farm, in Eden township, and west as far as Oak Bottom. His whole possessions comprised what are now twenty-five of the best farms in that section, besides the lands occupied by Quarryville Borough and Hawkesville.
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> Before erecting this building, Martin Barr lived in a log house, which was torn down about fifty years ago by Henry Keen, Sr. It stood where the house of Enos Hostetter now stands, on the "Hill Road" from Hawkesville to Strasburg. Nearby now stands one of the largest and oldest walnut trees in this part of the State. While living at the old place, about 1755, he built what is now known as the "Bossler Mill" * * *
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> That "The Ark" was built in 1790 is attested by a stone in the west end of the building bearing that date. It was built of "Barren" stone, hauled from the ridge running about a mile northeast of that point, the limestone just at hand not having yet been developed and not being considered as desirable for building purposes. An enormous quantity of stone was used, as the foundation trenches were sunk very deep, the builder being determined to rest upon solid rock. The house was thirty feet high, with a deep basement, and a two-storied "still house" was attached, to the east end. Mr. Barr ran a distillery, and in it is one of the finest springs in the neighborhood. A fine quality of whisky was made.
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> The house, at the time it was built, was not only the largest in its locality, but was one of the best and finest. Fronting on the south were two wide porches running along the entire house. * * * All the woodwork was of the very best hardwood; most of it was walnut. The walls were two feet thick. * * * The hall is twelve feet wide. * * * It used to be said that the entire edifice contained a greater quantity of stone than any other building in the county, except the Almshouse, and Lancaster county is famed for its fine old stone mansions.

A huge barn stood nearby. It was 125 feet long and 60 feet wide, and was said to be the largest of its kind in the county. The ends and lower stories were of stone. The barn was partly demolished when the farms were divided after the demise of Martin Barr, but the remaining part stood until about 1895, when fire finally razed that landmark. But "The Ark" still stands, stately, substantial and solitary, amid the quarries and kilns of other days. After the death of Martin Barr, his son Abram occupied "The Ark." Mr. Hensel writes: "It was he (Abram Barr) who first recognized the important fact that Quarryville marked the lower limit of the limestone in Lancaster county. * * * The thinner lands of the 'Lower End' lacked a necessary element, to be supplied by the limestone quarried and burned into lime with the then abundant chestnut timber."

Abram Barr was born in 1770 and died in 1836 (or 1839). The great house, "The Ark," and adjoining lands and quarries, were then sold at public auction. They were bought by Jacob Barr, a cousin, known as "Lame Jacob." He was the son of Jacob Barr, cousin of Martin, Sr., and was born in Strasburg in 1778. In 1785 his father moved to Eden township to the farm, east of Quarryville, occupied a century later by Moses Bair. There he followed farming and teaming. The son Jacob was lamed "from white swelling" in early youth, but helped his father well in teaming, and eventually had full charge of the teams. Mr. Hensel writes: "He was a good judge of horses and knew how to handle them. His reputation was known from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and his team always hauled the heaviest loads. As many hogsheads of whisky as he could possibly get on his wagon were a light load." His father died in 1810, but "Lame Jacob" continued the farming operations as well as the teaming; and when, in 1836, "The Ark" was for sale, he acquired it. Ere long, he was burning lime also. He retired from all business in 1852, but lived for more than twenty years longer, death coming in 1874, in his ninety-seventh year.

Regarding the quarrying and lime-burning industries of Quarryville, Mr. Hensel writes:

> It was generally supposed that Martin Barr, Sr., was the first to take out limestone at Quarryville for the burning of lime; but such is not the case. It was his son, Abram, who began operations in 1820. The first man who worked for him was Peter Rinear, who was afterwards (in 1837) killed by a premature explosion in a quarry where the drug store now stands in Quarryville. He began and worked at it alone, with a small steel drill, which he held in one hand, while with the other he struck with a small hammer. * * *
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> The first stone burned into lime from these quarries was hauled to the farm of John Herr, near Mt. Eden Furnace, where he had built a small kiln, holding about three hundred bushels. The kiln is still there, but as a ruin. Several "burns" were made at this place, and lime was found to be a good fertilizer. Others built kilns in that section as well as over all the lower end of the county; and the quarrying of stone became quite a profitable and extensive business. More men were put to work. In 1825 Abram Barr laid out about twenty acres in lots of one-eighth of an acre, and these he sold to farmers, to take out stone for their own use, which they did in the winter, after all their other work was done. In order to be convenient to their work, about twenty good-sized log cabins were built, and "Barr's Quarries" became quite a place—hence the later Quarryville.
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> * * * The last of the log cabins was torn down about twenty years ago, and only one of the old houses occupied by the original quarrymen still stands.
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> In a very short time it was found that lime was making the "Lower End." It was just what that land wanted; and the opening of new quarries began. Large kilns were erected, and the quarrying of stone and burning of lime grew to be a very extensive business. Daniel Lefever, John Stewart, Henry Keen and Joseph Elliott were about the first to go into the business extensively. All the burning was done with wood until 1839, when Daniel Lefever burned the first with coal; and while some still used wood, the use of coal became general after a few years.
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> At the time Abram Barr began the sale of quarry-lots the prices were from $75 to $100 each. As time went by these same lots sold as high as $1,500. The lime business continued to grow rapidly at Quarryville, and considerable money had been made at it until about 1860, when the use of commercial fertilizers became more general, and the business began to decline, and, in fact, became almost extinct. Stone was only quarried for business purposes, but the last few years the farmers, finding the use of something besides commercial fertilizers necessary, have begun to use lime, and the business is again gradually increasing. Millions of bushels of lime have been burned from stone taken out of the great "orchard" quarry, the excavation of which covers acres, and is almost fifty feet deep.
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> In 1858 alone over 600,000 bushels of lime were burned and hauled from Quarryville; fully a dozen quarries were running; over a hundred men had work in them, and every lime-burner had at least one six-mule team and some as many as three, while almost every farmer kept a team which found steady hauling. Great quantities of lime were delivered into York and Chester counties and into Cecil and Harford counties, Maryland.

* * * * * * * * *

> The grandchildren of "The Ark's" builder are dead and gone; the great estate has been subdivided, and its broad acres are now sold by the foot frontage; rich fortunes have been quarried from its buried limestone; where "Pete" Rinear held his drill with one hand while the other wielded the hammer, a sparkling fountain now marks the centre of a flourishing town. * * * The walls of "The Ark" stand plumb, strong. "foursquare to every wind

that blows" * * * Its timbers are sound and strong. Back of it a blue breast of limestone fronts towards the rising sun. Aside it a fortlike group of limekilns are smoking with the fires of a re-kindled industry.

Quarryville was only "Barr's Quarries" until 1833; there was no other business; but in that year Jeremiah B. and Lewis Haines built a frame store and dwelling-house and transferred their mercantile business from Darlington, Maryland, to Barr's Quarries. The dwelling-house later became the Railroad Hotel. In 1837 George W. Hensel, a lad of fourteen years, walked over from his father's home in Darlington, Maryland, and entered Haines' store. Five years later, young Hensel was a partner in that store; thirteen years afterwards, in 1855, he was sole owner. Other mercantile storekeepers during the period to 1883 included Hess, Witmer, Geiger, Shant, and others, but the Hensel business was the only one that continued. George W. Hensel, Jr., is still one of the merchants of Quarryville; and others of the family have had prominent place in Lancaster county affairs.

Quarryville was so named in 1837 by Mr. Haines. He applied for the establishment of a post-office of that name in the village in that year, but it was not until 1849 that this facility was granted. In 1851-52 a church was built; and in the same year a tavern. More taverns than churches have since been built in Quarryville, though the former are now decadent. In 1875 Quarryville was made the terminus of a steam railroad, and is now on the route of another, as well as having hourly electric service to Lancaster. In addition, a new road for automobiles is under construction between Quarryville and Christiana; so that the future seems good for Quarryville. It was credited with 823 inhabitants in 1920, and at that time had two groceries, one drug store, seven general stores, twelve automobile service establishments, and two banks. The banks are the Quarryville National, and the Farmers' National, both well-established institutions, under conservative management. The Quarryville National Bank had capital of $60,000 and surplus of $160,000 in 1922. Its officers then were: George W. Hensel, Jr., president; L. Russel Ambler, vice-president; Thomas R. Ankrim, secretary; A. S. Harkness, cashier. The Farmers' National Bank of Quarryville at the same time had capital of $50,000 and surplus of $60,000. Its officers were: I. Haines Dickinson, president; George H. Brown, vice-president; and Lloyd L. Vinter, cashier. Among the old-established merchants and business houses of Quarryville are: Samuel A. Book & Brother, farm machinery; Isaac Haines Dickinson, general store; William Fisher, saddler; E. B. Fritz & Son, coal, hay, grain; William F. Geiger, plumber; D. T. Hess, coach works; J. Allen Kirk, jeweler; Levi F. McCallister, lumber; Quarryville Shoe Company, manufacturers; Carl Reynolds, undertaker. Quarryville also has its own newspaper, the "Quarryville Sun."

The villages and smaller centers of population in Sadsbury, Bart, and Eden townships include Nobleville, Cooperville, and Smyrna, in Sadsbury township; Georgetown, Bart, Ninepoints, Bartville, Mount Pleasant, in Bart township; Hawkesville and Camargo, in Eden township. Christiana seems almost to monopolize Sadsbury township; all other places are but hamlets; Coopersville is within a mile to the southward of Smyrna; the latter has a population of not much more than one hundred; and Nobleville might have been a place of importance had not Christiana grown. Wilson's Store, in Smyrna, has been long established; that and the smithy and coach works constituted the business of the place. There has been a church in the place for almost half a century. It is a stone structure, erected for community gatherings. The church society is of union composition, and it maintains an active Sunday school.

Georgetown, in Bart township, was laid out in 1819 by Samuel Ferguson, who at that time owned about three hundred acres in the vicinity, and thought he would dispose of thirty acres in town lots. The manner of disposal followed the usual way of that period; he advertised that the lots would be drawn by ballot, lottery tickets being sold at sixty dollars each. The two grand prizes were the tavern and lot, valued at $3,000, and the opposite corner lot, valued at $300. At that time there was evidence of habitation in the proposed town; in fact, it had had some years of existence under the name of Hardscrubble, the holding of the Hardscrubble Fair each year in August bringing about the erection of nine buildings at that point. Three were licensed taverns, two were stores; the remainder were dwelling houses. Bart is a place of 300 population, and two mills. Bartville, near the southern boundary of Bart township, is a place of about 100 population; J. Homsher & Son have had the store there for many years; Hugh D. Wilson is in the wagon and coach industry; and J. H. Jackson long had the feed and sawmill. Ninepoints is a place of about one hundred inhabitants, an important cross-roads point in the southeastern part of Bart. The Ninepoints store has been owned for many years by T. B. Jackson. Nickel Mines, one and a half miles north of Georgetown, is referred to later. Hawkesville, in Eden township, originated in the inn established about one mile north of where Quarryville now is, in the early part of the nineteenth century. It was a place of some importance before Quarryville came into existence, but soon became decadent. Camargo has a population of about 150, including two mills. Ross Rohrer has been miller at that point for many years; Joseph H. Weimer has had a mill and wheelwright's business at Camargo for long also. The Breneman family had part in the founding of Camargo; H. H. Breneman suggested that name for the place at about the time of the Mexican War, and when it became a post-town.

The statistics of the last three decadal census enumerations are as follows: Sadsbury township in 1900, 1,023; in 1910, 969; in 1920, 849 inhabitants; Bart township in 1900, 1,154; in 1910, 1,093; in 1920, 1,014; Eden township in 1900, 750; in 1910, 662; in 1920, 667 inhabitants. Sadsbury township figures do not include population of Christiana borough, 985 in 1920; and to the Eden township figure may be added 823, which was the population of Quarryville in 1920.

CHAPTER VI.

CONESTOGA TOWNSHIP.

Conestoga township originally embraced all that part of Chester county which now is Lancaster county. The township of Conestoga, or as it was originally named Conestogoe, was erected in 1718, to have jurisdiction over all the territory in Chester county lying west of the Octorara creek, and extending northward and including the Welsh settlements along the eastern branch of the Conestoga. The first assessment was made in 1718, and the list will be found in the Conestoga Manor or Manor Township chapter. In 1720 the township of West Conestoga was formed, to embrace all the territory west of Pequea creek. In 1722 West Conestoga township became Donegal township, the Scotch-Irish settlers in that region bringing about the change of name. With the erection of West Conestoga township in 1720, the remainder of the original Conestoga became East Conestoga township, but with the change of West Conestoga to Donegal in 1722, East Conestoga seems to have reverted to the original name, Conestoga township. The township of Pequea was formed in 1721. Its boundaries were not clearly defined and the territory was not any that is within the limits of the present township of that name; its jurisdiction included the settlements along Pequea creek and its branches, now in Salisbury township.

Erection of Lancaster County—Conestoga was a very large township, and by 1729 had become comparatively thickly settled, though no villages had actually been laid out. Still along the highway some taverns had been established, and they, with the mills, became to some extent centers of population; they certainly were centers of business as well as social intercourse. One inn, that kept by John Postlethwaite, at a point on Conestoga creek, near what is now Rockhill, in Conestoga township, was destined to come importantly into Lancaster county history. It actually for a while was the county seat, as has been stated elsewhere. The Act of May 10, 1729, "for Erecting the Upper Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania, lying towards Susquehanna, Conestogoe, Dunnegal, etc., into a county," authorized John Wright, Samuel Blunston, Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Edwards, Caleb Pearce, Thomas Reid, and Samuel Jones, who were appointed magistrates, to carry through the organization of the county. These men forthwith proceeded to call a public meeting of the most prominent inhabitants, the venue of meeting being "the tavern of John Postlethwaite, near Conestoga creek, in Conestoga township." They accordingly gathered at that tavern on June 9 "to agree upon the names of townships and define their respective boundaries." The magistrates met again at the same place on August 5, 1729, and then approved the boundaries as set at the public meeting of June 9th. Under the new organization, the township of Conestoga was given boundaries as follows: "* * * beginning at the mouth of Pequea, thence up Sasquehanah, thence to said mouth of Conestogoe creek, then up the said creek to the mouth of Mill creek, then by a direct line to Pequea at the mouth of Beaver creek, thence down Pequea to the place of beginning." The erecting act of May 10, 1729, authorized Caleb Pierce, John Wright, Thomas Edwards and James Mitchell, or any three of them, "to purchase a piece of land, to be approved by the Governor, in trust and for the use of the said county, and thereon to erect and build, or cause to be erected and built, a Court House and Prison, sufficient to accommodate the public service of the said county."

Perhaps it would be better to permit the remainder of this all-important opening story of Lancaster county to be told in the words of responsible members of the Lancaster County Historical Society, who gathered on October 8, 1915, at the house of Mr. George Fehl, who now owns the original Postlethwaite property, for the purpose of marking, for posterity, the site of the first courts of justice in Lancaster county. The occasion, in its several phases, is reported in print of the Lancaster County Historical Society, its volume XIX, No. 8, being devoted to the subject. The marker is a boulder of limestone rock, weighing about seven tons, blasted from the quarry of A. S. Dombach, at Rock Hill, about half a mile distant from Postlethwaite's. D. F.

Magee, Esq., presented the boulder and tablet, which was accepted by Mr. Harry Fehl. After the unveiling, there were some interesting exercises in the orchard of Mr. Fehl, some valuable historical papers being read. Judge Charles I. Landis read a paper entitled "Postlethwaite's and our First Courts;" Mr. A. S. Benedict spoke on the "German-Swiss Influence in Lower Conestoga Valley;" Mr. A. K. Hostetter read a paper on "English and Scotch-Irish Pioneers of Old Conestoga and their Descendants;" H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., addressed the meeting on "Old Conestoga Neighbors, 1715-1729;" and Mr. C. E. Postlethwaite gave valuable family history, "The Postlethwaite Family after 1750." The inscription upon the tablet reads:

> On August 5, 1729, at or near this spot on the land of John Postlethwaite, His Majesty King George the Second's Justices met for the first time in Lancaster County and held the several courts of justice. The magistrates present were John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Read and Samuel James. John Wright presided.
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> The Courts were held at Postlethwaite's for August and November terms, 1729, and February, May, and August terms, 1730. This stone and tablet have been erected by the Lancaster County Historical Society on October 8, 1915.

Judge Landis, in his paper, pointed out that "while it is said in Rupp's 'History of Lancaster County' that a temporary court house of logs was erected at Postlethwaite's, it would appear more likely that the tavern was so changed as to make it convenient for the purpose of holding the courts, and this conclusion has I think been generally adopted. I find in the minute book of the Commissioners of Lancaster county, under date of February 4, 1729, the following entry: 'Ordered that John Postlethwaite be allowed the sum of £11 19s. 10d. being for his attendance and provisions on the Commissioners appointed by Governor and Council for the running the division line between the County of Chester and County aforesaid, £11 19s. 10d. And likewise the sum of £7 to be paid him out of the next assessment, being the full allowance for building a Court House for the county service until such time as another shall be built by the Commissioners appointed for that use, £7.' The sum thus appropriated would appear to be inadequate even in that day to cover the cost of a building suitable for this purpose." Regarding John Postlethwaite, Judge Landis said:

> John Postlethwaite was an Englishman. He settled in Chester County sometime between 1709 and 1713. It is said that he was the son of George Postlethwaite, of Millom, Cumberland County, England. He kept an "ordinary" near the Conestoga on the Great Road, which led from Philadelphia through the Gap to the Indian town in the Manor. In 1718 Conestoga Township was laid off * * * Postlethwaite must have come to Conestoga after that date, because his name does not appear in the list of taxables of that township for the year 1718. His name, however, does appear in the lists for the years 1724, 1725 and 1726. In August, 1727, his name appears in the list of licenses granted by the Court of Quarter Sessions of Chester County, and on June 20, 1728, he gave his bond, with Andrew Cornish and Michael Michaelson in the sum of £20 each. Our records show that he was licensed by the Court of Quarter Sessions of Lancaster County from 1729 to 1736, inclusive. * * * That he was an intelligent and influential settler is evident, because he was chosen as the first Treasurer of the County, and in 1746 he was one of the Justices. The newly appointed magistrates, when a meeting was called to determine the names and boundaries of the townships, met at Postlethwaite's, and their report, which was presented to the Justices at that same place, on August 5, 1729, was confirmed. Postlethwaite was, in 1739, an Indian trader, as he received a license for that year. He was one of the commissioners that ran the preliminary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania in May, 1739, and he was one of the Overseers of the Poor in 1843. He was a member of the Grand Jury of the County in 1733, 1737, and 1746. He was also a member of St. James' Episcopal Church, at Lancaster, and was one of its first wardens. He must have died sometime between 1748 and 1750, for it is recited in a

deed from Benjamin Price, goldsmith, and Susanna his wife, to Joseph Pugh, dated April 16, 1752, that a certain tripartite indenture had been made on the seventh day of December, 1750, between William Postlethwaite, eldest son and heir-in-law of John Postlethwaite, deceased; John Miller and Benjamin Price; and also that John Postlethwaite, in and by his last will and testament, bearing date the 22nd day of February, 1748-49, gave and devised, inter alia, to his son, William Postlethwaite, a tract of land on the Conestoga Creek, containing 120 acres. I have not been able to learn where he was buried. There is an old graveyard on the original tract not far from the Postlethwaite house, but all the tombstones have long since disappeared, and there is no means now of proving whether or not his remains lie buried there. Seeing the importance of obtaining the County Seat, he invited the magistrates and some of the prominent settlers to meet at his "ordinary," to consider the subject, and he there provided the temporary quarters in which to hold the Courts. His tavern was widely known in that day, and as it was very near the centre of population of the county, it was regarded by many, on that account, as being the most eligible location for the Seat of Justice. Other places were also urged. Among these was Wright's Ferry. * * * There was also a place called Gibson's Tavern which was advocated, and which ultimately succeeded in carrying off the prize. This place was where the town of Lancaster was soon after laid out.

The Court met for the first time in the county on the first Tuesday in August (August 5, 1729. George II was then king, for George I died in 1727. * * * No. 1 docket of the Court of Common Pleas opens as follows: "At a Court of Common Pleas held at John Postlethwaite's In Conestogoe the first Tuesday in August in the Third year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. 1729." The Justices who sat were John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Read and Samuel Jones. John Wright presided. * * * The Court sat at Postlethwaite's during August and November terms, 1729, and February, May and August terms, 1730.

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It is said that an Indian Wigwam first occupied the site where the Postlethwait Tavern was built. In the minutes of the Commissioners of Property, dated August 4, 1715 (o. s.), an entry appears: "Warrants were signed at several times to Robert Hodgson and James Hendricks" for "2 warrants for 3,500 acres at Conestoga at £10 per ct." In Patent Book S, volume 6, page 225, in the office of the Secretary of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg, it is recited that there was surveyed and laid out to James Hendricks by virtue of a warrant dated December 17, 1714 (O. S.), a tract of land on the east side of the Conestoga Creek, containing 1.100 acres. This survey was never returned to the office. In the Patent Book it appears that James Hendricks, by deed dated January 22, 1727, sold to John Postlethwaite and Tobias Hendricks 300 acres, and that shortly afterwards John Postlethwaite and Tobias Hendricks divided this land, of which division John Postlethwaite, in two tracts, received 170 acres. There is a deed upon the records of this county, dated November 13, 1738, from Tobias Hendricks to John Postlethwaite, wherein, in consideration of $200, Hendricks conveyed to Postlethwaite 130 acres "at the beginning of the elm tree by Conestoga, at a corner of the said John Postlethwaite's land." It seems that this is the tract of land upon which the Ordinary and Court House were located, and it may be that, while the sale took place at an earlier period, the deed was not then executed and delivered. * * * The name of Postlethwaite's wife was Mary. * * * They had six children, viz.: William, John, Susanna, wife of Benjamin Price, Samuel, Edmund and Richard. It is said that he bequeathed his estate to his children, but if he did, the will was not recorded in the office of our Register of Wills. * * * He owned five tracts of land in Conestoga Township, aggregating about 500 acres. By virtue of the Act of February 6, 1730-31. * * * He borrowed, on October 15, 1742, from the Trustees of the General Loan Office of Pennsylvania, on this land, the sum of £247, and he gave a mortgage upon the property to secure the payment of the money thus obtained. When the debt became due, the payments were not met according to the stipulations of the mortgage, and the Loan Commissioners thereupon, after his death, foreclosed the mortgage and sold the land to Joseph Pugh.

Joseph Pugh was stepfather of the Postlethwaite children, having married the widow of John Postlethwaite a few years after the death of the latter. The Postlethwaite children by right of inheritance had an interest in the land, and they either transferred their right to their stepfather, or confirmed sales he made. Thus, on October 28, 1761, three of the children gave a release and quit-claim deed to Tobias Stehman for 197 acres of land of the original holding of their father, and on the same date a like release and quit-claim deed was made to Joseph Pugh for 168 acres of land which Pugh had sold to Bear. All the proceedings in regard to the sale of the land were amicable between Joseph Pugh and the Postlethwaite children. Pugh was the officially appointed guardian of two of the children. Pugh was sheriff of Lancaster county from 1755 to 1757, but in the sixties he moved to Frederick county, Virginia.

Further tracing the ownership of the Postlethwaite land, Judge Landis writes:

> On April 26, 1762, Tobias Stehman deeded 73 acres, and on April 2, 1771, he deeded 22 acres and 102 perches, both included in his purchases from Pugh to Postlethwaite's, to Andrew (Feal) Fehl. On August 8, 1792, Andrew Fehl and wife made a deed for the 73 acres tract to Jacob Fehl, this son. On December 24, 1805, the same tract, * * * was sold by William White, High Sheriff of Lancaster County, as the property of Jacob Fehl, to John Good. John Good and wife signed a transfer for this same land on the back of the last-mentioned deed to Daniel Good, but though this transfer was recorded it was never delivered, and therefore Daniel Good and his wife and John Good and his wife subsequently, on March 24, 1838, granted and conveyed the same tract to Jacob Fehl, the son of the Jacob Fehl above-mentioned. The latter in turn, with his wife, on April 1, 1876, conveyed this land to his son, George J. Fehl, who is its present possessor, and in whose ownership it has been now for almost forty years. As all of you know you are now standing up on that land.

How it happened that the courts were removed to the townstead of Lancaster in 1730 was explained in detail by Judge Landis, and is told in another chapter of this compilation. So far as Conestoga township is concerned directly, its particlar connection with the courts of the county ceased when court was convened in Postlethwaite's for the last time in August, 1730.

Under the title of "German-Swiss Influence in Lower Conestoga," Mr. A. S. Benedict spoke in part as follows:

> I first wondered why so many German-Swiss came to Pennsylvania. If you will review the early history, you will find that as early as 1671 William Penn was in Germany preaching the religion he loved, and winning honest men to this cause. Again in 1677 he traveled over Europe and preached its principles of peace to a war-weary people * * * he preached his way into the hearts of the Germans along the Rhine. This is why Pennsylvania became the most important German settlement in the New World. * * *
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> These Germans that came to Pennsylvania were not an ignorant people. They were the most learned settlers that came to America. * * * Among these early German settlers were such men as Christopher Sauer, of Germantown. * * * In 1743, thirty-nine years before the Bible was printed in English, in America, the Germans of Pennsylvania were reading the German Bible from the press of the learned Dr. Sauer. * * *
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> It is pleasant indeed to follow these early German-Swiss settlers westward through the fertile valleys and over the pleasant slopes of our own great county of Lancaster. * * * We follow them on into ancient Conestoga township. * * * Taking up the public spirit of the German-Swiss on the Lower Conestoga, which includes the original Conestoga, Pequea and Manor townships I have collected these facts:
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> Among the German-Swiss holding township offices for Overseers of the Poor, Town Clerk, Supervisors and Auditors during the one hundred years from 1740 to 1840, in Conestoga Township, which includes Pequea (the present Pequea Township), the Good family held office for 31 terms; Bachmans, 17; Hesses, 20; Myers, 15; Millers, 10; Warfels, 16; Urbans, 11; Shenks, 11; Thomases, 6; Stehmans, 5; Rathfons, 6; Mussers, 10; Kendigs, 8; Haverstocks, 7; Gochenaurs, 5; Fehls, 5; Brennemans, 11; Bears, 11; and also others. * * * As to justices of the peace in Conestoga, we have Germans holding office among others, as follows: Martins, 1845-74; Feals, '54, '59, '64, '69; Urbans, '61, '66, '71, '76; Fultons, '42, '47, '52, and others. The German-Swiss were zealous enough to hold a fair amount of county offices. Michael Shenk, commissioner, 1804; John Warfel, legislator, 1842; Hugh

Mehaffey, register of wills, 1836-39; Jacob Peters, legislator, 1860; John W. Urban, clerk of Quarter Sessions, 1872-74; Amos Groff, coroner, 1875-77; John P. Good, recorder, 1880-82.

When we turn to landowners in Conestoga township, for the year 1780, we find the Bear family owned 180 acres; Brennemans, 450 acres; Burkholders, 180; Eshlemans, 640; Fehls, 100; Hesses, 649; Kendigs, 365; Kreiders, 305; Lines, 200; Myers, 220; Millers, 480; Resh, 240; Rathfons, 285; Stehmans, 725 Shenks, 580; Urbans, 300; and Warfels, 160 acres. As to the value of our German-Swiss landowners' estates in 1780, we find that Bear's real estate was assessed at £10,000, Michael Brenneman's at £6,000; David John and Benedict Eshlemans at £26,000; Samuel Myers, £8,800; Tobias Stehman's at £14,000, and Michael Shenk's at £6,000. As to the German-Swiss predominence in Manor township, we find out of 280 heads of families, 15 were English or Scotch-Irish, and the other 265 were German-Swiss. When we turn to the Germans of Manor Township taking in the public affairs and official life, we find that in the Legislature of Pennsylvania there were Jacob Krimmel, 1803-1807; Jacob Schuman, 1845-46; Abram Peters, 1861. Jacob Stehman was State Senator in 1854.

Mr. Benedict gave some statistics of "how ancient Conestoga stands in Lancaster county at the present time." He claimed for Conestoga: One thousand one hundred and thirty-one landowners, owning one-seventeenth of the number of acres in the entire county; one-fourteenth of the horses in the county; one-thirteenth of the cattle; one-seventeenth of the county tax and one-sixteenth of all the money at interest; one-fifteenth of the personal taxes; forty schools, as good as any rural schools in the county; sixty-two German-Swiss out of ninety soldiers enlisted from Conestoga during the Civil War. For steadiness of occupation of land, he instanced the Stehman family, which for more than 160 years have owned the farm settled by their American grand-ancestor, Jacob Stehman. Another instance is in the Pfautz family, the first settler of which landed in Philadelphia prior to 1709. "Six generations of his posterity lived in ancient Conestoga township, all tilling the soil as owners or laborers."

Mr. Eshleman's review of Conestoga, 1715-1729, is very comprehensive. In part, it is as follows:

In 1729 the actual heart and centre of Old Conestoga—that land which our eyes now actually behold, two or three miles in all directions—was dotted with homes of civilized man built a dozen or fifteen years earlier. Off to the east, in Pequea's valley, was the twenty-year-old German-Swiss settlement, with Strasburg and Willow Street as sentinels at its eastern and western limits. To the west, the Conestoga Manor, laid out and settled at least ten years before 1729, was smiling and blooming under the industrial touch and thrifty care of the sturdy German-Swiss Mennonite brethren of that great garden. Off northwest ten miles, Wright's Ferry, just established a year or two before 1729, was the healthy nucleus of the future Columbia; while farther on up the Susquehanna, rugged Donegal was well filled, at least a decade, by the Scotch-Irish pioneer, who worshipped and watched and worked and warred while the German-Swiss tilled the interior valleys. The Hempfields and Manheim had felt the pulse of civilized life a few short years. The Earls had begun to awaken under the magic of the white man's plough. Lampeter and Strasburg regions had ten years at least of progress. The Valley of the Octorara could boast of over one hundred farms. Old Drumore and Martic, carrying within them their unborn daughters (Little Britain, Fulton, and Providence) had throbbed through a dozen years or more, with the active and hardy life of the buoyant Scotch-Irish. In fact, in 1729 this region of Susquehanna, Conestoga, Pequea, Octorara and Chickies, just formed into a new county, had about 3,500 white inhabitants.

Considerable history was made here before 1729. In 1638 Claybourne traded in this section. Forty years before Penn reached Pennsylvania the Swedes carried on commerce with the Indians on the Conestoga river. About 1684 Penn himself visited this region. In 1690 he laid out plans for a small county on the Susquehanna, extending from the mouth of the Conestoga, fifteen miles up the river, in which he designed a model city, to be a second Philadelphia, and drew up a complete plan of government for the same, which he recorded in 1703 in Philadelphia. In 1701 Penn made a second journey to the Susquehanna, coming by way of Chesapeake Bay and going home by travelling up the Conestoga and to its source, and then by French creek to Schuylkill and back to Philadelphia. In 1706 Governor Evans and members of Council, etc., made a treaty with the Indians here, and at mouth of Pequea. The next year, 1707, the Governor, with Colonel French and Mitchel, Bezelion and others came here to make a second treaty, and particularly held an important meeting at Washington Borough. In 1710 Governor Gookin and French and Worley visited the Indians here in a treaty. In 1711 another Indian treaty was held at Indiantown, partly to get them to agree not to harm the Swiss Mennonites who had recently settled in Pequea. In 1717, just as a settlement by Whites here took shape, a great treaty was held at Indiantown, between the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania and the chiefs of the Conestogoes, the Delawares and the Shawanoes and the Ganawese to keep land matters peaceable. In 1720 James Logan and his party came here and held the Indian treaty at John Cartlidge's house, to prevent those Indians joining other Indians in war. In 1721 Governor Keith and members of Council and eighty horsemen held a big treaty here at John Cartlidge's house, at which a large gathering of the Mennonite and other settlers were present with the Conestogas and Iroquois Indians, and again in 1722. Also in 1728 Governor Gordon and members of Council and about thirty others held a treaty here, at the house of Andrew Cornish, a mile from Indiantown, and also at Indiantown. Thus we see a great deal of activity was going on here before 1729.

In 1729 an ancient Swede road from the lower Delaware headed into Conestoga. The "Great Conestoga Road," the first great highway from Philadelphia to Susquehanna, had reached out across our new shire over thirty miles, from Octorara to Conestoga, since 1714, just where it lies to-day, before your eyes—now over 201 years old. And for three years the new road from the Earls to the head of Pequea had been in use. Several mills were in operation in different sections of the county. But while all this development had taken place * * * in various sections of the county before 1729, Lancaster Town was not yet in existence; all there was of that town then was a house or two built a year before. This region then was to become, for a little while, the county-seat, because it was fifteen years older than Lancaster. But Conestoga was soon outstripped, when the Hamilton boom took place, where Lancaster now stands.

Who were the Conestoga neighbors in 1729? When did they come here? Where did they live hereabouts? The assessed inhabitants of what is now Lancaster county in 1718 were 129 male heads of families and 12 single men, or 141 in all, about one-third English and two-thirds German. But there were some Welsh of Caernarvon and Whites of other sections also here. In 1722, the most thickly settled sections of Lancaster County were known as Conestoga, Donegal, and Pequea, and they included seven-eighths of all the white people then in what is now our county. Donegal in 1722 had 92 male heads of families; Pequea had 42, and Conestoga had 244. In 1724 Pequea embraced the land about the headwaters of Pequea creek (Donegal included all west of main Conestoga river, principally north of the site of Lancaster), and in it lived a considerable number of German-Swiss, though most of the inhabitants were Scotch-Irish. Conestoga embraced all of our present county from the Susquehanna from and below the mouth of Pequea creek up to Columbia and northeastward of that width beyond Strasburg, Bird-in-Hand, the Earls and Ephrata, etc.

Let us see who the old Conestoga neighbors were: They were in nationality, Scotch-Irish, English, and German-Swiss. They were religiously, Episcopalian, Quaker, Presbyterian and Mennonite. They were industrially, farmers, merchants, millers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights and tradesmen. In discussing these old Conestoga neighbors we shall try to keep within a radius of five or six miles of the spot where we now stand (Postlethwaite's).

Let us now draw a picture of this region all about us as it was 186 to 200 years ago (from 1915). This is the 200th anniversary of the taking up of the central tract of old Conestoga, where we now stand—the beginning of the little group of houses called Conestoga town, started in 1715 by James Hendricks, who in that year secured the right to 1,166 acres of land reaching from Rock Hill up Conestoga River eight miles, almost to Wabank, and east along and south of Stehman's Run, nearly to South Danville Old Mennonite church. This settlement differed from the Pequea settlement in the east. While the Pequea colony at Willow street were all Swiss Mennonites, the settlement on Conestoga consisted of a Scotch-Irish and English core, bordering on both sides of the river, surrounded by scores of German-Swiss on all sides.

Now who were these old Conestoga neighbors of Postlethwaite's time? Who lived within a radius of five or six miles from this place in the days when our first courts were held here, and before?

Of English and Scotch-Irish residents, starting with John Postlethwaite and his grown-up son William, and passing up the Conestoga river on the eastern side, dwelling in consecutive order on or near the "Great Road," there were: James Hendricks, John Hendricks, Tobias Hendricks, Thomas Baldwin, Thomas Gale, George Gray, John Linvill, all owners of parts of the James Hendricks tracts: John Farrer, Richard Grist, John Grist, Wm. Hughes, Edmund Cartlidge, John Powell, Thomas Doyle, Stephen Atchison, and James Lewis. The Scotch-Irish and English people across from the above Postlethwaite's on the Manor side were Thomas and Reese Price, Alex. and Saml. Ritchey, Joshua Low, Danl. McConnell and Alex. Beuse, practically all of whose lands adjoined the stream. On the Conestoga side, going up the stream from Postlethwaite's there were Robert Wilkins, Thomas Wilkins, David Priest, James Dawson, Richard Carter, Patrick Keregan. Somewhat separated from the others and over toward Pequea creek, near Susquehanna, were Peter Kline, Peter Creamer, Francis Worley, Joseph Rebman and Robert Baker. Going down the stream on the Manor side there were Samuel Ritchey, Andrew Cornish and John Cartledge as English neighbors. Over to the east on Pequea creek the English and Scotch-Irish, beginning about the neighborhood of Marticville and going down the creek were: William and Robert Middleton, Albert Hendricks, William Sherrell, David Jones, Samuel Jones, John Robinson, John McCreary, practically all on the east side of the creek; and Daniel Jones on the west side. Off to the west on and near Susquehanna river, beginning about Washington borough and extending up and down the river, the English inhabitants were Edward Smout, James Patterson, Moses Comb, Martha Bezelion (Bazeillon), James LeTort, Thomas and Robert Wilkins, Jonah Davenport, John Hendricks, and the Chartier descendants. About two miles southeastward from Postlethwaite's, extending along the southwest bank of Pequea creek from the neighborhood of the "Burnt Mill" below Marticville to near the Conestoga township line, there was a small Irish settlement consisting in succession, downstream, of Robert Ellis, Collum McQuire, John McDonald, and Francis McDonald. And about a miles west of John Cartlidge's farm was the village of the Indians, the Conestoga Indian town. There was another little Indian village in a loop of the Conestoga near Atkinson's.

Who were the German-Swiss neighbors of those English and Scotch-Irish making up the centre of this ancient section between and about 1715 and 1729?

Off toward sunrise, with its western limit at West Willow, was the Pequea Swiss colony; south of it Amos Strettle's 3,380 acres; and southwest of that Herr and Kendig's 5,000 acres.

Above Postlethwaite's, and between the English on Conestoga river on the west and the Swiss tract and Herr and Kendig's on the east, coming down from West Willow and the London or Estaugh tract of over 8,000 acres—toward Postlethwaite's were Harnish, and Herr, and Schlagel, and Pretter and Samuel Gulden and John Burkholder and George Kendrick and John Milen and Christ Herr and Benedict Venrich and Hans Moyer and Melchoir Brenneman, and Michael Shenk and Christopher Franciscus, and Jacob Eshleman, and Tobias Stehman and others. The German-Swiss neighbors below Postlethwaite's, east of the Conestoga across to the Pequea, were Jacob Miller, Michael Sprengle, Hans Keagy, Frederick Maynard, Benedict and Jacob Eshleman, John Stoneman, Christian Burkholder, Henry Stehman, Abram Burkholder and a few others.

Across the Conestoga, the Manor—as far north as a line extending from Millersville to Washington borough—had been generally settled for twelve years in 1729, by the German-Swiss. Passing from the Conestoga westward, in tiers, reading from north to south by great large tracts, were: Christian Herr, Abram Herr, John George Seeger, Michael Moyer, * * * Henry Kilheffer, Rudy Herr, John Shank, Christian Martin, Jacob Hostetter (containing Windom), John Herr, Abram Herr, Michael Shenk, Michael Baughman (whose farm included Letort), Jacob Brubaker and Michael Moyer (bounding Indiantown on the east), John Shank and Martin Funk's 480 acres (including Central Manor), Andrew Kauffman and Michael Baughman's western farm, which reached to the Indiantown 500 acres, and bounded it on the north. Two other Manor tracts lay on the west bank of the Conestoga—Peter Leman's tract, bounding the Cartlidge tract on the south and south of Leman's (was) Michael Creiter's tract of 290 acres, near Safe Harbor.

The large tract of 3,000 acres stretching from Washington borough to Creswell, extending eastward nearly to Central Manor and Letort, was reserved by the Penns, prior to 1729. And the remainder of the Manor, south of Creswell and west of Indiantown (except such tracts on the river as the English and Scotch-Irish had taken up) was all vacant in 1729.

Thus we have traced out the English and the German-Swiss neighbors for several miles in every direction from Postlethwaite's, in 1729, and for a dozen or fifteen years prior thereto. Out of 285 heads of families and single male adults in; and about old Conestoga, in 1726 or

1728, nearly half of them lived there as early as 1718, as the assessments show. Therefore, in 1729, a great proportion of the people who lived in and near Conestoga were old residents. Some of them lived there since 1712.

Many interesting personal incidents could be told about most of those old Conestoga pioneers. * * * Postlethwaite died a few years too early to make golden returns out of his land investment. He borrowed £247 sterling, on his 496 acres and failed, and it was sold for £500, and a few years later the purchaser sold it in parts, receiving over £3,000 for it. Thomas Baldwin was a brother-in-law of James Hendricks, and a brother-in-law of John Linvill. Tobias Hendricks and Andrew Cornish were the Conestoga members of the county's first bench of judges. John Grist was tried for attempting to dispossess Indians from their land. Schlagel, Worley, and Atkinson all had mills in the Conestoga. James Patterson could fight as well as pray; when his ferry near Washington borough was interferred with he declared, to defend it, he would wade in blood up to his knees. William Clark in his will gave his wife an estate conditioned on "Christian behavior." Daniel Preece in his will gave a daughter a certain share if she marries a Dutchman, but only a shilling if she marries an Irishman. Francis Worley was an important factor in all Indian treaties. John Cartledge was given his land at twenty per cent. off on condition that he looked after the welfare of Indiantown. Samuel Gulden was a Swiss Mennonite minister, and also John Estraugh. Herr and Kendig, who received the 5,000 acres of land, owned everything on Pequea creek below Beaver down to Marticville. They sold it at great profit to many holders. Christopher Franciscus was noted for killing panthers and wolves in the woods, and was a reputed giant. Mart Mylin started brick-making in 1724.

When we turn to the public activities of those early neighbors of Conestoga, we find that thirty-eight of them were signers of the petition of 1728 to create the county of Lancaster, out of 188 signers from the entire county, or over one-fifth. This section furnished more signers, according to the area, than any other. Jones, the Hendricks, Postlethwaites, Gales, Swifts, Linvills, Worleys, Pattersons, McCurrys, Bakers, Middletons and Wilkinses, Highs, Willises, Mitchells, Brians, Powells and Ludford representing the English, and Stoneman, Stehman, Ferree, Barr, Funk, Lemon, Hanspacker, Miller and others, representing the German-Swiss, all signed it.

The court records of Chester county, as to Conestoga township in those days, show that both the English and the Swiss took part in public affairs. Christopher Franciscus was constable in 1722 and 1723, John Roberts in 1724, Benedict Venrick in 1725, David Jones in 1726, 1727, 1728 and 1729 The constable of West Conestoga in 1727 was Daniel Ashleman, and in 1728-29 William Hughes. Peter Worral, John Baldwin, Robert Carter, Thomas Lindley, William Hughes, John Carter, Samuel Lewis, John Baker, and others, early Conestoga citizens, served on the grand juries and made up petit juries, etc., in 1720 to 1729. * * *

The steady growth of the ancient Conestoga region from the time when the inhabitants were first assessed here in 1718, is shown by the assessments to be as follows: English, 43; single, 12; and Dutch, 86; total, 141—male heads and families and adults in 1718; 166 in 1719; the same in 1720; 142 Swiss and 56 English in 1721, a total of 196; 66 in West Conestoga and 148 in East Conestoga, total 214, in 1722 * * *; 240 in 1724; 243 in 1725; 285 in 1726.

From 1726 to 1729 the records are missing, as are also those of the first two decades of Lancaster county.

The assessment of 1721 shows the valuation of the property owned by the various citizens of Conestoga. In it we find among the English, John Cartledge (had property valued at) £60 sterling, Francis Worley at £20; Robert Baker at £31; John Gardner at £24; James Patterson at £50; James Letort at £100; and Peter Bazilion at £154. Among the Palatines, the largest landowners and the wealthiest men in 1721 about Conestoga were Christian Herr, £32; John Herr, the same; Martin Kendricks, £60; Christ. Franciscus, £30; John Buckwalter, £40; John Line, £55; Jacob Kendrick, £46; Isaac Lefever, £50; and Daniel Ferree, £50. * * *

In religious profession, as we have said, Quakers, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Mennonites flourished here. The Quaker leaders were James, John, Tobias, and Albertus Hendricks; Francis and Susanna Worley and their family, Rebecca, Mary, Caleb, and Henry; John and Edmund Cartledge; Thomas and Elizabeth Gale; Samuel Jones, Joshua Low and a few others. These Quakers were the southern branch of the Quaker migration from old Chester; they were likely the earlier branch, arriving about or before 1718. The northern branch followed—John Wright to the Columbia locality about 1726. Sufficient proof that they came from old Chester lies in the fact that Worley, Baldwin, Cartledge, Hendricks, Linvill, Hughes, Gale, Worrall, and others all appear as residents of Chester in the Chester county recorder's office records, from 1696 to 1720, etc. Then, too, the Concord Quarterly Meeting of Friends in and about Philadelphia in 1722, as shown by their minutes, resolved that it was "necessary to visit those friends that are removed to Conestoga, etc." The Episcopalian branch was represented by John and William Postlethwaite and others. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts aided their movement to these regions. The Presbyterians living in this old Conestoga region were James Patterson, the Middletons, the Wilkinses, the Carters, the Lindleys, the Atkinsons, the Evanses, and others. The Mennonites were the German-Swiss of the Manor, and in fact the other scores of them on all sides. Somewhere in these valleys did these religious ancestors worship as early as 1718. The Mennonites worshipped here in some sort of meeting house before Masonville church ground was given them out of the Michael Baughman tract, before they received the New Danville church grounds out of the Samuel Gulden tract, before Samuel Boyer gave them "Beyerland," and before Benedict Eshleman gave them "River Corner." As to the Episcopalians, Hazards Register, volume 5, page 21, tells us that an Episcopal church was built in Conestoga in 1732. That may mean the Episcopal church at Churchtown (Bangor church), far up the Conestoga Valley. The minutes of the Donegal Presbytery of 1723 and other records from the year 1725 onward, make reference to the Presbyterians of "Conestoga;" and ministers were more or less regularly sent to them at those dates. Somewhere here, surely, the Presbyterians I have named worshipped. They did not, except one or two, worship at Donegal, because Donegal itself refers to them as "Presbyterians of Conestoga," and sent ministers to them. It seems likely that * * * they were the predecessors of the First Presbyterian Church of Lancaster, and moved in or began to worship there after the county government and other public county activities moved in from Conestoga. It is certain that the calls for ministers by the "Presbyterians of Conestoga" cease and the calls for ministers by the "Presbyterians of Lancaster" begin simultaneously 1741-42. As to the Quakers, who next to the Mennonites were the strongest sect here in earliest times, it seems they worshipped either at Wright's Ferry (now Columbia), or at Bird-in-Hand, or both. These were their first known meeting-houses near here.

In 1729 there were large regions round about this place (Postlethwaite's) not taken up. The region of Conestoga Center was not opened up until twenty years later. Much of the land about Shenk's Ferry was not taken up until 1750. The Creswell and Highville also opened up late. Colemanville and Martic Forge lay dormant also for ten or twelve years after the time of the Postlethwaite Courts. The same is true of other adjacent sections.

Thus Mr. Eshleman has excellently laid down the earliest settlement history of the Conestoga. It was not long before the English and the Scotch-Irish in the Conestoga region began to migrate to other parts:

Up the river to Donegal, to join their brethren who first landed there. Pattersons, and Middletons, and Mitchels and Burts and Gardners and Wilkinses, among others, moved there from Martic and Conestoga before 1726. They continued moving out of Conestoga—out of Donegal—moving westward and southwestward; and by 1750 they and their descendants dwelt numerously in the Cumberland Valley, in now West Virginia, in western Pennsylvania, and along the Ohio. By that time, too, very few of them were to be found in Conestoga. These Scotch-Irish and English followed the frontier-line as it moved westward. * * * And thus it happened that they left Conestoga entirely. Not one Scotch-Irish or English Quaker name exists in the Conestoga or Manor region to-day. * * * But on the other hand, the German-Swiss * * * are here in their descendants to this day. Very early they began buying out their English and Scotch-Irish neighbors; and many patents issued to German-Swiss settlers for land warranted to Scotch-Irish and English holders attest this fact. * * * The stocky steady German-Swiss are here to-day, guarding the graves of their fathers, helping to feed the world from the soil, heightening the glowing sunset over Conestoga's valley, by reflecting upon the sky the lustre of their golden corn, and "Holding fast to that which is good."

Conditions in Conestoga township at about the beginning of the nineteenth century were referred to by Casper Hiller in a paper he read in 1896 before the Lancaster County Historical Society:

In those pioneer days they had no coffee, no tea, no muslin or calico, nor hundreds of other things which we think we must have;. But they had plenty of fish—shad, herring, catfish, rock bass, perch, suckers, mullets, etc. In the forests were found deer, turkeys, squirrels, etc., in abundance. In a very short time they raised their own beef and pork, and the breadstuff was never wanting. They sowed flax, the rain rotted it and they broke, scutched, hatcheled, spun and wove it in their own houses. The wool was worked into cloth, mostly in the linsey-woolsey style, and then the tailor came around and made suits for the men and boys that were considered good for a year. The women made the bedding and their own clothing.

Our forefathers were not poor. They were contented and happy people. Rupp in his history gives the names of over twenty thousand immigrants (from the Palatinate), many of whom found their way into Lancaster county, and they could not have been so very poor, as their fine farms and substantial buildings of one hundred and fifty or more years ago attest. Of the substantial buildings dating back a century and a half we have yet five remaining in our township. They are large two-storied stone structures, so firmly built that they will be good for another hundred years. When we compare their living with the present style we might think them poor. Take from us the luxuries to which we have become accustomed and we would consider ourselves poor indeed.

About one hundred years ago, continued Mr. Hiller, "innovations came in fast. We then had true coffee. On Sundays we had tea. Muslin and calico and carpets came in. My first baby-clothes were calico; I think it cost fifty cents a yard." He said further:

Mills, of necessity were the first manufacturing places. Probably the oldest was at the mouth of the Little Conestoga creek; backwater from the building of the Slackwater navigation in 1827 ruined this. The next was the Shenk mill, on the Pequea, on the road between Conestoga and Marticville. This was replaced (after a fire) by a new building. Sawmills were connected with all of the old mills. Hardwood furnished all the building material. Among our old industries was a gun-barrel factory. It was owned by Michael Reyner, and stood along the run now the boundary line between Conestoga and Pequea townships. My grandmother Resh, nee Hess, who died many years ago, aged eighty-four years, knew all about the old bore mill. She called the owner "Bore Michael." She said that at one time things did not work right, and Michael said things were "ferhext" (bewitched), and he said: "Ich will der a-moi dunner vetter geve." She then got a dead hog, laid it on the fire and put the full blast of the bellows on it. * * * It must have been effectual, for Michael made gun barrels afterwards. Unfortunately I failed to get dates, but it must have ceased work shortly after the Revolutionary War. Seventy-five years ago (1820) there was not a trace of the building left—only a ditch overgrown with trees and bushes that was the water race that furnished the power. We have an oil factory; the building was torn down within fifty years. Ponderous stone rollers and large presses remained in it to the last. Flax seed was principally used for oil, but castor oil was also made; a half-barrel of castor beans remained to the end. When this mill ceased operation History sayeth not. The stocking weavery operated by John Yentzer ceased working about 1815. It had been in operation many years. Whisky distilling was introduced early. I can point out ten sites where whisky was made in the past. Probably the oldest was on the Sterneman farm, now J. M. Warfel (farm). It has been out of operation over one hundred years. We have no distillery now (1896). About the year 1800 weaving began to die out. As late as 1830 we had three weaver shops, using two to six looms. The general introduction about that time of cotton goods put an end to flax-raising and to the looms. We have not a loom in the township now. Our only tannery is operated by the great-grandson (A. Myer) of the originator. It is probably 130 years old.

Peter C. Hiller, in a "History of Conestoga Township," written by him in 1883, stated that Myers' tannery was first brought into operation in October, 1812. He said it was owned by Samuel Myers, and operated by Socrates Myers, afterwards operated by Samuel Myers & Son (Rudolph) to 1839, by the latter from 1839 to 1876, and by Abraham, the son of Rudolph, from 1876. At that time he was using horse-power for grinding the bark, and was tanning from 800 to 1,000 hides, and 500 to 600 calf-skins annually.

The limits of Conestoga township were reduced in 1853 by the erection of Pequea township, which took from the eastern part of Conestoga. As now bounded, Conestoga township has Manor township on the northwest, Lancaster township on the north, Pequea township on the east, Martic township on the south, and the Susquehanna river on the west. Its area is 19,600 acres, probably as good farming land as can be found in the county. The communities are Conestoga Centre, near the center of the township, Rockhill in the northwest, Slackwater in the north, Safe Harbor in the west, and Colemanville in the southeast. All are villages, and there is not a borough in the township.

Conestoga Centre was platted in 1805, by John Kendig, on part of thirty-four acres which had originally belonged to Martin Kendig, and had been sold by the sheriff, John Reitzel, in 1805, to Henry Brenneman. Possibly this disturbed the original plans; at all events, they were not followed, and the village stretched along for about a mile on a high ridge. In 1880 Conestoga Centre was a place of 500 inhabitants; its population is now about 600. In 1880 there were about ninety houses; it was a post-town, and had three stores, two cigar factories, two inns, two smithies, two carpentries, one cooperage, four churches, three schools, and one shoe-store. The position is proportionately better to-day. Conestoga Centre was laid out by John Kendig, primarily because he was the landlord of a tavern at that point in 1805. His hotel was on the road from Lancaster to Burkholder's Ferry. Another Conestoga Centre tavern of early days was that kept by Peter Kline, on the road from Lancaster to Martic Forge. Tobias Kendig early kept an inn at Conestoga Centre, on the same road.

Colemanville seems to have begun to grow at about the time Edward Coleman, son of Robert, built the Colemanville forge and rolling mill upon the old Martic Forge property in 1828.

That part of Safe Harbor which is in Conestoga township came into vigorous being in 1846, when the ironworks began to be constructed. It faded away, however, when the ironworks were closed. Much of the history of this place will be found to have been stated in the Manor township chapter. For a long time during the busy period of the ironworks, a Catholic Mission was maintained at Safe Harbor and attended by an assistant priest of St. Mary's, Lancaster. "The mission at Safe Harbor was organized in 1854, by Rev. John Balfe. The place of worship was built in Father Keenan's supervision, and was attended by Rev. Fathers O'Brien and Hickey. During the operation of the ironworks, up to the summer of 1865, Mass was said there every second Sunday, but from then until 1880 only at rare intervals, and since then not at all." Among the early taverns at Safe Harbor was that kept by Jacob Menart, on the road from Columbia to Martic Forge. The building was afterwards known as the "Mansion House" at Safe Harbor. It was destroyed by fire in about 1880, and was never rebuilt.

Jacob Menart also kept a tavern on the road from Lancaster to Safe Harbor; and around it grew Slackwater. The village owed its existence, however, to the paper-mills of John A. Schober, most of the houses being owned by him and tenanted by his workmen. The Slackwater paper-mills were established as such in 1866, by Emanuel Shober, though part of the buildings had been formerly used as a grist-mill. The paper plant soon found employment for about forty men constantly.

Rockhill is a small village situated on the Conestoga river, about equidistant from Slackwater and Safe Harbor, and near to the historic Postlethwaite's tavern. There was also a grist mill at that point.

The population of Conestoga township in 1880 was 2,550. It has been gradually decreasing ever since, and in 1920 its population was only 1,323. It is still, however, one of the rich spots of Lancaster county, and will ever be the historical center of the county.

CHAPTER VII.

STRASBURG TOWNSHIP AND BOROUGH.

Strasburg does not appear among the original townships of Lancaster county, yet it was of record many years earlier than 1729, when Lancaster county was organized. Samuel Evans, who compiled the greater part of the 1883 "History of Lancaster County," was evidently much concerned that he was unable to trace the organization of Strasburg, or explain why it was included in Leacock township when the county was erected; and in 1896 he made reference to the subject in a paper then read before the Lancaster County Historical Society. The reference reads:

> When I came to arrange some stray notes pertaining to the early settlement of the locality embraced within the limits of Strasburg Township as it was bounded one hundred and sixty-five years ago, I found a good many snags in my way. Some of the earliest settlers came from Strasburg on the Rhine, and the neighborhood came to be known as "New Strasburge," and was thus designatd in 1716 by the Assessors or Surveyors of Chester county. There were no definite bounds to the district, and it was not set apart as a township before the erection of Lancaster county, in 1729.
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> One of the London Land patents in this county contained 5,553 acres, and was surveyed in the year 1716. According to Isaac Taylor's draft the southern line was bounded by "New Strasburge," and the landholders close to the line were Isaac LeFevre, who took up 300 acres the 15th of 4 mo., 1713; Daniel Ferree, 600 acres, 4th of 8 mo., 1716; Philip Ferree, 300 acres, 24th of 6 mo., 1716, and Henry Carpenter, 1000 acres, 7 mo. 27th, 1718.
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> In these years the Constables returned them in the Conestoga assessment. In the year 1720 the Ferrees and LeFevers were returned in the Pequea assessment, which also included all the settlers along or near the head of Pequea creek. The settlement along the east branch of the Conestogae, now Caernarvon, was in the Conestogae rate. I find a number of titles of settlers in the year 1717 marked in "New Strasburge." There seems to be no record in Chester county of any township named "Strasburg." When Lancaster county was organized and divided into townships, in the summer of 1729, none was named "Strasburg." But I find its territory and that of Paradise were included within the bounds of Leacock; and after a diligent search among the records in Lancaster, I cannot find the date when Strasburg was erected, or taken from Leacock. This is a strange omission and has puzzled the local historian and surveyors of the county. I can only approximate to the date.
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> In the year 1730 a road was laid out from Samuel Taylor's mill in Strasburg township, to North East, in Maryland. This mill was probably on Big Beaver creek, above William Smith's mill, where the Zook's of our day have a fulling mill. Daniel Ferree and Isaac LeFever took out a patent for 2,000 acres of land in Strassburg township in 1733. In the year 1734 Casper Bowman took out a patent for land, and also Mathias Slaymaker took out a patent for 150 acres in the same township in the year 1735. I can only approximate the date of "New Strasburge" (being erected) into a township, which was probably in the early part of the year 1730.

The name "Strasburg" comes into land records as early as 1712, if not earlier. Copy of receipt for annual quit-rent for two thousand acres of land reads: "Recd, Philadelphia, 11:7:1712, of Maria Warenbauer, twenty shillings sterling, for one year's quit-rent of two thousand acres of land laid out to her at Strasburg, in this Province. (Signed) James Logan, Receiver."

This Maria Warenbauer was the widow of Daniel Ferree (Fiere), a silk weaver of Steinweller. After his death she had, according to an old French custom, again taken her maiden patronymic, Warenbauer. The Ferree family, in common with other Huguenot families, suffered by the repealing of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, in 1685, and eventually found refuge in England, ultimately, in 1709, reaching the British colonies. Her son, Daniel Ferree, and her son-in-law, Isaac Le Fevre (or Lefever), reached New York on January 1, 1709, but she, Maria Warenbauer (or Mary Ferree, as she is more often referred to in Lancaster county records), did not arrive, with her four younger children, until later in that year, perhaps not until 1710. It is believed that for a while the Ferree family resided in the Huguenot colony at Esopus, now Kingston, New York. But they were evidently soon in Pennsylvania, as is shown in Judge Landis's paper entitled "Madame Mary Ferree and the Huguenots of Lancaster County," published in 1917. He writes:

> The minutes of the Land Commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania state that the late Commissioners, having granted ten thousand acres of land to the Palatines by their warrant dated 8 ber (October), 1710, in pursuance thereof, there was laid out to Martin Kindig (besides the 2,000 acres already confirmed to him and paid for) the like quantity of 2,000 acres towards Susquehannah, of which Surveyor General has made a return. The said Martin, now appearing, desires the said land to be granted to Maria Warenbuer, widow, for whom the same was taken up or intended, and is to pay the consideration for it. All of the parties must have been present at Philadelphia before the Land Commissioners at this time,—that is, Martin Kendig, Mary Fiere, Daniel Ferree, her son, and Isaac LeFever, her son-in-law, for the record continues: "But, upon further consideration of the matter, it is agreed among themselves that the said land shall be confirmed to Daniel Ferree and Isaac LeFever, two of the said widow's sons, and the consideration money, viz.: "£140, at £7 p. hund'd, by agreement, having been for some time due, but is now to be paid down in one sum, 'tis agreed they shall pay only ten pounds for interest, that is £150 in the whole." These entries were made on September 10, 1712. The records, however, now in the office of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, show the following to be the exact situation: On October 10, 1710, John Rudolph Bundley, Martin Kindig, and other Germans made application for 10,000 acres to be laid out to them twenty miles easterly of Conestogae, near the head of Pequea creek. On the same day a warrant was secured by Martin Kendig (Kindig) for 2,000 acres and six per cent for roads and roadways." This was the tract he transferred to Daniel Ferree and Isaac LeFever, and for which a patent was issued to them on September 10, 1712. It is filed in Patent Book A, volume 4, page 303, and in part reads:
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> Whereas my late Commissioners of Property, by their warrant bearing date ye Tenth day of ye Eighth Month in ye year One thousand Seven Hundred and Tenn, granted unto John Rudolph Bundley and Martin Kindig & divers other Germans, late inhabitants in or near ye Palatinate of ye Rhine, Tenn thousand acres of land to be laid out to them on ye north side of a hill about twenty miles easterly of Conestogoe, near ye head of Pecque Creek, in this Province, by virtue of which warrant there was survey'd & subdivided at ye instance of ye sd Martin Kindig for ye use of Daniel Ferre & Isaac LeFevre, late of Steinweilter, in ye Palatinate of ye Rhine, a certain tract, situate and bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the corner tree of another tract belonging to ye same grant, running by ye same south by east eight hundred & twenty perches to a corner markt tree, thence east by a line of markt trees four hundred & twenty-two perches to a corner tree in a certain tract of land, surveyed by Thomas Story, thence by ye sd Story's land and vacant land north by west eight hundred & twenty perches to a post, thence west by a line of markt trees four hundred & twenty perches to ye beginning, containing two thousand acres with allowance made for Roads & Highways, which ye sd Daniel Fierre & Isaac LeFevre requesting me to confirm to them by Patent. Know ye, that for and in consideration of, and so forth.

It seems to have been officially understood that Mary Ferree (Maria Warenbauer), the mother, was one of the parties of this transaction, and that the two parties named in the instrument should merely, for the present, hold the tract "in behalf of themselves and others, their kindred and relations, who had advanced part of the purchase money for the same." Madame Ferree (Warenbauer) was given receipt in November of the same year for the quit-rent on the tract, which receipt has already been quoted herein, because the name "Strasburg" appears therein. And, with the passing of some years, parts of the Ferree-Lefever tract were deeded to others of their family, and to Thomas Faulkner. The original patent was surrendered in 1735, and another then issued for 2,300 acres, with allowances, it having been ascertained by a resurvey "that there was a considerable error in respect to the length and the quantity of land therein contained."

It does not seem possible to confidently state the year in which the Ferrees took up residence. They may have come in soon after leaving shipboard, and "squatted" on the land while negotiations were pending, in which case Daniel Ferree, the son, and Isaac LeFever, the son-in-law, would have settled in the year 1709. This is not corroborated by some other records, but it is the year stated by Jacob Hildebrand, in his "Reminiscences of Strasburg," published in 1896. He writes:

> The first settlements were made in 1709 by the Swiss Mennonites on the banks of the Pequea Creek. The name Strasburg was no doubt brought with them from their native country, but in the organization of Lancaster county in 1729 and the division into townships there seemed to be a prejudice against the German Mennonites, and the name Strasburg was entirely ignored, and what is now known as Strasburg and Paradise townships was included within the boundaries of Leacock township, although at that time patent deeds had been granted to the first settlers for over 20,000 acres of land, and in the deeds is mentioned Strasburg, Chester county. I have never been able to find any legal or Court records showing when the boundaries of Strasburg Township were defined. It was only by common honesty and in justice to the first settlers that the name has been continued.
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> The first patent deeds are dated June 30th, A. D. 1711. The number of patent deeds for the whole township is forty-six and they contain over 14,000 acres. The names of the original patentees are Martin Kendig, John Kunk, Jacob Miller, Able Strettle, Isaac LeFever, Hans Howery, Daniel Ferree, Samuel Taylor, Jacob Groff, John Taylor, Thomas Smith, Henry Kendig, John Bowman, John Rush, John Herr, John Eckman, Isaac Whitelock, George Smith, Henry Stoner, Jacob Kendrick, John Mosser, Jacob Eshleman, John Miller, John Breckbill, Benjamin Groff, James Scott, David Witmer, John Hubley, J. and M. Fouts, Francis Bowman, Conrad Hoak, John Neff, Samuel Peoples, Samuel Hathern, and Annie Neff.

Hans Graaf, who is looked upon as the original settler in Earl township, received a patent for one thousand acres of the "John Bundeley and Company" tract in 1716, but in the next year transferred the patent to Abraham Dubois, father-in-law of Philip Ferree. It adjoined the Ferree-Lefever tract on the east, and that of Herman Richman on the west. The Ferree-Lefever land bordered on what became the limits of the borough of Strasburg, and part of it has remained in the possession of descendants of Isaac Lefever, though the patronymic Ferree has now become almost extinct in Lancaster county. The old Ferree family graveyard is on the farm which for many recent decades has been in the possession of the Ranck family; it was the original Daniel Ferree tract, and the graveyard was laid out and walled around at a very early date in the northwest corner of the tract. Probably the first to be buried in that graveyard was Madame Ferree (Maria Warenbauer), who died in about January, 1716, aged about sixty-three years. In 1787 the Ferree descendants executed an agreement to maintain this as the family graveyard, all descendants being by the instrument entitled to use the graveyard "at all times hereafter to bury their dead human bodies." The farm at that time was in the possession of the Carpenter family, into which family Mary Ferree, daughter of Daniel Ferree, had married. The parties to the graveyard conveyance, in 1787, were John and Abraham Carpenter, Samuel Lefever, Joel Ferree, and Philip Ferree. More than a hundred years later, in 1896, a reunion of the Ferree family brought the matter of this graveyard under discussion, and a subscription was then made for its maintenance and improvement. Mrs. Landis, wife of Judge C. I. Landis, being a descendant of the Ferree family, through Philip Fiere, younger brother of Daniel Ferree, sons of Widow Maria Warenbauer, has since been trustee of the fund, and is using it to the best advantage for the purpose intended. The deed of conveyance of this burial-place is to be found recorded in Record Book TT, page 162, headed "For Graveyard known as Carpenter or Ferree Graveyard." There is nothing in the deed itself, however, by which it might be so designated, excepting insofar as the Carpenter family comes into the Ferree family.

Walter M. Franklin, in reviewing Strasburg history in 1901, wrote:

> Among the early settlers in the Pequea Valley were Hans Mylin and his sons Martin and John; Martin Kendig, Hens Herr, Ulrich Brackbill, and others, who selected a tract of 10,000 acres, for which they obtained a warrent October 10, 1710, which was subsequently divided among them by the Surveyor General, on April 27, 1711, and much of the same land is held by their descendants to this day. These early settlers were people of not only great sturdiness and thrift, but of high purpose and most estimable character.
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> Martin Mylin was a famous preacher and writer, and Hans Herr was their Bishop. The latter was chosen by lot to return to Europe to induce their relatives and others to come to the new country, but his flock were so reluctant to spare him that Martin Kendig, who was an influential leader among them, volunteered to go in his place and made the hard journey, bring back with him a considerable number of immigrants. Among those who sought the new land was Matthais Schleiermacher, a man of means and of great force of character, who came from Strasburg, in Alsace, in 1710, and took up a tract of a thousand acres; and tradition credits him with having given the township in which it lay the name of Strasburg, at first New Strasburg, which was carved out of Leacock in 1759. * * *
>
> There were also among those who were attracted by the Swiss Mennonites a few French Huguenots, Daniel Ferree, Isaac LeFever and others, who bought a large portion of the tract originally taken up by the Swiss settlers.

Hildebrand writes that "the first house of any pretensions to be a roomy and comfortable dwelling was built by Martin Kendig in the year 1717, out of walnut logs and with a straw or thatched roof." There were of course many other log houses of earlier erection. Madame Ferree's few years of residence in Strasburg township were probably spent in a humbler cabin, and she had died before the Kendig house was raised. Judge Landis writes: "It has been asserted that Mary Fiere built her log house at a spring near the township bridge crossing the stream on the road to Intercourse. Were it not for the houses which obscure one's vision, this location would be easily within sight. This claim is not sustained by proof, but, like many other things, is established by family tradition. Nearby, the first white child, Daniel Lefever, the son of Isaac and Katharine Lefever, was born in 1713."

The more pretentious Kendig house, of 1717 construction, was situated "about two hundred yards south from the Strasburg borough line." It was occupied as a farmhouse until 1841, when David Gyger erected a "fine large two-story brick house near the same place." The oldest of the colonial houses, or rather the houses of colonial times, standing in recent decades, in Strasburg township, was the original Eshleman homestead, a large frame two-story building erected certainly before the fifth decade of the eighteenth century. "An attachment was built to it in 1741." And some of the old mills are still standing.

Railroads—The first railroad project was one which should have given Strasburg railway facilities in the very infancy of the "iron road." Unfortunately, however, twenty years were to pass between the year of obtaining charter to construct, and that of completing construction. Hildebrand writes: "In the year 1832 a charter was obtained for the railroad from Strasburg to connect with the Pennsylvania railroad at Leaman Place. Work was soon after commenced, and the road was graded from Swan Hotel to within about one hundred yards of Leaman Place, but owing to the lack of funds was not completed until 1852." An interesting reference to the "Strasburg Branch Railroad" was discovered recently by William Frederic Worner, of Lancaster, in the files of Hazard's Register for 1835. On issue of June 6th, page 363, is given the information that: "This branch extends from the borough of Strasburg, Lancaster county, to the Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad, near the water station at Lemon's, extent about four miles. The whole stock has been taken and the work, it is expected, will be put under contract without delay." The work of grading may have commenced in about 1835, but the capital and borrowing powers of the promoters had been exhausted before the last mile could be completed. Finally, "new life was infused into the enterprise," and the road was completed in 1851 or 1852. Ten years later, financial embarrassment delivered the road into the hands of the sheriff, the sale by him bringing to the shareholders only seven dollars for each share of one hundred dollars. A syndicate of twenty-two Lancaster county men, headed by the Hon. Ferree Brinton, Henry Brackbil, Cyrus N. Herr and John F. Herr, purchased the property for thirteen thousand dollars. John F. Herr was manager of the road, and within the next three or four years he and Cyrus N. Herr acquired the stock-holding of every other partner. In 1866 the firm of Herr & Company was organized, a partnership of Cyrus N., John F. and A. M. Herr. They operated the railway in connection with a large flouring-mill which they erected at the railway station. A few years later they added a planing-mill and a machine-shop, and were conducting the whole with profit. In January, 1871, however, fire destroyed the station and the mills, "destroying in one night upwards of fifty thousand dollars' worth of property, from which loss the firm never recovered." The railway station, machine-shop, and planing-mill were rebuilt in the spring of 1871, and had it not been for the disastrous financial panic that gripped the nation in 1873 the enterprising Herrs may have recovered. It was not to be, however, and in 1875 the members of the firm were compelled to make an assignment to Isaac Phenegar, who had been their bookkeeper. At the assignee's sale, the railway property was purchased by Thomas and Henry Baumgardner, of Lancaster, for $12,725, and leased to Isaac Phenegar, who operated it profitably.

The Lancaster and Quarryville railway, passing through the southwestern part of the township at Refton, was opened for travel on May 11, 1875. It is now part of the Pennsylvania railroad system. Trolley connection was afforded Strasburg about twenty years ago, when the line from Lancaster to Strasburg was opened. Interested and influential in bringing the trolley route to Strasburg were Amos Hollinger, the first president of the company, George W. Hensel, then cashier of the First National Bank of Strasburg, and Jacob L. Ranck, of Strasburg.

Strasburg Borough—Strasburg has been a settled place for almost two hundred years. It was not incorporated until 1816, but as a community center it seems to have had entity since the thirties of the previous century. Mr. H. G. Book, in his review, states that: "The history of Strasburg owing to want of records previous to its incorporation must of necessity remain hidden beneath the veil of obscurity. Tradition tells us that the first dwelling in the town was built in or about the year 1733, by one Hoffman, and that it soon became a considerable village frequently passing under the name of Bettlehausen (beggar-houses)." It was a well patronized halting place in the days of the Conestoga wagon, and of the stage coach. One record reads: "Many years ago, when all the freighting between Philadelphia and the interior towns was done by Conestoga wagons, Strasburg was one of the principal stopping stations, and the town contained sometimes as many as eight or ten hotels, and about as many stores." By 1791 Strasburg had advanced so far as to possess a Scientific Society of sufficient importance to draw to its meetings some of the leading citizens of Lancaster county. John Shippen delivered the opening address in 1791. And Strasburg also had a "Society Hall," which it is not thought could have been in the Washington House, though it may have been in the other principal hotel, the Golden Swan, owned by John Funck, for he was the librarian of the Strasburg Scientific Society, and in 1803, when the effects of the Society were advertised for sale, the place of sale was stated to be "at the House of Mr. John Funck." Landlord Funck late in life developed ability as a portrait painter. He painted a portrait of Bishop Francis Asbury, pioneer bishop of the Methodist Church in America. It is looked upon as his masterpiece. It was painted on a poplar board, in about 1813, probably upon the last visit of the Bishop to Strasburg. He had been coming to the village with comparative frequency since 1791. The portrait now hangs in the Asbury Memorial Hall of the American University at Washington, D. C. By the way, Bishop Asbury under date of July 28, 1799, wrote in his journal regarding Strasburg: "This place I judge contains between sixty and seventy houses." It was therefore, in those early Republican days a place of some importance; indeed, until the coming of the railways and the passing of the stages, Strasburg and West Chester were the two most important stopping places along the road between Philadelphia and Lancaster.

The incorporating act of the Assembly was dated March 13, 1816, and it defined the borough boundaries as follows:

> Beginning at a stone, the corner of Widow Herr's land, thence along lands of George LeFever and John Howery south seventy-four degrees, west two hundred and six perches and eight-tenths of a perch to a stone; thence along lands of John Howery north sixteen degrees west forty-nine perches and a half perch to a stone; thence along lands of John Kindig, Widow Longenecker, Tobias Herr and Henry Breckbill south seventy-four degrees west two hundred and seventy-six perches and one-half to a post; thence along lands of John Kindig and John Breckbill south fifteen degrees and one-quarter of a degree east one hundred and thirty perches to a stone; thence along lands of Jacob Fritz and John Funk north seventy-four degrees, east two hundred and thirty-nine perches and one-third of a perch to a stone; thence along lands of said John Funk south seventeen degrees east thirty-nine perches and one-half of a perch to a stone; thence along Abraham Graff's land north seventy-five degrees and three-fourths of a degree east two hundred and forty perches and one-half of a perch to a stone; thence along lands of Widow Herr north fifteen degrees west one hundred and twenty-nine perches and one-half of a perch to the place of beginning.

The first election was held at the public house of Thomas Crawford in said borough, on the first Tuesday in April, 1816; and then the following were elected to constitute the original borough council: James Whitehill, chief burgess; Jacob Miller, assistant burgess; Nathaniel W. Sample, Thomas Crawford, John Connolly, Robert Spencer, Peter Holl, Samuel Miller, and

William Hauge, councilmen; John Markley, constable. At the first meeting George Hoffman was appointed treasurer and Martin Fouts clerk. The early council meetings were held at the public house of Thomas Crawford, on the northwest corner of Center Square.

The administration of the borough followed the customary course of civic government for eastern places of like size and importance. The lack of railway facilities has considerably hampered the expansion of the borough, and it was not until about 1873 that wooden pavements were prohibited by order of the Strasburg council. Substantial brick pavements took their place, but not until after some years of complete cessation of paving work.

Both Strasburg borough and township are slightly decadent in population. Strasburg township had a population of 1,748 in 1900, but its population in 1920 was only 1,466. Strasburg borough had 916 inhabitants in 1900 and only 853 in 1920. The borough, however, is a place of considerable business. There are three leaf-tobacco factories, and its retail establishments are operating on a larger scale than one would expect to find in a town of less than a thousand inhabitants. One of the most active service establishments is the First National Bank of Strasburg, which was organized in 1863 with John F. Herr president and Edward M. Eberman cashier. Its capital is $80,000, with surplus of about as much.

There was a time in the early provincial history when Strasburg had no churches, and went by the name of Hell Hole, for at that time it had become a comparatively well-populated, almost cosmopolitan, town, serving those who travelled along the highway, by Conestoga wagon or otherwise. Most of the residents were to some extent connected with the eight or ten public-houses, which offered "entertainment for man and beast," ostlers, stablemen, drovers, teamsters, or men who in other ways drew their living from the traffic along the highway. William Frederic Worner writes that this condition "attracted to the village a class of people uncouth in manners and speech," adding that the town was without a church or meeting-house even though a clergyman had resided within the boundaries since 1782. It seems that it was not until the Methodist church was built in about 1807 that Strasburg had its first church edifice. The community was not however without religious service or society for so long. Indeed, the records of the Lutheran Church society go back almost to the earliest days. All of the Strasburg churches are reviewed in the religious chapters.

It is claimed that the Pennsylvania Free School System had its inception in Strasburg. A petition in favor of general and free education was sent from Strasburg to the State Legislature in 1831, as the outcome of a discussion which began in the store of George Hoffman, and was continued in a public meeting held in the Jackson schoolhouse in Strasburg. Upon the subject, Mr. Jacob Hildebrand writes:

> Strasburg claims the honor of being the birthplace of the Hon. Thomas H. Burrowes—on the 16th day of November, 1805—to whom the people of Pennsylvania are greatly indebted for our common school system. Through his influence in January, 1831, George Hoffman, George Diffenbach, Alexander H. Hood, James McPhail, Benjamin Herr and others held a meeting in the little brick school house on Jackson street, which was the first effort to found a system of public schools. The first petition was presented and signed at that meeting, and it was afterwards sent to Mr. Burrowes, who was then a member of the Legislature. Some who attended that meeting never lost sight of the measure until our free school system was formally established in 1835.

The Strasburg High School building was erected in about 1856, on North Jackson street. It afforded adequate accommodation for the public-school purposes in the borough for some years; and with the acquirement of the Strasburg Academy, the school committee considered the borough to be sufficiently provided for until 1870, when a two-story brick structure was erected on the south side of Franklin street, west of Fulton. At the time of the enactment of the Common School Law there were seven township schools, or rather seven schools in the township. They were mostly church schools, and the equipment was not of high grade. However, Strasburg is now able to compare very favorably with other townships in the matter of common school facilities. (See also Public Schools, also Private Schools chapters).

Squire Jacob Hildebrand was closely connected with the printing industry in Strasburg for many years. His review of Strasburg Press history is as follows:

> In December, 1850, Martin M. Rohrer published the first newspaper in Strasburg, called the Strasburg Bee. He continued it for several years, and was succeeded by Dr. George S. Whitehill. Dr. Whitehill was a scholarly man and was quite deaf. He was a great student and admirer of Shakespeare. * * * He was an excellent penman and bookkeeper, and finally met with a tragic death on the railroad at Erie, Pa. The Bee was published afterwards by W. T. McPhail, Esq., until 1855, when Samuel B. Markley became the proprietor for about one year, when the paper was discontinued. In 1858 William J. Kauffman published the Strasburg Herald, and continued it until 1861. The office was then closed as a newspaper, but the material was purchased and continued in use as a job office by Jacob Hildebrand until 1870. That year a stock company was organized with George B. Eager as editor. He published the Free Press until 1879, after which J. W. Sando became the editor and publisher until 1881, when it was discontinued. In 1883 Frank P. Eberman purchased and renewed the office with new type and steam press and published the Free Press for five years. He then concluded to trv farming and let the printing office take care of itself, but in March, 1890, Frank P. Hart became the publisher for about one year. Since that time no paper has been published, but an excellent job office is now carried on by John G. Homsher, Esq.

Hon. John G. Homsher founded the "Strasburg Weekly News" in 1897, and has been its owner-editor ever since. It covers the local field adequately, and while it has not yielded adequate return for the effort its regular publication has entailed, it has furnished Strasburg Township with an appreciated home news-service for a generation. Strasburg borough has most of the city conveniences—light, power, heat, and water. A water company was incorporated in 1895 to supply the borough with spring water by gravity from the Mine Hills. The Strasburg Electric Light, Power and Heat Company furnishes electrical service.

John Neff, son of Jacob Neff, laid out in 1835 a village in the southern part of the township. It was named Leesburg, and at one time was known as Sorrel Horse, after the village inn, similarly signed. Eventually it became Martinsville, which it now is. The place took that name at about the time Jacob Martin was general storekeeper and postmaster there. Refton, in the southwestern part of the township, was laid out in 1877 by Daniel Herr (Pequea), soon after the Lancaster and Quarryville branch of the Reading railroad passed through Strasburg township at that point. It has not grown appreciably since the eighties.

Early industries of Strasburg township include some leaf-tobacco plants, near Strasburg, operated by Groff & Musselman and Philip Lebzelter; a "quite extensive" coach works of the Baldwin Brothers, between New Providence and Martinsville; a tannery, a little farther south on the same road, owned by Philip Miller, the lime kilns of "Pequea Dan" (Herr); and the somewhat important iron mining. (See also "Early Mills," and "Iron Mining" chapters).

CHAPTER VIII.

SALISBURY TOWNSHIP.

The township of Salisbury was one of the earliest organized. Settlement began in about 1710 or 1712, and while the territory was still in Chester county it probably formed the greater part of the Pequea township, which seems to have been erected in 1720-21, from the eastern part of Conestoga township. The earliest tax-lists of which there is record are those of 1718 for Conestoga township. Several names appear in that list of those settlers who were assessed in 1720-21 in the "Pequea List." Among them were Daniel Cookson, William Clark, Joseph Row (Roe). The full list for the first assessment in Pequea township (1720-21) contains the following names: John Barger, Joseph Roe, Isaac Lefever, Elizabeth Vinyard, Daniel Fierree, Thomas Falkner, Anthony Brighter, James Galdt, Robert Galdt, Morgan Davis, Benjamin Keath, Samuel Collins, James Hickman, John Williams, William Richardson, Philip Ferree, Richard Davis, Christian Blossom, John Fierree, John Powell, John Frederickfels, Thomas Clark, Joseph Ridgeway, Mayra Jervis, Daniel Cookson, for John Josling, William Clark.

From a knowledge of the exact places of settlement of some of the pioneers whose names are listed, one would infer that the Pequea township organized in 1720 covered a greater area than the Salisbury township of 1729 erection.

John C. Linvill, of Salisbury, sketched the history of that township in 1883. He selects eleven names from this 1720 "Pequea List," the inference being that these were the settlers within what is now Salisbury township; he names John Barger, William Richardson, Thomas Faulkner, James Gault, Thomas Clark, Robert Gault, Josiah Ridgway, Morgan Jones, Daniel Cookson, for John Gosling, John Williams, William Clark. He also gives the names listed on an "Assessment-List for 1724." His list is not the same as that for Pequea township, 1724-25, and may perhaps have been taken from the missing assessment-book for 1723-24. (See Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County," page 1041, and compare with page 181, Vol. XX, Papers of Lancaster County Historical Society). Mr. Linvill's list is as follows: Daniel Cookson, Wm. Clark, Joseph Jervis, John Whiteside, Joseph Hicman, Wm. Richardson, Wm. Richardson (smith), John Barger, Thomas Clark, Morgan Jones, John Williams, James Varner, James Gault, John Clemson, Benjamin Heath, James Whitehill, Morgan Brian, Samuel Varner, Henry Cowan, Hugh Thomson, John Thomson, Samuel Robinson, Isaac Low, Joseph Row, Thomas Clark, John Barnet, William Wilson, David Cowan, John Hastings, James Cole, Frederick Foulk, James Gauston, Wm. Cowan, John Miller, Thomas Faulkner, James Mitchell, Caleb Copeland. He also gives the list of "Non-resident land-holders in 1724," as follows: James Logan, Thomas Story, John Moore, James Clemson, Rebecca Shaw, Thomas Hockley, William Clark (collector).

Lancaster County—Separation from Chester county of the land west of the Octorara was made in 1729, and the new county named Lancaster. Meeting of magistrates and principal inhabitants was held at Postlethwaite's on June 9th of that year, and among the township divisions then set was the following: Salisbury township, beginning at the county line at the northeasterly corner of Sadsbury township, thence northerly along the said line to the mountains at Brandywine head, thence westerly by Caernarvon township along the said mountain to a corner of Leacock township by David Cowen, thence by the said township southerly to the east line of Thomas Story's land, thence continuing by the said township along another mountain to Sadsbury line, thence to the said line easterly to the place of beginning.

The boundaries were approved by the court at its first session in Lancaster county, in August, 1729, and there has since been no change in the Salisbury township boundaries. The township embraces the Pequea valley at its eastern or upper end. The Welsh mountain forms its northern boundary, and the Mine and Gap hills lie on the south. The two ranges meet on the east, enclosing the valley on three sides. The tributaries of the Pequea creek have their origin in the surrounding hills, and, joining the main branch, flow into Leacock township at Hunsecker's mill. The surface of the country is rolling and is underlaid with limestone, thus securing a soil rich in the inorganic elements of plant food, and also good drainage. The immense trap-dike that crosses the county from northeast to southwest passes through the villages of Springville, Spring Garden, Buyerstown, and Bethania. The roads are the Newport road, Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike, the old Philadelphia and Lancaster road, and Peter's road; the Pennsylvania railroad passes through the extreme southwestern tip of the township and the electric railway also passes through Gap, from Lancaster to Christiana. There are no boroughs in Salisbury township, but the villages include Gap, Bethania, Slaymakersville, Buyerstown, Mt. Airy, Springville, Salisbury, White Horse, Limeville, Cambridge, Spring Garden. The principal village is Gap, and the Gap has been the principal part of Salisbury township ever since whites first began to pass through. In the Gap is the traditional Penn Rock, the Penn Spring, and the Shawnee Garden, and the bed of the old Indian reliquies from which fifty-seven cartloads of coal and ashes were hauled in the year 1873. That William Penn visited the Gap in the year 1700 while on his journey to Conestoga, there cannot be any doubt, states Mr. Isaac Walker, in his sketch of the "Early History of the Gap." "Here he reserved for his own use two hundred acres of land, besides a larger tract to the southward, in Sadsbury township, which was surveyed about the year 1701."

The tract remained in the possession of the Penns, as part of a Manor Reserve, until 1736, and then a tract of two hundred acres of it was released to Francis Jones, who had maintained a tavern service at the Gap for ten years, and was it would seem thus entitled to the warrant. The Gap was the logical stopping-place for emigrants en route farther west from New Castle, Delaware. Francis Jones had been granted an inn license by the court of Chester county, in November, 1726, and "on the 30th day of the second month (April), 1736, a warrant was first granted by the heirs of William Penn for this two hundred acres of land in the Gap to the said Francis Jones (on which his hotel buildings had long been erected) under certain conditions; * * but Francis Jones having died before the said conditions had been complied with, the warrant and survey * * were declared null and void, and the Penn family once more became possessed of the Gap, with all the buildings and improvements thereon. However, on the 9th day of October, 1746, at the instance and request of Isaac Taylor, the third husband of Jane, widow of Francis Jones, eighty and one-half acres of this land, with all the buildings in the Gap, was conveyed to him by the heirs of William Penn, as a part of their manor of Conestoga * * and it was so recorded in the office of the recorder of deeds for the city and county of Philadelphia, in Patent Book A, Vol. XIII, p. 128, on the 11th day of the 8 mo. (October), 1746." The original Jones tract, excepting ten acres, was purchased from his descendants in 1813 by William Power, Jr., ultimately passing through William Bulla, John Barkman, William Lytle, Samuel Houston, James H. Houston, to George H. Rutter, whose widow sold ten acres of it to George Diller and Dr. John Martin in 1872. They divided it into building lots.

The foregoing as to the Jones property at the Gap is substantially that given by Mr. Isaac Walker. The county records, however, add to the data. In Record Book B, page 315, is copied an indenture made November 7, 1745, between Edward Smout, John Postlethwaite and William Bristow (who were appointed auditors to "settle the demands of the creditors of John Jones"), of the one part, and Lawrence Richardson, of Lancaster county, yeoman, of the other part. The auditors found the debts of John Jones to amount to £434 19s. 8d.; and to satisfy said debts they gave "publick notice that the lands of the said John Jones attached would be exposed for sale by Publick Vendue, at the Plantation of the said John Jones in Sadsbury Township, in the county of Lancaster." The sale was duly held. Lawrence Richardson was the highest bidder, paying £411 to the auditors, who then "bargained, sold, and confirmed * * unto the said Lawrence Richardson * * all that plantation and Tract of Land, hereditaments & premes situate lying and being in Sadsbury Township, containing three hundred acres, * * which said plantation is commonly called & known by the name of the Gap, & is now in possession of Isaac Taylor, as Tennant to the said John Jones." Letters Patent were granted to Lawrence Richardson, on September 6, 1746, for "a certain Plantation or Tract of Land Containing two hundred and twenty-one acres of Land," contiguous to the tracts of Christopher Sawer, Simon King, and John Hildebrand, as shown in Record Book B, page 412, which also records the sale of this land by Lawrence Richardson and his wife Mary to Patrick Carrigan, on April 10, 1747.

The main part of the upper or western hotel at Gap was erected for residential purposes by Isaac Taylor in 1747, states Walker. Taylor's son Isaac inherited it. He was a Quaker, a "recommended minister," and clerk to Sadsbury monthly meeting at one time. He married Mary Bulla in 1764, and their union lasted for forty-nine years.

The old Eastern Hotel was erected in about 1750 by Francis and Isabella Leech. It was for long known as the Gap Tavern, and when the Philadelphia and Strasburg road was laid out in 1770 the inn of Francis Leech was mentioned in the plans, the roadway passing forty-nine feet from his doorstep. The first log schoolhouse at the Gap stood near. George Leech, son of Francis and Isabella, inherited the property, and also purchased the Taylor property at Upper Gap, enlarging that inn, and operating both. In about 1808, when the Gap and Newport Turnpike project was in process, Leech sold his Eastern

Hotel property to Thomas Henderson. The latter conducted the hotel as well as a general store for about thirty years. His son, James G., member of State Legislature in 1841, succeeded to the business but soon died, and having no heirs the property was sold. In the 'thirties, at about the time of the completion of the railroad, Henry F. Slaymaker and the Kennedy family erected houses along the road, which for some time were used as taverns.

Colonel Joseph B. Baker in about 1843 built a large residence and also a warehouse on land he had acquired from Henry F. Slaymaker. He also built a store, and in the mercantile business had James Hopkins as partner. Soon, however, Colonel Baker was appointed general superintendent of the Philadelphia & Columbia railroad. The storehouse and business was sold to H. S. Kerns, the warehouse was acquired by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and the residence of Colonel Baker was bought by George Diller, who made it a public house. It was known as the Mansion House Hotel, and passed from Diller to George H. Rutter, whose widow eventually also owned the Upper Gap Hotel. The brick hotel property of Henry F. Slaymaker was purchased in about 1837 by Hathorn Freeland. The latter built a warehouse and a store, and for some years carried on the three businesses. The warehouse was eventually destroyed by fire, and the store and hotel converted into dwelling houses.

Gap has been a banking town for almost forty years, the Gap National Bank having been organized in 1883, with a capital of $50,000. J. C. Walker was first president, and B. Maurice Herr first cashier. The institution opened for business on March 2, 1884. After twenty-five years of operation, the bank had accumulated assets of about $400,000. It is one of the conservative well managed banking institutions of Lancaster county.

The village of Gap has a population of about 600; its business is represented by three grocery stores, one drug store, six general stores, one hardware, and ten garage and automobile service stations. The J. C. Walker & Sons Company has done considerable business in coal, lumber, grain and feed, at Gap for more than forty years; James P. Marsh & Sons have been in mercantile trade for as long; and several more of the business people of Gap continue substantial long established businesses.

Various Villages—Bethania is not far from the boundary of Salisbury and Paradise townships. As a hamlet it had several names, but its present name was given to it by a somewhat eccentric resident, Reuben Chambers, regarding whom another villager, R. J. Houston, read a paper before the Lancaster County Historical Society, in 1896. It appears that "Reuben began life as a school teacher, and in about 1829 or 1830 came into Lancaster county and started a subscription school, there being then no free school, in a small village on the road from Strasburg to the Gap, about two miles west of the latter place. Reuben baptized the village Bethania, but it was more generally known in the neighborhood as Puddingtown." The place was rechristened Jacksonville, in honor of General Jackson, but villagers and outsiders did not take kindly to the name, and Bethania was held.

Who the first settlers in Bethania were is not available record, but Samuel Hoar built several houses in the place in about 1825, and Reuben Chambers brought the village into some prominence by his own activities. Reuben Chambers did not do well as a teacher, and he soon closed his school, but remained in Bethania. He opened a printing office, and being a man of emphatic opinions and independent spirit, he soon thereafter established a newspaper which circulated his opinions and impressions without fear or favor. Mr. Houston writes of its editor and founder as follows: "Reuben never learned any trade, but was a natural Jack of all Trades. He was a tolerable carpenter, wagonmaker, harness-maker, tooth puller, painter, plasterer, potter, and indeed almost anything that did not require much exertion. * * He preferred thinking to working, and in pursuance of this preference soon discovered that a newspaper run on different lines from any then issued was absolutely necessary, and that he was the man to furnish it. So on 6th day, 6th month, 1832, he issued the first or specimen number, calling it the 'Bethania Palladium'."

He promised through his journal to advocate "universal peace, freedom, temperance, and the just rights of man;" he would also encourage public schools, and "particularly plead the cause of the poor and oppressed." Incidentally he admitted that he had never before published a newspaper, and that he was a self-taught printer. This may explain why the second number of the "Bethania Palladium" did not appear until seven weeks had passed by, and why subsequent issues did not have any regular press day. "The Palladium" used up "the cup of Reuben's wrath" for about two years, "at uncertain intervals of from one to three weeks." The paper was intensely anti-slavery, anti-Masonic, anti-Jackson, anti-lotteries, anti-horseracing, and opposed to most that the general public favored. Houston writes of him: "His ambition now was to edit and publish a great newspaper which should educate and elevate mankind; and he consequently tackled all sorts of isms and doctrines. In religion he became a Free Thinker; in earthly matters a Communist; and in everything else a little different from those he met with. Reuben's Lancaster county neighbors * * came to regard him as a pestilent, quarrelsome fanatic; an infidel and a somewhat impracticable crank, with whom the less they had to do the better."

He tried to introduce a financial system which sought to set values by hours of labor, and do away altogether with the dollars-and-cents mode of reckoning. He printed a series of notes, purchasable only with labor, the notes being in all denominations from six minutes to twenty hours. He regretted having to use the money standard to fix relative values of these notes, but decided that one hour of labor should be the equivalent of five cents. A twenty-hour note was therefore worth one dollar. He began to issue the notes in about 1837, and some bear date of even twenty years later. However, they probably did not circulate far from Bethania, or in great numbers even in that place. As a matter of fact he used them to pay boys who were wont, year after year, to gather herbs for his patent medicines.

Reuben Chambers did many other unusual things in Bethania during his about thirty years of residence in that place. He died in 1859. Among his many accomplishments was a more than superficial knowledge of medicine. He favored the Thompsonian treatment, and put on the market several original medical preparations. He also established a pottery in Bethania. Withal, he lived from hand to mouth, having probably less monetary wealth in his last years than when he had first opened a school in Bethania.

Bethania had a tavern at one time, kept by John Rockey, with whom Chambers was often at variance. For several years in the 'fifties a lyceum was conducted in the village; it was, perhaps, "the strongest in the county."

and several prominent men were identified with its meetings. But its most argumentative member probably was Reuben Chambers.

The village of Salisbury, as its name would imply, was at one time the principal place of business in Salisbury township. It was a stopping place in the days of the stage coach, and had a large hotel, owned by Amos Slaymaker. Mr. John C. Linvill wrote, in 1883: " A large hotel, now the property of Clinton Hines, was erected by Amos Slaymaker, soon after the turnpike was completed. The stage passengers took supper and breakfast here, and the accommodation was second to none on the road. A store was kept at the place, and Salisbury post office was the only one for miles. But the glory of the place has long since departed, and the business houses are all used as private residences."

In "The Picturesque and Historical East End" a sketch of the eastern part of Lancaster county, written in 1908, is the following reference to the Slaymaker family, and to the fine mansion, "White Chimneys," built by Amos Slaymaker in 1807:

> Speeding for another half-mile (from "Bleak House," the home of the late W. U. Hensel, Esq.) next the farm house of Daniel Denlinger on the left is notable. This farm is part of the original Yeates-Slaymaker tract. The house built about 1790 is rendered notable by mantels of stucco and of Delft tiles, such as have not been made for one hundred and twenty years, and by a blue and white marble piled pavement forming the basis of a pillared porch 70x14 feet. These, it is rumored, were originally shipped to President Washington for Mount Vernon, by him declined and sold for freight in New York, bought by Judge Yeates and erected here. His diary about this time shows a corresponding expenditure in New York.
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> Be that as it may, the great Yeates-Slaymaker landholdings hereabouts comprised hundreds of acres. One of the proprietors, Jasper Yeates, was a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and in 1813-15 the other, Amos Slaymaker, was a representative in Congress of the county, with John Whitehill, the district being for that term a double one. When the lands were divided, and after the construction of the great turnpike and stage road between Lancaster and Philadelphia, Amos Slaymaker built a large stone mansion to the right of the trolley line (as it comes out to the turnpike) and now the home of Clinton Himes. This was the famous Slaymaker "stage tavern," and it was conducted in connection with the Slaymaker line of stages, then the leading method of transportation. Retiring from the management of the hostelry, Slaymaker built the historic mansion which is the center of Slaymakertown, now the possession and home of Samuel R. Slaymaker, lock manufacturer, and one of Lancaster's most successful business men. This handsome house, known as "White Chimneys," though erected in 1807, remains a landmark of fine architecture and tasteful surroundings. The hundreds of acres of farmlands hereabouts, under its owner's enterprising management, give fruitful yield to the most advanced order of tillage. This hamlet was the scene of a high festival in 1824, when LaFayette revisited America and received the homage of the grateful people he had served so well. En route from Philadelphia to Lancaster, a cavalcade of Chester countians escorted him to the border of Lancaster, where hundreds of troopers rode to meet him. They dined "a la fresco" in the fragrant shade of the orchards of Slaymakertown.

Another visit made to the Slaymaker mansion was that by the members of the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1907. It is described as "A Centennial Event," by Hon. W. U. Hensel, in a paper contained in Vol. XI of the Society's papers. The review reads:

> One of the oldest families and widest connections in Eastern Lancaster county are the Slaymakers. Their ancestors bought of and settled on the "London Lands" along the old Strasburg and Gap roads, and they have illustrated the tenacity of the Lancaster county landowner by many of them remaining residents and owners of real estate in that locality ever since. Before the Philadelphia turnpike, the oldest road of its kind in the country, was built, Jasper Yeates, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, had large

land ownings in common with the Slaymakers along the line of the turnpike and the Newport roads, between Intercourse and Gap, and when the toll bar this side of "Rising Sun" was thrown across the highway, "Slaymaker's Tavern" became one of the famous roadside hostelries and stage taverns between Lancaster and Philadelphia. It is still a handsome structure, in admirable state of preservation as a farmhouse; while across a little brook and meadow stands the beautiful stone mansion which has been the private residence of the Slaymaker family for more than a century. It is one of a group of fine farm buildings in a well-improved and highly-cultivated estate, embellished with lawn, fountain, and other adornments; the little stream that used to run a "tilt hammer" now being devoted to less practical but more ornamental, uses.

This rare specimen of the best domestic architecture of the period in which it was built has been highly improved and richly decorated in the interior; but its original fine lines and admirable proportions are faithfully preserved. This house, known as "White Chimneys," was built by Amos Slaymaker in 1807, on land obtained from his father, Henry Slaymaker, who acquired it in 1783. Amos Slaymaker was born in 1755. He was a drummer-boy in the Revolutionary War, and was a member of the firm of Reeside & Slaymaker, who operated an extensive stage-coach line before the time of railroads. The property descended from Amos Slaymaker to his son, Henry F.; to Henry F.'s son, Samuel C.; to his son, Samuel R., the present owner, and will doubtless some day belong to his son, Samuel C.

Salisbury post office was removed to Springville, which is a hamlet situated about one mile north of Old road. It is a school centre.

Rising Sun is a village which has grown at the intersection of the old Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike and the Newport road, at which important point a tavern was established. It was known as "At the Sign of the Rising Sun." The buildings were erected by Colonel Maxwell Kennedy; and the inn was much frequented by teamsters who passed along the Lancaster and Philadelphia road in the early days.

White Horse antedates the Revolution, and also originated in a tavern which during the Revolution was owned and kept by John Hopkins. "When the British army occupied Philadelphia and Congress sat in Lancaster, George Washington and his wife, on their way to the latter place, * * stayed overnight at the White Horse." In it, because of its central situation, township elections were held, and it has always been a place of, comparatively, much business. White Horse village comes into some records as Pequea, that being the name of the post office. Within a mile of White Horse, to the northward, is the historic Pequea Presbyterian Church, the present burying-ground being the site of the original church. The first mill in the township was built, along the Pequea creek, near White Horse. It was a log structure, erected by Daniel Cookson, whose name appears on the tax-lists for 1718 and later. In 1832 Thomas G. Henderson built a large mill upon its site. The mill at White Horse is still operated, and for many years has been owned by John W. Stauffer. The White Horse Hotel is now owned by W. M. Pinkerton. Earlier owners include J. Frank Seldomridge, and John Mason. One of the pioneers at White Horse was William Richardson, who settled along "Old Peter's Road," near what became White Horse, before 1720.

Cambridge is partly in Lancaster county, and partly in Chester. It is a place of about 150 inhabitants. It was evidently one of those places which had their origin in lottery projects. During the first and second decades of the nineteenth century many such townsite projects were initiated, some with little more justification than that the land had been platted into lots, and that the lots would be sold by means of a lottery drawing. Abraham Dierdorf, who platted the townsite in 1811, purchased two hundred acres of land from Thomas and Margaret Pierce in 1802. The attempt to sell lots was not very successful, and most remained unsold during the life of the founder. The place now has two general stores, for many years kept by the Haines and Wanner families. Thomas J. Martin for many years had the wagonmaking shop, and Patton G. Spotts the smithy.

Spring Garden also had as founding factor a public house, the Spring Garden Hotel, which was erected by Henry Worst in 1852. Peter Worst, son of Henry, built a dwelling house for himself nearby, and others followed; but the place is still in the hamlet stage.

South Hermitage comes into this record chiefly because within it is part of the property of the historic St. John's Church of Pequea, the first Episcopal church to be established in the Pequea valley, or beyond in Lancaster county. The church is in Compassville, just beyond the border, in Chester county, but the parsonage is in South Hermitage, Lancaster county. Mount Airy, situated on the southern slope of the Welsh mountain, is a quiet little hamlet, but a somewhat important school and church centre. Many of the residents are of pioneer families. Roseneath consists of the buildings, dwelling houses, store building, mill, distillery, and brewery, erected by those who conducted the distilling and brewing industries in the place. The distillery was established by Archibald Owens more than a hundred years ago. Limeville came into being through the enterprise of Jacob Barr & Sons, lime burners at that place for many years. It is about equidistant between Gap and Compassville. The store of H. L. Rhoads & Brother is at Lapps; also a smithy. Buyerstown, about three miles northwest of Gap, was founded about a century ago (1816) by John and James Buyers, who then established a general store at that point on the Newport road. Not long afterwards, James McCachren settled there and for fifty years thereafter followed the trade of a wheelwright, coming into some note as a coach builder. After his death in 1875, his wagonshop became a cigar factory, that industry being then conducted by J. M. Hershey, who then owned the village store. The Buyers came into Salisbury in or before 1744, when John Buyers was granted patent for 230 acres; Robert Buyers was captain of a Salisbury company of militia during the Revolution.

The churches of Salisbury include the Methodist Episcopal and Bellevue Presbyterian, at the Gap; the (Pequea) St. John's Episcopal Church, at Compassville; the Pequea Presbyterian, Pequea United Evangelical and Pequea Baptist; the Mt. Airy United Evangelical; the Mt. Zion and Limeville United Brethren; and the several Mennonite congregations, including the Old Road White Horse, New Milltown, Millwood, Monument, and the Welsh Mountain Mission. In very early days Quakers in the Gap section used to journey four miles to the old Sadsbury monthly and particular meetings. Some early settlers in northern Salisbury probably went into Leacock to meeting, after 1728. (See also the Religious chapters.) The industrial history of Salisbury township is contained in the special Industrial chapters, Early Mills, Forges, and so forth.

The Linvill family had a tannery in Salisbury a century ago; it probably was established in provincial times. The Buckley family comes into the history of ironmaking in Lancaster county. Daniel Buckley erected the forge known by his name and manufactured iron there for many years, Buckley's Forge later being operated successfully for many years by his second son, George W. Daniel Buckley was a member of the Legislature in the sessions 1794, 1798, 1799, 1800. He probably operated his forge concurrently.

Salisbury township is not going forward; the 1900 census showed 3,548 residents; in 1910 the population was 3,557; but the 1920 tabulation credits the township with only 3,402 inhabitants.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF SOUTHERN LANCASTER.

Reviewing the History of the Townships of the "Lower End"—Drumore, East Drumore, Colerain, Little Britain, and Fulton.

Drumore township was one of the original township divisions of Lancaster county, organized in 1729; and when then delineated, its boundaries embraced practically the whole of the territory recognized as the domain of the Scotch-Irish in southern Lancaster, and now within the jurisdiction of the five townships named above. Its settlement antedated the organization of Lancaster county, and while a part of northern Lancaster was earlier settled by the virile Scotch-Irish, the seat of the Scotch-Irish in Lancaster county has for almost two centuries been in the "Lower End" of the county.

It was not without good governmental reason that the Presbyterians from Ulster were granted land in southern Lancaster. And, knowing their antecedents, it is not surprising that they were soon found to be fringing almost the whole territory. These sturdy, brave and independent men from a turbulent homeland were well fitted for the uncertainties and dangers of the frontier; and it may be supposed that they were almost happy in constituting the front line against encroaching Maryland Catholics. Samuel Evans, in his "History of Lancaster County" (1883), points out the particular use made of the Ulsterites by the Provincial government. After stating that "The Scotch-Irish first entered this region in 1715, and, pushing past the Mennonite and Huguenot settlements, located themselves on Chiguss creek," he writes: "A few years later a cordon of settlements by these people, who were all Presbyterians, had been made and extended along Octorara creek from Sadsbury to the Susquehanna, and thence along the river to the Conestoga. These people had been encouraged by the authorities to settle near the disputed boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, because it was believed that they would be more disposed and better able to defend the settlements against the Catholic Marylanders than would either the Huguenots, the Friends, or the Mennonites."

Undoubtedly they were; it was but continuing a home feud to set Presbyterians to guard a frontier against Catholics, though the Scottish Presbyterians of Ulster was but a recent enemy of the Irish Catholic, by comparison with his English overlord. That feud had existed for centuries, the Irishman all the while being the "underdog." The Irish of the twelfth century were but a "mass of warring clans," else they would probably have driven the English into the sea. There was no union among them. Still, the English were never for long, able to get much farther into Ireland than the districts which came to be known as the "English Pale"—the districts of Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. And the forays of the Irishry from beyond the

Pale more than once "carried havoc to the walls of Dublin" itself. The English could make no headway in Ireland. The attempt of King Henry the Eighth to foist his Church of England upon Ireland, and so stamp out Catholicism, brought, it is true, the spectacular burning of the staff of St. Patrick in the market-place and the imprisonment of recalcitrant priests; but Thomas Cromwell had eventually to recognize that in Ireland the new episcopal system he had devised was a failure. Nothing could shake an Irishman's faith in himself and his religion. Centuries of attempts to subdue Ireland were fruitless; bloody repression of liberty and religion availed not. The Irishry could not be held down. Subsequent attempts laid waste much of Ireland, but even as the seventeenth century dawned, Lord Mountjoy, Queen Elizabeth's lieutenant in Ireland, "found himself master on his arrival of only a few miles around Dublin." He had been sent to suppress a revolt fomented and skillfully led by Hugh O'Neill in the north of Ireland. The O'Neills, Earls of Tyrone, had for generations been "thorns in the flesh" of the English, and Hugh O'Neill was as capable and valiant as had been his forefather, Shane O'Neill; and it took three years of devastating work with the sword before Mountjoy was able to carry Hugh O'Neill in triumph to Dublin. Famine completed the ruin of Ulster.

It was upon this spent theatre of war that, after even another attempt to bring English uniformity of religion into effect therein had failed, Elizabeth's successor, King James the First, "the wisest fool in Christendom," suddenly resolved upon the Ulster experiment. He carried through the Ulster colonization ruthlessly but successfully. According to Green, "two-thirds of the north of Ireland was declared to have been confiscated to the crown by the part its possessors had taken in the recent revolt; and the lands which were thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction." King James was at least original. He did not despoil the Irishry in order to bestow their lands upon some favorite courtiers who would but set up feudal state, with Irish peasantry as retainers. He wished to sweep the track clean, and start afresh with a people of different antecedents and religious faith. He therefore divided Ulster into small portions, which he was disposed to lease to settlers under a legitimate colonization scheme. He ordained that "no one shall obtain grants of land which he is unable to plant with men." His decree attracted Scotch Protestants, and they crossed the North Channel "in great numbers." Englishmen also came, attracted possibly by the plan of the Corporation of London which undertook to colonize Derry, "and gave to the little town the name which its heroic defence has made so famous." The principal migration was however from the northeastward, over the narrow strait that divides Scotland from Ireland. These Scotch Presbyterians were predominant in the colonization of the confiscated part of Ulster, almost six entire counties. They settled principally in the counties of Down, Antrim, and Londonderry, Green states: "In its material results the Plantation of Ulster was undoubtedly a brilliant success. Farms and homesteads, churches and mills, rose fast amidst the desolate wilds of Tyrone. The foundations of the economic prosperity which have raised Ulster high above the rest of Ireland in wealth and intelligence, were undoubtedly laid in the confiscation of 1610. Nor did the measure meet with any opposition at the time, save that of secret discontent. The evicted natives withdrew sullenly to the lands which had been left them by the spoiler; but all faith in English justice had been torn from the minds of the Irishry, and the seed had been sown of that fatal harvest of distrust and disaffection, which was to be reaped through tyranny and massacre in the age to come."

In later years there was probably some degree of intermarriage, but the Protestant Ulsterites and Catholic Irishry never harmoniously merged. Three centuries have passed since the first Presbyterian church was established in Ireland; to-day the Ulster Presbyterians are so ardently Protestant, and the Irish Catholics so fervently Catholic, as to indicate that as peoples they are still distinct and separate. What are now termed Scotch-Irish can, it would seem, only be so hyphenated "from the circumstance that they were the descendants of Scots who had taken up their residence in the north of Ireland." Robert Blair Risk quotes James Parton's description of the Irish and the Scotch of Ireland. Of the former he wrote: "If he gives up the struggle of life, he supplies half the world with its fun and fancy; himself often miserable, but always interesting and picturesque; the chosen of novelists, the delight of the stage, the sketching tourist's best friend, and never wanting to the comic corner of the newspapers." Of the latter, the Scotch-Irishman, so-called, he wrote: "The most orderly, the most truthful, the most persistent of men; slow to feel, though susceptible of the deepest feeling; capable of enthusiasm, but not easily roused; as brave as the brave, but unacquainted with the shillelah; not slow to take offence, but moody in his wrath; not jocular, nor witty, though social and fond of his own quaint and quiet humor." These two descriptions indicate characters so different that one would hardly expect the two neighboring peoples to merge successfully.

However, religious intolerance was well-nigh chronic, and no sect could in those days look for long immunity from persecution. The only state one could confidently predict was that of the ascendancy of one. Peace, with toleration, seemed impossible. The feeling of one church against the other was too keen for half measures. And the record shows that Presbyterians in Ireland, i. e., the Scotch colonists in Ulster, had eventually to bear their cross of persecution also. "New brooms sweep clean." With the demise of one king and the accession of another, new views on matters of civil government, and especially of espiscopal polity, would loom ominously for some sect. Under Charles II and James II, Presbyterians in Scotland had no peace; many came across the channel into northern Ireland, not to settle but to hide; and it would seem that the American immigrants of that period from Ireland came mainly from these Scottish refugees or from those banished to Virginia, rather than from those Scots who had settled in Ulster under James I.

The joint reign of William and Mary opened with better prospects for all sects, William solemnly declaring that there should be no persecution for conscience's sake anywhere within the realm. But he could not authoritatively speak for Ireland, for in that land James II, while still reigning in England, had so well entrenched himself that in case domicile in England became unsafe, he could escape to Ireland, and from there intrigue surrounded by Catholic friends. During his reign he had purged all governmental offices in Ireland of Protestants; and when in 1689 he was forced to seek refuge in France, Irish Catholics were glad to conspire with him to overthrow the government of

William of Orange. They did not see eye to eye with James, however. When news reached Ireland that James was coming, with officers, ammunition and a supply of money provided by the French King, Irishmen rejoiced; but when it was disclosed that James planned to use an Irish army for an invasion of England, the Irish leaders became less enthusiastic. Such plans were distasteful to them, for all that was before them in the coming of James, as they viewed it, was the opportunity to regain Ulster for the Irish and to drive Englishmen and Scotchmen out of Ireland. Beyond, they were not disposed to go. So James had to amend his plans, and the attack upon the Ulsterites developed. The Irish under James II spent their force in a futile effort to take Londonderry, so heroically defended; and, when the siege was lifted, James temporarily fell back on Dublin, the seat of government. But the lot of the Protestant in Ireland was still desperate, and the future uncertain. A general massacre of Protestants had been suggested to James, who however shrank with horror from such an expedient, though it was argued that "mercy to Protestants was cruelty to Catholics." However, the dominion of James in Ireland was brief. In 1690, William of Orange himself landed at Carrickfergus, and with his forces encountered the Irish and French armies at the Boyne, there winning a brilliant victory. Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, and then "quietly proving himself a master of the art of war," added to the discomfiture of the Irish in the south; and in 1691, the defeat of the combined Irish and French forces at Aughrim, the death of the French general, St. Ruth, and the consequent surrender of Limerick by Sarsfield sealed the fate of Ireland. And when the whole of Sarsfield's Irish army, 10,000 men, "chose exile (in France) rather than life in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost," the subjugation of Ireland seemed complete. "When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was a peace of despair. The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnell." For a century thereafter, Catholic Irishry became to all intents "hewers of wood and drawers or water" to their conquerors, the Protestants. Still, the latter looked upon themselves as mere settlers, and boasted of their Scotch or English extraction; to apply the name "Irishmen" to them was considered an insult.

However, it soon became evident that Presbyterians were as much "beyond the Pale" as Catholics. The English Established Church was to be the only one tolerated in Ireland; and Presbyterians found themselves "shut out by law from all civil, military and municipal offices." Furthermore, Scotch settlers in Ulster, after a while, after they had held land for thirty-one years, found themselves evicted by the landed gentry, who thereafter exacted such high rentals that life in Ulster became well-nigh impossible for the tenant. "Then it was," states Houston, "that the Presbyterians turned their faces toward the colonies, unable longer to bear the persecutions of the Established Church of England, by which all dissenters, Catholic and Presbyterian alike, were under the ban of the prelates. Their ministers were forbidden to solemnize marriages, and the children of such marriages were treated as illegitimate and the parents subject to punishment for fornication. Vexed with suits in the ecclesiastical courts, forbidden to educate their children in their own faith, deprived of their civil rights, the sacramental test required, and their only crime being non-conformity, they determined to seek a home where the long arm of prelacy was too short to reach them. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Down, Antrim, Armagh and Derry were emptied of Protestant inhabitants. Froude says that in two years following the Antrim evictions, 30,000 Protestants left Ulster." The reason why there was not also an exodus of Catholic Irishry to America at this time is probably that they were so much poorer than the Scots of Ulster. Also perhaps they saw in the departure of the Scots a sign that their own lot was brightening; that they would again come into their own. Perhaps they had such inherent hatred of the Ulsterites that, even for their own good, they would not follow a lead set by the Scots. Whatever the reason, the fact it that the emigrants were almost exclusively Presbyterian. Indeed, throughout that century, those who came to America from Ireland were mainly Protestant Presbyterians, Scots, or the sons of Scots. Men of former Irish residence fought for America in the Revolution, but they were mostly Presbyterians, Scots. They were "Scotch-Irish" only in name, and that hyphenated name was not known in Ireland, where Presbyterians in Ulster were always Scots to Catholic Irishmen. King George III is said to have characterized the American Revolution as "a Presbyterian war." Horace Walpole, addressing the English Parliament once during the Revolution, said: "There is no use crying about it. Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson, and that is the end of it." It was mainly the weight of the 25,000 Ulster Presbyterians of the 1771-73 exodus that "changed the Delegates in the Continental Congress and caused the vote of Pennsylvania to be cast in favor of the Declaration of Independence." The emigration of Catholic Irishry cannot be deemed to have well commenced until the nineteenth century was dawning, following the suppression by Cornwallis of the Irish revolt of 1798, in which hideous cruelty was practiced by both factions, the "United Irishmen" and the "Orangemen."

But we have gone forward too quickly; let us go back almost a century, to the time of the first exodus of Ulster Scots from Ireland. Some Presbyterians came to Pennsylvania and to Lancaster county earlier, but the first migration from Ulster did not reach appreciable volume until 1718. The Toleration Act stopped emigration for a while, but it began anew in about 1728, "and ships could not be procured to carry the emigrants as fast as they desired to emigrate." Dr. Baird estimated that from 1729 to 1750 twelve thousand persons a year came from Ulster to America. Six thousand Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had settled in Pennsylvania by the year 1729. "In September, 1736, alone, one thousand families sailed from Belfast on account of the difficulty of renewing their leases." The basic cause of the second exodus, which began in 1771, was like the first; leases had expired and could not be renewed except at extortionate rentals, on the estate of the Marquis of Donegal in the county of Antrim. And when one appreciates what difficulties were experienced by those who crossed the seas, in those days of midget ships and appalling conditions of life on shipboard, disease sometimes taking a death-toll of one-half of the passengers during the voyage, one can understand why the Presbyterians were the backbone of the Revolution. Their grievance was directly against England; whereas the other settlers were differently situated. Mennonites, Germans, Swiss, Huguenots, settled here in most cases with feelings of gratitude toward England, and accepted the rigorous conditions in their wilderness homes with feelings of relief and thankfulness that they had escaped with their lives from their homeland; Presbyterians, on the other hand, could not think of their hard lot in the New World without feelings of bitterness against the government which had made it necessary for them to emigrate. They were American Patriots almost before landing in America. "The first public voice in America for dissolving all connections with Great Britain came from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians," stated Bancroft. What a debt America owes to Ulster Presbyterians!

Little Britain and Fulton Townships—Coming to the actual settlement of Scotch-Irish in Lancaster county, it seems that of the townships of the "Lower End," the first to be given attention should be Little Britain, even though Drumore township was the first to be established. It was in that part of Drumore which is now Little Britain that the first survey and grant of lands in Lancaster county was made, therefore the history of that township will be reviewed first; and how better than by giving the sketch written in 1913 by D. F. Magee, Esq., who is a recognized authority on the history of the Scotch Irish of Lancaster county. His sketch of the "Early Settlement and History of Little Britain Township, including Fulton Township" is therefore here given. In part it reads:

> The first survey and grant of lands in Lancaster county was in this township, Little Britain, which included in its early settlement the territory now called Fulton township, and constitutes the extreme southern end of the so-called Southern End of Lancaster county. If we were to define the "Southern End" as it is understood to-day, or the "Lower End," we would say that it was the entire section lying south of the Buck ridge and bounded on its western boundary by the Susquehanna, touching for ten miles along its southern end the historic Mason and Dixon line, and well nigh thirty miles of it bordering upon and bounded on the east and southeast by the beautiful Octorara, and all included now in the townships of Little Britain, Fulton, Colerain, and the Drumores. This entire section is so intimately connected each with the other as to be hard to separate and give anything like an intelligent story of its earliest settlement. However, I am constrained by the circumstances and the limitations of the paper to confine myself to the original township of Little Britain, which now includes Fulton township, originally a portion of the same. Within its limits and boundaries live the descendants of the people who have probably done more in the making of the history of Lancaster county and in bringing its name to the forefront, as the home of patriots, scholars and statesmen than any other section of like extent or territory within our county's limits.
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> It does not seem to be generally known yet it is a well established fact, that in Little Britain township the first land within Lancaster county limits was surveyed and granted under legal and governmental regulations. This tract was known in the original grant as "Milcom Island," and it was surveyed by John Wilmer in 1704, who apparently was of a section of Philadelphia, though it is conceded that this land was not occupied by an actual residential settler until 1715, thus antedating in the grant by six years the earliest settlement of the Mennonites, and being followed by actual warrants and settlement but four years after that Mennonite settlement. Milcom Island consisted of a tract of one thousand acres, surveyed perfectly rectangular in form, exactly twice as long as it was wide, and extending the long way north and south. As nearly as it can be located to-day, it included that section lying southwest of Little Britain post office, also known as Elim, and extending down to and beyond Kirk's mills and Wrightsdale village, and within the boundaries, among others, farms of Lewis J. Kirk and Dr. James A. Peoples, both of whom are direct descendants of the very earliest settlers in this section; also the farms now owned by Dr. Edward Wright, Howard Coates, James Paxson, the William King farm and the Brabsons and the Susan Griffith farm, who likewise are along the earliest in that section.

John Wilmer transferred the warrant to Randal Janney a few years after obtaining it, and he in turn transferred it to John Budd and Sarah Morrey. In 1714 Budd and Morrey exchanged it for two warrants for five hundred acres each near Philadelphia, and it was surrendered to the Proprietaries. On November 5, 1714, the northern half of this tract was granted by warrant to Alexander Ross, who afterward sold to James Jamison, June 5, 1725; and the Joseph Jamison farm is now a portion of the original tract, so far as we have been able to discover. The exact time at which buildings were erected and permanent settlements made does not appear, but the indications point to the fact that it must have been very soon after the date of Ross's warrant thereto in 1714. The southern half was not settled until some twenty years thereafter, when patents were granted for it to Elisha Gatchell and Henry Reynolds. Each was of equal portion. This lower half runs through into the hills of Octorara, and is much rougher and less easy of cultivation than the more northerly portions, which may account for the delay in its settlement. Before 1742, most of the surrounding land was located, and in the name of persons whose family name is still extant in that section, being such well-known names as William Gibson, David McComb, Benjamin Delworth, Janet Jamison. Among the other early settlers, whose descendants are there to-day, are William King, William N. Griffith, Sarah Phillips and Rachel J. Pickering, Samuel Carter and Seth Kinsey.

This section of our county is of great natural fertility, especially the valleys, with the large magnificent streams of water running through them, while yielding to-day fertile pasture land and fine crops of wheat, corn and oats, hay and potatoes, that at that day were clad in immense forests of oak, chestnut and hickory; and no doubt the valleys of the Octorara, the Conewingoes and the smaller streams, Peter's creek, and their hundreds of tributaries, made this a great natural hunting ground of the Indians of that day. These same natural attractions soon became known to the very early Quaker settlement, which is now south of the Mason and Dixon line, though when settled was believed to be within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and part of the lands granted to Penn by his sovereign. That section covered and included the villages and surrounding country, the Brick Meeting-house, Rising Sun, and Colora, known by the general name of the Nottinghams.

As is well known, they were settled before the dawning of the Eighteenth Century, and, if I recall rightly, the 200th anniversary of the Nottingham Settlement was held some fifteen years ago. The Nottingham Settlement was composed almost exclusively of Friends, commonly called "Quakers," and was very extensive and apparently prosperous, not only as a farming community but in their religious organizations, and a number of meetings were established prior to 1700. Very early in the eighteenth century, or about 1715 or thereafter, this Quaker population was attracted to the northwestward across the Octorara waters by the fertility and natural resources of that land, attested by the evidence of the giant oaks, hickories, chestnut, poplars and sycamores, which only attain their greatest growth in the most fertile land. When this evidence was contracted by the early Nottingham settlers with the scrubby growths of oak, pine, and cedars that clad too many of the hills of their chosen sections, the Nottinghams, they began to move into it in increasing numbers, many of them stopping in the sections now in the limits of Little Britain, but more of them going further over into the fertile smoother land of the Conowingo valley, included in the present boundaries of Fulton township. Among the first to take up and patent lands in Fulton township was Emanuel Grubb, who on December 10, 1713, or about three years after the Mennonite settlement, patented one hundred acres of land, immediately adding two hundred to it, and soon thereafter two hundred more. This section was granted by warrant under the name of "Three Partners," and now include those fine farms of Annie Wood, Cyrus Herr and brother, Levi Kirk, and others, and includes the village of Pleasant Grove and vicinity. Soon following Grubb came William Teague, who on June 6, 1715, secured a warrant for a tract known as "Teague's Endeavor," and one year thereafter another tract called "Teague's Forest." These tracts are now or lately were in possession of James Maxwell's descendants, the David Brown tract, the Jerry B. Haines tract owned by Eugene M. Haines to-day. We find that on August 24, 1726, an extensive tract containing some six hundred acres was patented to Thomas Johnson. This tract seems to have covered and included the land extending up and around Peach Bottom, including the famous slate quarries of that section, later owned by Jeremiah B. Brown, a very prominent man in his day, and James A. Caldwell and the Sanders McSparran farm, also the large farm known as Timothy Haines's, now owned by Dr. A. H. Stubbs.

Another influx of settlers shortly followed, confining themselves more directly to the more heavily timbered land of the Conowingo valley. Among the first of these was James King, whose descendants are many in that section, and the extensive family of Browns, who took up six or seven hundred acres in and about that section, extending from Wakefield, or Penn Hill, across to Fulton House, and as far south as Texas. These tracts were patented, one of them by James King, called the Cave Lands, on both sides of the Conowingo creek, which at that time was spelled "Canarawango," which is an Indian word and is interpreted to mean "canoe won't go." The first portion of the tract stayed in the King name for many years, and included the Bradley's Mill farm, the Annie Yocum farm now owned by the Bradleys, and the Montillon Brown farm now owned by D. F. Magee, on which farm is still standing the permanent homestead of brick, slate-covered, built after the log-cabin days, and still bearing its date of 1760. North of that, further up the Conowingo, lands were patented by the Caldwells, the Ewings, the Stubbs, the Porters and the Bradleys. Very early in its history, the family of Browns, usually designated as the "Nottingham Browns," came into this section. Though I have not discovered that they were the original patentees of any of our earliest grants, Jeremiah B. Brown patented an extensive tract, six hundred acres, apparently covering and including the section now known as the Day Wood farm, the Annie Wood farm at Goshen village, the Levi and Slater Brown section, and probably some portions of the adjoining farms. He took his patent under the name of "Goshen." As we know, according to Biblical history this was the "land flowing with milk and honey." Whatever may have been its claim to that title in its earliest days, no one can now go into that section, and, from its gently rolling hilltops, near the residence of Neal Hamilton, look over these broad fields of grain and meadows, dotted with hundreds of lowing kine that literally furnish the milk to the creameries at Fulton House, Goshen, West Brook and Bradley's, and fail to feel that this section is more appropriately named.

The Browns, who have descended from the original Jeremiah B. and we think his brothers, included in their stock in those early days members of the Legislature, a judge of our courts, and later that masterful mechanic and engineer, William Brown, engineer-in-chief of the Pennsylvania railroad, and also the present representative in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from this county, J. Hays Brown, formerly of the bar of Lancaster county.

Still further northward and eastward up the Conowingo and towards the Britain township line of to-day, in 1742 a tract was located by William Montgomery, and remained in the Montgomery family for one hundred years, and his descendants still remain thereabouts. This covers the land now owned by Jason Walton, Lindley Patterson, William Black and Robert Black; and westward of that the same year (1742) William Fulton took up 393 acres lying along the Conowingo creek, which were surveyed to one James Gillespie, which tract was increased by three other pieces, making it a tract of nearly six hundred acres. This seems to have covered what is now known as the Frank C. Pyle mill, the Smedley property, John Landis Herr's property, and probably the Dr. Gryder property, now Shoemaker's. The present Pyle's mill was early erected on this property and is the third, and is among the oldest mills in the southern end of the county.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the building of mills quickly followed the clearing and farming of the land, as they were a necessary part of the industries, which were required in the lives of the early settlers. As stated above, the Pyle mill was among the early ones, but what was known as Woods's mills, close to the present Goshen store, probably antedated it by a few years; and at or about the samet period a mile or so lower down the stream, the Bradley mill, owned by Frank Bradley, the son of Amos K. Bradley, was built on a tract which was patented under date of February 25, 1743, and the Annie Woods mill, southward of Pleasant Grove, was erected at a very early date. But the first mill of all built in that section was in 1733, and was known as King's mill, and located partly on land now owned by D. F. Magee and partly owned by Augustus Heeps. It stood close by the bridge called the "twin bridges," spanning the Conowingo between these two farms. Only the old marks of the foundation walls and race are now visible, all vestige of the mill having disappeared years ago.

Father eastward and northward in Little Britain township and overlapping into Colerain and into the Drumores, we find to-day the descendants of the Scotch-Irish race whose ancestors settled through that section at a later day, but who played no less important part in the history of the Lower End from that period at which they came. We find among them the names of Fulton, Ramseys, Whiteside, General Steele, Hayes, Patterson, McCaullagh, Linton, Clendennin, Fergusons, McConnell and many others that were of the fighting Irish blood and in strong contrast to the peaceful Quaker.

Little Britain township was organized from part of Drumore township in 1738. The following is from the records of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Lancaster County:

> Feb. 7, 1738. The petition of many of the inhabitants of Drumore township setting forth the inconveniences they lay under by the largeness of the township, and pray the same may be divided by a line running from a marked Spanish oak, standing on the brow of a roundish hill by Susquehanna, opposite to an island called Mount Johnson, northeast by east to Octorara creek, and that the said eastern division may be called the township of Little Britain; which said petition being considered and approved of, the same is ordered to be recorded in manner aforesaid.

The township name was suggested by John Jamison, who thought that as most of the settlers came from Great Britain, the little colony of Britons might be readily known by the township name, Little Britain. There was no change in boundaries until 1844, when Fulton township was organized, and given that name to honor its most distinguished citizen, Robert Fulton, whose part in the application of steam to propel vessels in the water is so well known throughout the world.

As now bounded, Little Britain has the western branch of the Octorara creek on the northeast, separating it from Colerain; the same creek on the southeast, separating it from Chester county; Fulton township is its western boundary; and on the northwest is Drumore. Fulton township has the Mason and Dixon's line separating it from Maryland; the western bank of the Susquehanna river defines its western boundary; and Drumore township is on the northwest. Little Britain is of course its eastern boundary.

Neither township has a borough, and the villages are comparatively small. Those of Little Britain include Kinseyville, Kirk's Mills, Elim, Oak Shade or Spring Hill, Fairmount. Little Britain post office was transferred to Elim, and other post office changes have come to alter names. The principal place in Fulton township is Peach Bottom, the population of which in 1920 was 159; among the other old villages are Pleasant Grove, Penn Hill, New Texas, Fulton House, Goshen, Eastland. Among the other names of places in these townships now are Spruce Grove, Tayloria, Oakryn, Wrightsdale, Haines, McSparran, and some others. Kinseyville probably began with the settlement of the Kinsey family at that point in 1801, and the establishment by them of a smithy and tilt hammer. Elim was the outcome of the enterprise of the Paxson family, upon whose land it was built. Oak Hill was the place at which township elections were held. Its origin was in the store established at that point by Joseph C. Taylor about ninety years ago. Ashville was named after Phineas Ash, though its business originated in the store established near the residence of Mr. Ash about seventy years ago by Elwood H. Paxson. Oak Shade developed around a smithy, eventually veering a little eastward, where was a wagon works, and a good spring of water, which prompted residents to name the village Spring Hill. Fairmount had opportunity of development through its being a station on the narrow gauge Peach Bottom railroad, the route of which through Little Britain township brought Spruce Grove, White Rock, King's Bridge and Fair Mount stations into being, also Fulton House in Fulton township. Fair Mount was also on the Gatchell road, which was laid out about one hundred and fifty years ago from McCall's ferry, on the Susquehanna river, to Gatchell's mills, in Chester county.

Fulton Centenary—Fulton House, in Fulton township, was given that name in about 1853, the place being where Robert Fulton was born. Other references will elsewhere be made in this volume to the life and achievements of the distinguished Lancastrian, Robert Fulton, but brief notice might appropriately here be made of an interesting ceremony carried through by members of the Lancaster County Historical Society, on September 21, 1909, at Fulton House, the birthplace of Robert Fulton, to commemorate the centenary of the trip up the Hudson river of Fulton's steamboat, the "Clermont." The particular mission of the committee, which was headed by D. F. Magee, and consisted in addition of W. M. Franklin, Joseph H. Dubbs, G. I. Browne, W. U. Hensel, George Steinman, Richard M. Reilly, Martha B. Clark and Mary N. Robinson, was to mark his birthplace with an appropriate memorial tablet. It was estimated that probably four thousand people were on the grounds to participate in the celebration, the guests including Governor Stuart, ex-Governor Pennypacker, and many Fulton descendants. People came on foot, by team, by automobile, and the Lancaster, Oxford & Southern railroad brought four trainloads to Fulton House. Upon the old stone house in which Robert Fulton was born were placed two memorial tablets to honor "the gentle son of a Pennsylvania farmer," scion of a Scotch Presbyterian family which was domiciled in Ireland for some time before emigrating to America in 1735. One of the tablets is a mural bust ,the work of Tiffany artists in New York; the other bears the following inscription:

CLERMONT. ROBERT FULTON 1807.

Here, on November 14, 1765, was born
ROBERT FULTON,
inventor,
who on the waters of the Hudson,
August 11, 1807,
first successfullly applied steam to the purposes of navigation.
At this place he spent the first years of his life.
Without a monument future generations would know him.

Erected by the Lancaster County Historical Society,
at the centennary celebration of his achievement, September, 1909.

Sonnets written especially for the occasion by Lloyd Mifflin were read by Hon. W. U. Hensel, who ventured the assertion that in the "superb literary quality and matchless melody" of these and other sonnets by the same poet, Lancastrians and Pennsylvanians might be sure that "the first living master of English verse is not only a Pennsylvanian, but a native of Lancaster county." The sonnets follow:

ROBERT FULTON—1765-1815.

A child of Lancaster, upon this land,
Here was he born, by Conowingo's shade;
Along these banks our youthful Fulton strayed,
Dreaming of Art. Then Science touched his hand,
Leading him onward, when, beneath her wand,
Wonders appeared that now shall never fade:
He triumphed o'er the Winds, and swiftly made
The giant, Steam, subservient to command.

* * * * * * *

How soft the sunlight lies upon the lea
Around his home, where boyhood days were sped!
These checkered shadows on a fading grass
Symbol his fortunes as they fleeting pass:
"He did mankind a service"—could there be
A tribute more ennobling to the dead!

Time-honored son, whose memory we revere,
Around the wondering earth thy lustrous name
Shone in old days, a sudden star of Fame!
Nor is that glamour dimmed. No leaves are sere

Among thy laurels. Deeper seems, each year,
    Thy priceless benefaction. Let them crown
    Thy great achievement with deserved renown,
Who reap the guerdon of thy rich career!

Long hast thou passed the dark Lethean stream,
    Yet who but envies that illustrious sleep?
Though thou art dust, yet vital is thy Dream:
The waves of all the world still chaunt of thee:
    Thy soul pervades the Ship, and wings the Deep—
Thy spirit is immortal on the sea.

A comprehensive "Fultoniana" has been compiled by members of the Lancaster County Historical Society, and can be referred to in their library at Lancaster. Perhaps this chapter, at this point, is the proper place where attention should be drawn to one exhibit of the interesting "Fultoniana." It reads:

LANCASTER COUNTY'S TITLE TO THE FIRST THOUGHT OF AND EFFORT IN STEAMBOAT NAVIGATION.

1. Mr. Jordan, the Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, has shown me a letter written by a man, either from New York or Ohio, in which the writer says that a man by the name of Peter Whiteside was the first to invent a steam-propelled boat; that he made an experiment with his boat on the Schuylkill River fifteen years before the trip of the "Clermont" on the Hudson. This would have been in the year 1792. The letter also states that Whiteside's experiment proved a failure, the boat sinking in the Schuylkill, and the inventor then said: "It won't work; anybody that wants the d—d thing can have it." The letter also intimates that an offer to sell the boat to the government was also unsuccessful.

2. Even if this were true, Lancaster County is still twenty-nine years ahead of that event, because all histories on the subject admit that William Henry, of Lancaster, in the year 1763, constructed a boat fitted up with paddle wheels and that he was in communication with James Watt, inventor of the steam engine, concerning this, about that date. A part of the records of the American Philosophical Society amply bears this out. (See Mrs. Sutcliffe's book, pages 31 and 32).

3. Therefore, as far as Lancaster County's priority is concerned, she, in her inventive citizen, William Henry, was prior to Fitch and Evans and any other inventor; and in Robert Fulton was prior, in the successful application of steam to steamboats, to any other person also.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.

While it is universally admitted that Fulton "brought steam navigation for the first time to commercial success" by his demonstrations with the "Clermont" in 1807, it should be stated that the first practical steamboat was that invented by William Symmington, and tried on the Forth and Clyde canal, in 1802. That experiment, with the steam tug "Charlotte Dundas," failed for the same reason that the first experiments with steam-propelled craft on the Erie canal failed fifty years later; the disturbance of the water by steam towage so injured the canal banks that the canal managers had to go back to the earlier slower means of propulsion. Had Fulton's experiments been in a man-made channel instead of in a wide natural waterway, the era of the steamship might have been much longer delayed.

Drumore and East Drumore Townships—As before stated, Drumore township was one of the original townships of Lancaster county. Little Britain and Colerain were township divisions made from the original Drumore in 1738; but it was not until 1777 that the division line between Drumore and Little Britain was run. Eden was taken from Drumore, and the last separation is East Drumore.

East Drumore was set apart as a separate township in 1883. It has the distinction of being the forty-first and last township of Lancaster county.

Mechanics' Grove was made the polling-place of East Drumore, and Chestnut Level that of Drumore township. East Drumore became the sixty-second election district; and it may be of interest to some readers if it is pointed out here that about a century earlier (in 1796) Drumore had one of the five election districts of the county, for at Unicorn, Drumore township, was the polling-place for the whole of the "lower end" of Lancaster county. Quarryville was not then in existence nor for twenty-five years afterwards, in fact; and while Quarryville nowadays dwarfs all the other centers of population in southern Lancaster, there were several villages which would not give it first place until the second half of the nineteenth century was well advanced. Quarryville became a borough in 1893, and though a small part of it lies in Drumore township, its history properly comes into the Eden township chapter. Chestnut Level comes into particular prominence as the centre of Presbyterianism in the southern part of Lancaster county, and because of the famous academy of that time. Both will be referred to later in this chapter.

The watercourses of the Drumores are the Octorara, Muddy Run, and the Susquehanna, on its borders, and Fishing creek and the Conowingo and smaller waterways running through the townships and emptying into the Susquehanna. Farming is the main industry, but some iron-mining and iron-making have been done.

As to the origin of the township name. Drumore, or Dromore, Drommore, as it was officially recorded and written in township records prior to 1800, is undoubtedly Irish, or Scotch. It is said to have been so named from Druim Moir, or Druim Muir, a fortified place in County Down, Ireland. Settlement of Drumore township is stated to have begun as early as the year 1700, but nothing to support this statement is given, and it is improbable that settlement began so early.

Among the families resident in the Drumores in 1759 were Anderson, Adams, Alexander, Boyd, Barclay, Burney, Brown, Black, Crooks, Bigham, Bohanan, Baxter, Ball, Carson, Colter, Crawford, Cummings, Caldwell, Cheney, Collins, Clark, Cogle, Campbell, Calhoun, Dunlap, Duff, Divins, Dickson, Eyres, Evans, Erwin (Irwin), Finney, Flick (Flack), Garner, Greer, Gibony, Hughey, Henderson, Higgins, Harrah, Jackson, Johnston, Kennedy, Knox, Lorimore, Long, Marshall, McConnell, Maxwell, McIntyre, McKnight, Macfarland, McLaughlin, McClellan, Macfarson (McPherson), McMullan, McElroy, McDowell, Moore, Morrison, Mitchell, Newswanger, O'Brian, Patterson, Porter, Peoples, Penny, Quinn, Robinson, Ramsey, Reed, Rabb, Reid, Randall, Ritchey, Steel, Scott, Stuart, Stein, Smith, Turner, Taylor, Tate, Tame, White, Wishet, Woodburn, Wolfington, Wharry, Young. Many of these families were honorably represented in Revolutionary records. Captain William Steele was at Germantown and Brandywine, and had seven sons in military service. General John Steele was a company commander at nineteen, and severely wounded at Brandywine. He was later State Senator and speaker of the Senate; and later an Indian Commissioner. Archibald Steele, his brother, went through the disastrous Quebec campaign in the first winter of the war. Col. James Porter was at Brandywine (by the way, from one branch of that family came one of the governors of Kentucky). James and William Calhouns were Revolutionary officers. John Long was a company commander, and later a legislator. Lieutenant Thomas Niel distinguished himself at Germantown; Robert King, a captain, was at Brandywine. Moses

Irwin commanded a local company during the earlier French and Indian War, and was prominent in the Revolution. John Mitchell and Samuel Morrison were junior officers of his company during the Indian trouble.

Four illustrious sons of Drumore were honored by Lancastrians recently. They, through the medium of the Lancaster County Historical Society, on September 17, 1921, presented to the people of the Drumores a monument to perpetuate and commemorate the worthy records of Dr. David Ramsay, Col. Thomas Porter, Gen. John Steele, and Col. Archibald Steele. The monument stands near Unicorn, and the tablets upon their four faces briefly biograph the four distinguished men of Drumore. They read:

DR. DAVID RAMSAY.
Historian—Surgeon—Patriot.
Born one mile southwest, 1749.
Continental Army Surgeon.
Friend of Washington.
Constructive Leader in Congress.
Talented Man of Letters.
The Father of American History.
He is best known for his History of the American Revolution,
Life of Washington,
History of America,
and Universal History Americanized.
Practiced medicine
and died 1815 in Charleston, S. C.

GENERAL JOHN STEELE.
Born three miles north, 1753.
Resident of this farm.
Volunteer at 18. Captain at 19.
Colonel on Washington's staff at 21.
Wounded at Brandywine and at Germantown.
Pennsylvania Legislature (House) 1801.
Speaker of Senate 1806.
Collector of Port of Philadelphia 1808-1825
As commissioner to treat with warring tribes, to him was
addressed the famous speech of Logan, the Indian chief.
Died 1827.

COLONEL THOMAS PORTER.
Born three miles north, 1738.
A pioneer spirit of American Independence
Organizer of ten Lancaster County companies whom
failing health prevented his leading into the Field.
Died 1777.

COLONEL ARCHIBALD STEELE.
Born three miles north, 1742.
Picturesque in his ruggedness and ardor.
Walked to Boston at the call of Bunker Hill.
Leading six picked men, he broke the trail for the Montgomery expedition against Quebec, where he fought with distinction. Traveling on an overcrowded boat on the retreat, he contracted a chronic illness in the icy St. Lawrence.
Thereafter Commissary and finally head of the Philadelphia Arsenal.
Died 1832.

This brief biographical review is amplified by excellent sketches preserved in Vol. XXV, 8, of the Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Colerain Township—This township, organized in 1738, is bounded by Bart and Sadsbury townships on the north, by Chester county on the east, by Little Britain on the south, by East Drumore on the west, and by Eden township on the northwest. Two of its borders are along the banks of the branches of the Octorara creek. Stewart Run is another watercourse in Colerain. The land is rolling, but having a clay subsoil, is not naturally rich. However, it has been very productive by the use of artificial fertilizers.

The township name implies an Irish or Scotch-Irish connection, and the Land Office records confirm the supposition. Presbyterian Scots, or Scotch-Irish, dominated the territory very early in its settlement, if not from its first years. Though the available list of warrantees of land in Colerain township does not carry land titles farther back than 1736, when John Barclay received title to 150 acres, "on West Branch of Octorara, next to James Purtle," it seems clear that there must have been many earlier settlers within what is now Colerain township, otherwise action on petition of residents within that territory would not have been taken in 1738 to separate part of Drumore to form Colerain. The earliest Colerain families are stated to have been Anderson, Longhead, McConnel, Allison, and Barclay. Anderson and Allison are names to be found in records of the Newcastle Presbytery as early as 1716.

Among those who owned land in Colerain in 1751 were Samuel Anderson, Robert Anderson, Joshua Anderson, John Anderson, Sr., John Anderson, Jr., Robert Allison, John and Hugh Barclay, Robert Boston, Wm. Burnside, James Brown, David Campbell, Robert Cunningham, Robert Clark, Timothy Douglas, Thomas Douglas, Robert Gilbraith (Galbraith), Francis Guthrie, John Gill, John Gillmore, John Henderson, Peter Hastings, James Hutchison, Andrew Little, Moses Lockert, Robert Longhead, J. McZanden, George McKeown, Daniel McCleland, George McCullough, John and Alexander McConnel, George McCullough, Charles McCalester (McAllister), Jeremiah Morrow, John Murphy, Gabriel Morrison, James McKee, James Morrow, Chas. Oliphant, John Pasley, Wm. Patterson, Robert Ross, James Robison, Archibald Scott, Robert Scott, Robert Wells, David Coulter. Robert and William Walker were also on the list, as freemen of Colerain, in 1751.

John Barclay received title to another 200 acres in 1749, next to Hugh Barclay and Robert Allison tracts; Robert and Andrew Allison acquired 200 and 100 acres respectively in that year; entries to the McConnells began in 1744; in 1745 David McCallen took title to 175 acres; in the same year Robert Longhead took 150 acres, adding to it in 1753, in which year John Gilmore took an adjoining tract; John Anderson was granted 100 acres in 1747, between the tracts of Hugh Barclay and John McConnel; John McKreary took 200 acres in 1749; Moses McWharter, twenty acres in 1750; Moses Ross bought 25 acres adjoining his other land in 1751; George McCullough took land contiguous to the Anderson tract in the same year; John Guthrie in 1752 took a small tract on the Octorara creek, at the point where the tavern at Andrews Bridge was later built. Francis Guthrie had an acreage at that time, and both added later to their holdings; Joseph Walker had 20 acres recorded in his name in 1753, "next to his other land;" Matthew Richey took 20 acres in the same year; John Henderson took an adjoining like acreage in 1753, five years later buying land next to that of Robert Galbreath; Samuel Anderson purchased 20 acres adjoining land he had earlier acquired, and upon this small tract the Black Rock furnace later stood; Robert Anderson had a tract set against his name in the same year; it later was owned by the Harrar family. Thomas Beard took 200 acres next to John McConnell's land in 1754; it passed to the McCommon family in 1758. Samuel McCommon was a miller, and his property was about a mile southeast of Union. Douglas brothers, Thomas and Timothy, bought additional acreages adjoining their homesteads in the 'fifties; Isaac Sidwell took 150 acres near Union, next to Thomas Beard's land, in 1754; Hugh Fargus gained title to 25 acres, next to the tract of John Cunningham, in 1755; and other landowners in Colerain before 1760 were Robert Anderson, David Reed, Thomas Clark, Henry Hastings, James McKee, George McCowen, Robert McCorkle, Cornelius McCree, John Stewart, John and Henry Young.

From these families were enlisted the greater part of a company of militia raised in Colerain township in 1756 for service in the French and Indian War. The officers were: Samuel Anderson, captain; Joshua Anderson, lieutenant; John Barclay, ensign. Classifying the other members of the Colerain company according to their civil occupations, we find that the following were farmers: William Burnside, David Campbell, Hugh Cummins, John Cunningham, Peter Hastings, Gabriel Morrison, Wm. McKeely, Alexander McConel, Thomas McCorkle, Benj. McCormick, Thomas Beard, Samuel Chackley, Robert Galbraith, Thomas Douglass, Robert Guthrie, William Longhead, Thomas McCulon, John McConel, James Morrow, Moses McWorter, Darley McFadden. The following were weavers: Robert Birney, Joseph Crawford, Thomas Cross, John Gill, Alexander Rogers, Andrew Park, Robert Cunningham, Cornelius Collins, Thomas Brown, and John Birney. John Stewart was a cordwainer, Henry McWorter was a tailor, Evan Duncan a shoemaker, and Robert Anderson was a blacksmith. One on the roster, Joseph Miller, has the dignity of "Esq." after his name, which title was accorded him probably because he was the local justice from about 1755, and continued so through the Revolution, eventually becoming one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas under the Republic. He administered the oath of allegiance to Colerain residents when the Revolution came. He was listed as a storekeeper on the Colerain company roster of 1756. Those who were members of that company and were not classified by trade were John O'Niel, John Pauley, Robert Ross, Sr., Archibald Scott, Gabriel Scott, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Young, Wm. Glin, John Brown, Samuel Shannon, Robert Poster, James Smith, John Walker, Edward Young, Wm. Noble, Matthew Tattermore, David Morrow. It will be noticed that this company was recruited largely from the responsible residents of Colerain—from the heads of families. The danger, not only to the State, but to the individual home, was evident and pressing at that time, and the Scotch-Irish of Lancaster county did not hesitate to shoulder the flintlock or musket to guard their own.

Colerain had a distinguished record in the Revolution. "The Whitesides of Colerain" was the title of a paper written by D. F. Magee in 1913 (see Vol. XVII, 8, Papers of Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc.), dealing with the Revolutionary record of that family, and of Thomas P. and John Whiteside in particular. Generally it reflected the attitude of the Scotch-Irish in the wars, Mr. Magee writing:

> When transplanted to this land of freedom, they were generally found upon the extreme frontiers, and of and from them the armies of Washington were largely drawn. In this county, the portion selected by them lay, the one to the northwest, central about the Donegals, and the other to the southwest, central in the Drumores, Britain, and Colerain. Unlike the peaceful Quaker and the Mennonite, their (the Scotch-Irish) prime object seemed to be the construction of a country and the formation of a government. * * * Restless and dauntless, this English and Scotch-Irish race battled their way to the Front, and in the doing

thereof developed many strong characters and men of mark, who made their impress upon their country's history and left descendants with a like spirit, who have continued to take a prominent part in the affairs of their adopted land.

The Second Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia was entirely raised in the Scotch-Irish section of southern Lancaster county, the name Joshua Anderson again appearing as company commander. John Cunningham, lieutenant, was also from Colerain. The regiment saw service at Brandywine and elsewhere. Captain Thomas P. Whiteside appears to have headed another Colerain company. The first Whiteside was in Philadelphia as early as 1700; he (John Whiteside) took out a warrant for 200 acres in Pequea (now Sadsbury) township in the same year, states Mr. Magee. His son William took up by warrant 330 acres in Little Britain township in 1738. Thomas Whiteside, son of William, located in about 1757 in Colerain, on a large tract immediately west of Kirkwood, and now included in the farms of G. W. Collins, George A. Hogg, and Mrs. W. M. Schaum. He later acquired the John Barkley tract or a portion of it, in which Union village is located. Some time later in his life he established a distillery on the small spring stream which runs between the lands of G. W. Collins and the George A. Hogg farm. This distillery did an extensive business in its day, the whisky being hauled to Lancaster. Afterwards, his son John, the Congressman, was a part owner thereof, if not the sole owner. Prior to the Revolution he was on the Committee of Safety and was an officer in the militia of the township. In 1774 he was commissioned one of the justices of the county for Colerain, Bart, and adjoining townships, and was one of the lay justices of the Court of Common Pleas of the county, in which capacity he served for many years. In 1776 he was commissioned a captain in the Revolutionary army, under Col. Thomas Porter, and on August 13, 1776, he went to the front with his company and joined the army in New Jersey. The records show that on that date advance payments were made to him of £112 10s. on account of equipment of his command. From the reading of the muster-roll it would appear that his company was enlisted mainly from Colerain and immediate adjacent townships. The following is the roster: William Patterson, James Ramsey, Samuel Cooper, Thomas Patterson, John Acheson, Thomas Reed, David McCombs, John McGeehan, John Brooks, James McElwain, Samuel Rhea, Samuel Mooney, Frederick McFerson, John Cooper, James Common, Thomas McDowell, Abraham Whiteside (a brother), Samuel Criswell, Samuel White, Joseph Warnock, Oliver Caldwell, Miller McDowell, John Pennell, James Reed, James Watson, James McGraw, John Miller, Samuel McKinney, Andrew Richey, Edward Dugan, James Stewart, John Plunkett, James Black, John Tannehill, Nathan Tannehill, James Marshall, Robert Moore, James Campbell, John Mitchell, John Neiper, Thomas McLaughlin, Owen Murphy, John Grimes, and Joseph McCrery.

Captain Whiteside was in the battles of Princeton, Trenton, and Monmouth, and lost an arm in the service. He died in Colerain in 1805. His son John was an innkeeper in Lancaster City early in the nineteenth century, having an hotel on North Queen street in 1801, and in 1803 opening the "Lion" a short distance north of the court house, on Centre Square. Later he kept the "Fountain Inn." He was elected to Congress in 1815 and served two terms. Early tavern keepers in Colerain were William Barclay, Alexander Andrews, Joseph Kinsey. William Barclay kept the "Spread Eagle" on the road from Strasburg to Newport; Joseph Kinsey kept the "Horse and Eagle" on the road from Chestnut Level to Newport; and Alexander Andrews was landlord at the "Rising Sun," on the road from Strasburg to Newport.

Of the villages of Colerain township, Union is probably the oldest. The first house in it was erected by Hugh Andrews in 1824. The village also became known as Colerain, after it became a post town of that name. The Union High School, conducted by Professor Andrews, brought the place to the favorable notice of outside people. Kirkwood was early a place of importance, and from its central position was likely at one time to become the centre of activities in that part of the county. An early lodge of Masons was organized and located at Kirkwood, but moved to Christiana in the 'seventies. It is now a village of about two hundred inhabitants. Andrews Bridge, which came to be known as the post-town of Octorara, has been earlier referred to in this chapter. Collins, a cross-roads hamlet on the road from Union to Quarryville, became a post-town of that name in 1883; the business at that point consisted then of the store of Lindley Hutton, who was postmaster. Colerain was one of the early centres of fraternal orders. The Kirkwood Masonic lodge has been noticed. Salem Lodge, No. 1310, I. O. G. T., was organized in 1878. Twenty years earlier, Colerain Lodge, No. 544, of Odd Fellows, was organized. All centred in Kirkwood.

In 1900 the population of the five townships covered by this chapter were respectively: Colerain, 1559; Drumore, 1358; East Drumore, 1270; Fulton, 1674; Little Britain, 1454. The population is less now in all of the townships, the 1920 census figures being: Colerain, 1225; Drumore, 1094; East Drumore, 1160; Fulton, 1463; Little Britain, 1197.

The early church schools, academies, and private institutions of the "Lower End" of the county are reviewed extensively in a separate chapter. The public schools of Lancaster county is also the subject of another chapter. Southern Lancaster accepted the Common School Law of Pennsylvania almost as soon as it was enacted. Colerain township adopted it in 1836, and Drumore and Little Britain (including Fulton) in 1837. It took some time to bring the system into effect, however. Little Britain had ten free schoolhouses in 1837, but only eight teachers were found; there were three hundred scholars. Drumore had nine schoolhouses, twelve teachers, and 220 pupils. Seven schoolhouses were erected in Colerain township in 1838, and the first opened in 1839. Several new houses were built in Little Britain township during the next few years, but only because those earlier used were not well suited to school purposes. When Fulton township was set apart from Little Britain in 1844, five township schools were within its borders, and five in Little Britain. The district schools of these townships have since expanded in proportion to population and to the standard set in Lancaster county, and have compared satisfactorily with the common schools of other districts.

CHAPTER X.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF NORTHERN LANCASTER

The Original Township of Donegal, and of Its Subdivisions—East Donegal, West Donegal, Conoy, Mount Joy and Rapho.

The reasons for the migration of Presbyterians from Ulster to America in the first decades of the eighteenth century have been stated in the chapter on

"The Scotch-Irish of Southern Lancaster," which chapter, by the way, has been set ahead of this only because the first land surveyed in Lancaster county happened to be in a Scotch-Irish section of southern Lancaster. It is generally recognized that the first dominant Scotch-Irish settlements in Lancaster county were in its "Upper End," or northern part, not in the "Lower End," as the five Scotch-Irish townships of southern Lancaster are sometimes called. The settlement of the aggressive Ulsterites in Lancaster county seated a power which soon became evident in the local government. The Hon. W. U. Hensel reviewed the matter in an address he delivered in 1905, entitled: "The Scotch-Irish: Their Impress on Lancaster County." In part he said:

> Into the historic bailiwick of my county there entered almost contemporaneously three ruling strains that have made the composite citizenship of Pennsylvania for nearly two centuries. On that theatre of action there have been displayed the play and counterplay, the relation and interrelation, the action and counteraction, of the several religious and political forces that were set in motion early in the eighteenth century by the English Quaker, the Scotch-Irish, and the Pennsylvania-German. Whether Robert Galt was the first white settler who crossed the ridge that separates the Chester from the Pequea Valley, or if he was shortly preceded by the Pilgrim Palatines, to whom in 1711 Penn "required the friendship" of the Conestoga Indians, it is difficult to determine, and it may be profitless to inquire; but it is notable that the early assessment lists of Conestoga township, then in Chester county, which bore such characteristic names as James Patterson, Collum McQuair, Thomas Clark, and John McDaniel, discriminated as Dutch inhabitants the Herrs and Kauffmans, Brubakers and Swarrs, the Brenemans and Zimmermans, the Brackbills and Shenks.
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> It is equally certain that, with characteristic persistence, the Scotch-Irish pushed past his German neighbor; so that when as early as 1720 the territory of West Conestoga, beyond the Pequea, was cut off and called "Donegal," it was already peopled almost entirely by the more aggressive race. They held the frontier and stood on the firing line; at once they bore the odium and won the glory of battling with the savage. They worked out that great moral and political problem which has always to be solved when a weaker race throws itself across the path of advancing civilization. They made stern wrestle with all the difficulties that confront those who would at once break a new soil and settle new institutions. Carrying his religion with his rifle, the Scotch-Irishman in Lancaster county stamped an iron heel where he settled and wheresoever he trod. Regardless of disproportionate numbers he dominated the situation over his German neighbor for a century and a half.

The Scotch-Irish migration reached out in two directions, like a two-pronged fork, one prong reaching the northwestern part of Lancaster county, and the other prong the southwestern part. In the northwestern settlement they disturbed the Germans, and in the southwestern settlement dominated the Quakers. Hensel refers to the coming of the Scotch-Irish into Lancaster county thus:

> Almost immediately they advanced across the country, leaping from Pequea to Leacock, from Leacock to Donegal, in the upper end of the county; and on the lower side of the Mine Ridge they occupied what was once "the great township of Drumore," stretching from the west bank of the Octorara to the west bank of the Susquehanna, and from the Martic hills to the disputed Maryland line. In the valleys of the Upper End, where their furrow broke the limestone lands, the pioneers whose history we commemorate were surrounded by the patient plodding and tenacious German peasants; while in the Lower End, where the slate lands were more easily cleared of the lighter timber, they were confronted by an alien element in the meek followers of Penn, and the unwarlike worshippers with Fox.

Indeed, of the two, the Quakers seemed the more perturbed and resentful. The Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were so different in their natures and beliefs that one scarcely wonders that the passive Mennonites and equally meek Quakers were soon overrun by the upstanding Ulsterites, who were also quite prepared to violate the Penn edicts, if needs be, "by protecting their homes and families from the midnight attacks of their savage foes, when no other redress could be obtained." Indeed, Nathaniel Grubb, a member of the Provincial assembly of Pennsylvania, and probably was of the Grubb family of ironmasters, once said in the Council Chamber, in reply to appeals for governmental protection against the Indians: "They are a pack of insignificant Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who, if they were killed, could well enough be spared." And of course it is State record that the provincial authorities were "much alarmed" when the Presbyterian immigration reached such numbers as to be almost ominous. James Logan, president of the Proprietary Council of Pennsylvania, and identified with the Friends, once stated: "If the Scotch-Irish continue to come they will make themselves masters of the Province." To check the influx, there came a time when the provincial government would sell no more lands in Lancaster and York counties to the Scotch-Irish, though they were made "advantageous overtures" to migrate to the Cumberland Valley. That the Scotch-Irish soon took dominant part in the Provincial, and later in the State government, is made clear by a study of the Civil Lists. Hensel writes:

> How tame is the recital of the felicitous electioneering of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire by comparison with the animated political campaign in which Andrew Galbraith ran for Assembly against George Stewart, the ablest and most accomplished Quaker in Lancaster county! At a time when the only poll was in Lancaster city and none save freeholders voted, Galbraith's wife, mounting her favorite mare, roused the Scotch-Irish settlements, led the horseback procession of her husband's clansmen to the election, rallied other voters with such enthusiasm and addressed them with such eloquence as to not only then elect her husband, but to start him on a political career of unopposed success. Little wonder that when a member of the House of Bonaparte sought an American wife he found her in a granddaughter of that same Ann Galbraith. . . .
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> In the stress and storm of the Revolutionary period, neither in Massachusetts nor in Virginia was there a more fervid patriotic spirit than burned and blazed among the Scotch-Irish of Lancaster county; nowhere were views of hostility to the Crown and Parliament more devoutly sealed than in the group which encircled "the Witness Oak" at Donegal. They were of a race no more determined to have "a church without a bishop" than to live under "a State without a king."

It was a Scotch Presbyterian divine, the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, who put the last straw onto the scales on that memorable Fourth of July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was submitted to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The scale went down when Dr. Witherspoon made his fiery, fearless utterance: "To hesitate at this moment is to consent to our own slavery. The noble instrument on your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house. He who will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman. Whatever I may have of property or reputation is staked on the issue of this contest; and although these gray hairs must descend into the sepulcher, I would infinitely rather that they descend hither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

Of such is the Scotch-Irishman of America made; it might almost be said that by such was America made a republic.

The Original Donegal—Donegal township was organized in 1722. A year earlier the township of West Conestoga had come into being, embracing the territory in which English-speaking emigrants had settled, and beyond that part of Conestoga township in which the Mennonite colonies were. The tax lists of 1721, covering that part of Chester county now in Lancaster, were three in number, and bore the captions: "English Conestoga Assessments," "Palatines at Conestoga," and "Pequea List." In 1722 the captions were: "East Conestoga Assessment;" "West Conestoga, also known as Donegal, Township;" and "Pequea Township List of Taxables." And reference to these assessment lists shows that most of the names stated on the English Conestoga Assessment" list appear on the later "West Conestoga," also known as "Donegal Township" list. It is said that the settlers in West Conestoga could not for more than one year tolerate a township name that did not clearly differentiate them from the Palatines of Conestoga; therefore, West Conestoga township was renamed Donegal in 1722, that being the name of the county in North Ireland from which the Presbyterians who had settled along the Chiques creek came in 1716 and immediately succeeding years.

They had emigrated from Ulster under the impression that this was a free land; a country in which one might live entirely free from governmental curb. They were Britons, and as such were not required to take the oath of allegiance; and they mostly hurried from the landing-place to the wilderness frontier, without taking heed of land-warrants, surveys, and suchlike preliminaries of land-titles. They were under the impression that they could settle anywhere west of the then settled frontier, without let, hindrance, or cost. They came in such numbers that the government would not cope with them, and, after some years of undisturbed possession, many resolutely declined to bother about warrant, survey, and patent, especially shunning papers that called for payment of any ground-rental or quit-rent to the Proprietors. However, it was not long before the Scotch-Irish set themselves right with the provincial government, and what is more, became an influential part of that government. In the first year of the existence of Lancaster county, a man of Donegal, James Mitchell, was sitting in the Provincial Assembly, and others were taking prominent part in the civil administration of the county.

The Scotch-Irish settlers were preceded by some French Canadian fur traders, who however can hardly be considered as legitimate settlers. These traders, Bazaillon, LeTort, Chartier, Marianda, Jessup, and others, located along the river between Conoy creek and Marietta, with the exception of Chartier, who went into Conestoga Manor, and later into Cumberland county. They all had large tracts surveyed in the Donegals, but only for speculation; and it is said that "there are very few instances where they actually took out patents for their land."

The original limit of Donegal township embraced all to the westward and northwestward of Pequea creek, the northwestern boundary not being defined, as all was wilderness beyond. But when Lancaster county was erected in 1729, the southeastern boundary of Donegal township was set farther back to approximately the line of the Big Chiques creek, so as to permit the organization of Hempfield township. Donegal's boundaries were thus delineated in 1729: "The township of Donegal, beginning at the mouth of the Chickasalunge, thence up the East Branch to Peter's road, thence (taking in the present inhabitants) on the northerly course to Conewago, thence by the same and the said river to the place of beginning." The subsequent divisions have created the townships of Rapho, Mount Joy, East and West Donegal, and Conoy.

Rapho was set apart from Donegal township in 1741 as the twenty-first township of the county, taking all of the territory between the Big and Little Chiques creeks, an area of about 27,000 acres. Mount Joy township was detached from Donegal in 1759 or 1767. Its long northern and northwestern boundary is part of the Lancaster county line between it and Dauphin and Lebanon counties; its eastern boundary is the Little Chiques creek and Rapho township; and its southern and southwestern boundary is along the Lancaster and Harrisburg turnpike, on the opposite side of which East and West Donegal lie. In 1838 Donegal township was divided almost in half, and the two parts organized as East Donegal and West Donegal. The boundary line between them forms "a segment of a circle with the convex side in the direction of West Donegal. The southern half of West Donegal was detached in 1842 to form Conoy township. Conoy is the extreme westerly point of Lancaster county; its northeastern boundary is West Donegal, its eastern line is East Donegal border, its northwestern boundary is Dauphin county, and the eastern bank of the Susquehanna river borders it on the southwest.

The boroughs within what was the territory of the original Donegal township are: Marietta, in East Donegal, chartered in 1830; Mount Joy, at the point where East Donegal, Mount Joy and Rapho townships meet, chartered in 1851; and Elizabethtown, in Mount Joy township, incorporated in 1827. H. L. Steinmetz, in a paper on "The Political Divisions of Lancaster County," contributed in 1900 to the Historical Society, pointed out that:

> It is not generally known that there was a township in this county which had only a few years of existence, and which was named for William Henry Harrison, President of the United States. Such a township however was projected, laid out and named in 1844. In that year a petition was presented to the Court of Lancaster County, signed by citizens residing within the bounds of the Twenty-second Election District of the county, composed of parts of Rapho, Mount Joy, and Donegal townships, stating that inconvenience, trouble and expense were incurred by reason of the distance to which the petitioners were subjected in attending their respective township elections, and praying the erection of a new township out of portions of each of the three above-named townships. Upon that petition the court appointed Christopher Brenner, Henry M. Reigart, and Thomas Lloyd, viewers. Two of the viewers met and returned a report creating the new township. It was called "Harrison," and was embraced in the Twenty-second Election District of Lancaster County. The report of the viewers was made to the August Court of Quarter Sessions, 1844; and on February 3, 1845, the court set the report aside. The matter was certioraried to the Supreme Court, and there the proceedings on the report of viewers was quashed. The attorneys were Messrs. Stevens and Penrose, and the opinion of the Supreme Court was delivered by Justice Rogers. Argument was had before the Supreme Court on December 8, 1846. By Act of Assembly, passed in 1846, Harrison township was divided into two election districts, Mount Joy and Sporting Hill; but the act did not become operative, owing to the adverse decision of the Supreme Court. However, Mount Joy was called Harrison in the election returns of 1846, and repealed in 1847. The case is fully reported in 5th Barr, p. 447.

The foregoing covers all of the political divisions of the original Donegal township.

There is no doubt as to the origin of the name given to the pioneer township division; very many of the Ulsterites who settled in Lancaster county were from County Donegal, in Ireland. The influence of the Scotch-Irish is also seen in the naming of Derry, after Londonderry. Derry was one of the township divisions decided upon when Lancaster county was organized, but when Dauphin county was organized Derry township could no longer be claimed by Lancaster. Rapho can also be traced without reasonable doubt, for the town of Rapho is the ecclesiastical centre of County Donegal. "The Roman Catholic bishop of Raphoe is practically Bishop of Donegal; and the Episcopal Bishop of Raphoe has jurisdiction in Derry." The derivative of Mount Joy, however, is not so easily determined. Dr. Dubbs suggested, though not seriously, a French origin, "Mont-Joie" being an ancient battle-cry of the Franks. There is not much evidence to support such a suggestion, even though the first white settlers in the Donegals were the French-Canadian Indian traders. Mount Joy may safely be associated with dramatic incidents of British history; either the breaking of the boom by the vessel "Mountjoy" and the consequent raising of the siege of Londonderry; or the breaking of the power of the Catholics in the North of Ireland by Lord Mountjoy in Queen Elizabeth's last years, making possible King James the First's plan to colonize Ulster with Protestants from Scotland and England. Conoy township, on the other hand, though seemingly an Irish name, is said to have been derived "from a tribe of Indians that formerly inhabited the region."

Early Settlers in the Donegal Region—The Indian traders were in the Donegal country many years before the first of the regular settlers came; some were in the region in the seventeenth century. The first permanent settlers in what may be termed the Donegal region located along the Chiques creek, beginning in 1716, and spreading eventually over most of the five townships now represented in the original Donegal. The list is not complete, but it at least establishes the time of settlement of some of the principal Scotch-Irish families of the "Upper End" of the county. Robert Middleton is shown as settling in 1716; John and George Stewart in 1717; Peter Allen, Robert and William Buchanan, William Bryan, Thomas Bayley, Henry Bealey, Andrew, James and John Galbraith, John Gardner, James Mitchell, Samuel Smith, John Sterret, Robert, Thomas, William and John Wilkins in 1718; Patrick Campbell, James Cunningham, Joseph Cloud, James Couch, Daniel Clark, Widow Dunning, John and Thomas Mitchell, Ephraim Moore, James Smith, and Joseph Work in 1720; John Taylor in 1721; Robert, James and John Allison, Gordon Howard, Thomas Howard, Alexander Hutchison, William Maybee, Richard McFarland, Robert Monday, John Maris, James Kyle, and Hugh White, in 1722; John Miller in 1723; Thomas Black, William Beach, John Black, Robert Brown, John Davison, John Doaks, Christian Gardner, John Walker and Michael Wood, in 1724; Jeremiah Bringham, Matthias Blazer, James Brownlow, Abraham Inless, Hugh Scott, in 1725; Rev. James Anderson, Joseph Baston, James Harris, Alexander McKee, George Mayfort, in 1726; Lazarus, James, John, Daniel and Alexander Lowrey, in 1729; James Buey, James Cook, Peter Hairston, James Hutchison, John Kelley, William and Alexander Mitchell, Thomas and John Scott, in 1730.

The Galbraith family was one of the most prominent. They located on land near Donegal Church. Andrew Galbraith was the first coroner of Lancaster county, one of the ruling elders of Donegal church, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and an Assemblyman. John Kyle bought his farm in 1746. John Galbraith settled on "Donegal Meeting-House Run," about two miles below Andrew. Samuel Evans, in a review of "Old Mills and Country Ordinaries," written in 1897, said: "John Galbraith located along what was then called Spring creek, which had its source at the spring at Donegal church. He selected the land at a point where a new road had been laid out, branching from Peter's road, a short distance northeast from the present town of Mount Joy, and which led through the new settlement. This road again branched at Galbraith's, one road going to the river and the other inclining northwest, and connecting with the Peters road near Conoy creek. John Galbraith in the same year (1720) erected the first grist and saw mill above the Conestoga. The travel over these roads became so great that Mr. Galbraith applied to the Chester county court to grant him a license to keep an ordinary and brew beer." John Galbraith was a member of the first grand jury of Lancaster county, and was sheriff in 1731. In 1748 he was a captain in his brother's (Col. James Galbraith's) battalion, which ranged along the mountains to protect the frontier settlers from Indian raids. He died in 1753. "After the death of John Galbraith, his lands were divided and sold. That part on the east side of the creek was purchased by Mr. Hiestand, and the grist and saw mill, with the ordinary and several hundred acres of land, were purchased by John Bayly, who was the son of Thomas Bayly, and was born upon a farm near where Florin now is. John Bayly was a member of the Supreme Executive Council from this county during the Revolutionary War. The mills and ordinary were conducted by him until his death in 1794. He was one of the owners and founders of the town of Falmouth. A few years after his death, Henry Shearer purchased the farm and mills. In 1804 he tore the old mills down, and erected a large stone mill on the south side of the road, and a large stone dwelling on the hill on the north side. Either then or a few years later a still house was erected near the mill. This was known as a merchant mill. Large quantities of flour from this mill were shipped down the river to the Baltimore market."

James Galbraith, a brother of John, married Elizabeth Bertram in 1733, and soon afterwards moved to Spring creek, where Derry church is, and built a grist mill, which he sold to Mr. Garber in about 1750. He was county sheriff in 1742-43. Besides holding a colonelcy in the French and Indian wars, his military records includes a lieutenant-colonelcy of Cumberland county during part of the Revolution, and his sons John, Bertram, Andrew, and Robert were Revolutionary officers. Andrew Galbraith settled below Donegal church upon land later owned by Peter Nissley and the Garbers. He was a brother of James and John Galbraith, and comes distinctively into Presbyterian church records in connection with the earliest years of the Donegal church; he is claimed to have been one of the two founders of that historic church. He moved into Cumberland county in 1747.

James Patterson comes into Donegal records, though he lived in Manor township, near Martin Chartier's trading post. He married Susannah Howard, daughter of one of the pioneers of Donegal, and their children married into other Donegal families. Their daughter Susannah married James Lowrey, a celebrated Indian fur trader; their son, James Patterson, married Mary Stewart, of one of the most prominent families in Donegal. James Patterson and also his son William were company commanders of distinction in the French and Indian War.

George Stewart was one of the strong Presbyterians of Donegal. He had a warrant for a tract of 350 acres near the river; upon part of his land the eastern end of the borough of Marietta is built. He was a county commissioner in 1731, and a member of the General Assembly in 1730 and 1732. He died suddenly in the next year. His first-born, John Stewart, succeeded to the farm, for which he received patent in 1739. Ten years later he sold 150 acres to David Cook. Gordon Howard was an Indian trader; he settled about one and a half miles northeast of Donegal church. His trading post and mansion passed into the possession of the Hershey family eventually. Later, Hon. J. D. Cameron owned part of his land. His son, Thomas Howard, was also an Indian trader, and possibly some of his other sons, Joseph, John, William, Robert. Gordon Howard was father-in-law of James Patterson. Robert Middleton came into Donegal from Martic township in 1716; he had settled in Martic, with his brothers George and William, three years earlier. He took up 500 acres adjoining the glebe-land of Donegal church on the southwest. He died in 1731, but his wife lived through the Revolution. Their son John died in 1782, leaving one child, who married John Whitehill, Jr., the latter through his wife coming into possession of a large acreage near Maytown. John Whitehill's Revolutionary record has been already referred to. Samuel Fulton was one of the settlers of 1720; he acquired several hundred acres of land along "Old Peter's road," a mile north of Maytown, and married into the Stewart family. William Bryan lived along the Peters road, and owned the land which eventually passed to the Brandt family. Hugh McKen owned a farm adjoining that of Bryan. William Hoy lived along the Conewago creek. He had a good record of Revolutionary War service; was major of Colonel Lowrey's battalion at the battle of Brandywine, and of Colonel Cunningham's battalion at the battle of Long Island. Joseph Cochran lived above Conewago creek. The Stephensons were in Donegal from about 1732, when John Stephenson came. Nathaniel Stephenson took up a tract of 300 acres adjoining the Donegal glebe in 1738. His land passed eventually to the Camerons, and John Stephenson removed to Virginia. John and Nathaniel were sons of James, and they apparently preceded him to America. James Stephenson did not take up land near Donegal glebe until 1740, and did not receive patent until 1749. It passed to Nathaniel, who died without issue; but his sister Hannah, who had married into the Watson family, had a son, David Watson, and to this nephew of Nathaniel Stephenson the land went in 1780. David Watson was a prominent patriot, and a justice of the Court of Common Pleas. One of his sons was a colonel of militia during the War of 1812; two grandsons became physicians, David C. and Nathaniel, both having large Donegal practices; and James C., who was born in the old homestead adjoining the Donegal meeting-house, eventually entering the Presbyterian ministry, and becoming doctor of divinity in 1847. The Hutchison family lived along Little Chiques creek, James Hutchison settling in about 1730. Alexander Hutchison erected a grist and saw mill on the north side of Little Chiques creek, in about 1750, just above where the iron bridge is. Further reference will be made to this mill.

James Anderson, who was the first regular pastor of Donegal Presbyterian church, made his home in Donegal from 1727 to his death, 1740. He was born in Scotland in 1678, and had been in the ministry in America since 1709. He was one of the founding members of Newcastle Presbytery in 1716, was later in a New York charge, and accepted call to Donegal in 1726. He was a man of broad mind, and was not long in Donegal before he saw that distorted matters of land-title needed straightening, and he gave them his careful intelligent attention. He himself purchased a tract of 305 acres in 1727 from Peter Allen, an Indian trader. It was not until 1737 that he straightened the titles of some of the land holdings of some of his congregation, "which then included nearly the whole population of Donegal township." He frequently rode to Philadelphia to plead the cause of the people with the Provincial Government in the differences over land-titles, and finally cleared the disputes to general satisfaction. This accomplished, Rev. Anderson gave some thought to his own affairs. He had for ten years lived on a farm he had exchanged with William Wilkins for the Peter Allen tract he had bought. The Wilkins tract was along the river, and upon part of it the borough of Marietta developed. But when Rev. James Anderson was able to think of his own affairs, in 1737, he only saw in his river-farm the possibility of establishing a ferry. He applied for a patent for a ferry, but was unable to get it for some time, owing to the objections of John Wright, who then had a ferry three miles further down the river. However, he secured the right eventually; and it was probably because of that ferry patent that his son held to the land, and also his grandson, James (3d), and great-grandson, James (4th), who founded the town of Waterford in 1804, which town was merged with another ultimately to form the borough of Marietta. More regarding Anderson's Ferry will be written later in this chapter.

Many of the early settlers in the Donegal region added fur-trading to farming. William Dunlap was one of them; his place was on the Swatara river. Thomas Wilkins, son of Robert, was largely engaged in the Indian trade. His land was along the road leading from Donegal church to Mount Joy; he built the first story of the house lately used by the Nissleys. In 1738 he bought a farm at Conoy creek, and leased the ferry of James Logan, at what is now Bainbridge. John Burt was an Indian trader who frequented the Donegals, but whose post was near where Harrisburg now is. The Lowreys dealt extensively in peltries. Lazarus Lowrey had a trading post about midway between Marietta and the Donegal meeting-house. He was one of the most intrepid traders, "remarkable for his energy, industry and courage." He made frequent trips into the wilderness, as far even as the Mississippi river, and generally his sons, James, John, Daniel, and Alexander, went with him. He died in Philadelphia in 1755. Five or six years earlier, his son John had been killed by an Indian while on a trading trip to the Ohio. John had taken over his father's business, and much of his land in the Donegals. He owned the land upon which the upper part of Marietta stands, and also the land extending from Maytown to the Colebrook road. His brother James also came near to losing his life when attacked by hostile Indians during the French trouble. He had several outposts and lost so heavily by raids that he was forced in 1758 to sell his land holdings in Donegal and move away. He had one tract adjoining the trading post of John Galbraith at Conoy creek. Daniel Lowry owned land in East Donegal, but sold that and bought a tract owned by his brother John, then recently deceased. But he also suffered heavy losses during the French and Indian War, though he recouped them to some extent by becoming an army contractor. He had a fleet of batteaux, with which he maintained the commissariat of Fort Augusta. He sold his Lancaster county land to his youngest brother Alexander in 1859, and moved to Juniata. Alexander Lowry, the youngest of the famous family of Indian traders, was the most successful of all, notwithstanding that he sustained a loss of peltries valued at £8000 sterling during the Indian attack at Bloody Run in 1763. He had trading stations at Fort Pitt and Carlisle, and went as far west as Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi. He was once saved from sudden death only by his courage and fleetness of foot; but in the end he had his trading so well organized that without very great risks he did a large volume of business. He became wealthy, and when his father died bought the Lowrey mansion and land in Donegal township. He was a fur trader for forty years. Alexander Lowry in 1770 purchased the ground-rents of Maytown, and about eight hundred acres of land extending east, west and south of that place, from Jacob Downer, who had laid out the town. He was an ardent patriot, was appointed a member of the Committee on Correspondence in July, 1774; was elected to the General Assembly in 1775-76, and in the latter year raised a battalion of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Donegal region, Col. Bertram Galbraith doing likewise in the western part of Donegal and Derry townships. Colonel Lowrey was seven times thereafter reëlected to the General Assembly, served as Indian Commissioner for a while, and eventually became a State Senator. He lived his last years on his palatial estate near Mariatta.

Mrs. Samuel Evans, wife of Samuel Evans—who wrote the best historical work yet compiled of Lancaster county—was impelled some years ago to review in verse the adventurous lives of the Lowreys. Quoting therefrom:

In Donegal, in Erin's Isle
Stern Scotia's children dwelling,
Grew restive 'neath Oppression's hand,
Their souls with freedom swelling.
* * * * *
Then up rose Lazarus Lowrey bold,
His wife and bairns beside him,
Resolved to seek for Freedom's home
Whatever fate betide him.
* * * * *
The lads grew kingly with the breath
Of Freedom . . . . .
* * * * *
Nor deemed the simple forest child
The Red man less than brother;
For noble natures recognize
The noble in another.

And when the days of trial came,
Of which we know the story,
No Erin son of Scotia's blood
Was ever found a Tory.
Upon the Constitution's page
Of Penn's blest land is written
Brave Alexander Lowrey's name
As foe to King and Briton.
* * * * *
In his old age, at Brandywine,
Undaunted by War's rattle
The men of our own Donegal
By him were led to battle.
* * * * *
Revere him in yourselves and live
Such lives as will not shame him;
His lofty spirit emulate

That ye may justly claim him.
A nobler heritage is your's
Than acres rich and flowery—
Be worthy, children, of the blood
Of Alexander Lowrey.

Thomas Harris, a pioneer at Donegal, had a trading post at Conewago creek and eventually he became one of the wealthiest of the traders. James Harris had a post about two miles west from Maytown. And it appears that Simon Girty, the renegade who became one of the bitterest enemies of the Republic and who was at the head of the band of Indians that burned Colonel William Crawford at the stake in 1782, was an early fur trader in Lancaster county, his post being on the Conewago.

The Mitchell family was of somewhat superior status. James Mitchell was a surveyor before he came into Donegal, and seems to have been then or soon thereafter a government official. In 1722 he was made a justice for Donegal township of Chester county, and in the same year was appointed a commissioner to survey the "Springgettsbury Manor" on the west side of the Susquehanna river. He lived a mile below Galbraith's mill, and became a large landowner. He represented Donegal of Chester county in the Assembly in 1727, and was one of the first assemblymen of Lancaster county in 1729.

The Bayly family, the head of which was Thomas Bayly, settled about a mile west from Mount Joy borough, on the turnpike. He died in 1734. His son John has been already mentioned herein. His son James bought the farm later owned by the Cassel family, in 1761-62. David Cassel was the founder of the village of Sporting Hill, on the road from Manheim to Mount Joy. John Bayly was a wagonmaster during the Revolution, and much concerned at the attitude of the "Dutch" in his vicinity. He was justice of the peace, and once reported to "His Excellency Thomas Warton, Commander and Chief in and over the State of Pennsylvania," that "the opposition given to the laws by the Dutch at length hath Broken out into open Rebellion, they had threatened so much and bound themselves to each other, that any Constable that would levey on their Goods, for the fines ipos'd by the Melitia law, the would Rebel against them." The outcome was that resistance to the officers of the law brought a volley from the latter, and so much other trouble that Justice Bayly reported that the Donegal militia, though under marching orders, were held "till we suppress this Rebellion." He wrote: "These three that are Shott ar of these Consientious People menoneasts who Preten non resistance and persive Obedience, and there is about 15 or 20 More of the Same sact in the publick Cabal." John Bayly died in 1793 or 1794. Part of the Bayly estate was sold to Thomas Anderson in 1763, but it later was acquired at sheriff's sale by James Bayly.

The Allisons settled northeast of Old Peter's road, near where the road now leads from Maytown to Elizabethtown. James Allison was one of the leading residents, and owned a large tract of land. James Moore resided near Chiques creek, on the east side, a mile south of the Paxtang and Conestoga road. He purchased 300 acres of land adjoining the Donegal glebe on the west. His son Zachariah was a Revolutionary officer. William Buchanan resided near Conoy creek, above the Peters road. William Eben was early in Donegal, but soon moved away.

Joseph Work (Worke) came into Donegal in 1720, and took up land on the west side of the Peters road, and east of where Greybill's meeting-house eventually was erected. He built a tannery near the big spring where the Hostetters later settled. It was probably the first tannery west of the Conestoga, states Samuel Evans. Joseph Worke was a captain in the French and Indian War, and was at the battle of Loyal Hannon, under Col. James Burd, when General Forbes' army was marching to the Ohio to take Fort Duquesne. His son James became an Indian trader, perhaps because of his association with John Galbraith, whose daughter he married. James Worke made his home in the paternal mansion until his death, but three other sons of Joseph Work, William, Joseph, and another, moved to Virginia. All served as officers in the Revolutionary army. The Joseph Worke who was sheriff of Lancaster county in 1779 was the son of James. Mr. Evans writes:

> There was a carding and fulling mill on the lower end of the Worke tract. I do not know the exact date of its erection. Prior to the year 1820 it was owned by Mr. Zook, and within my own recollection it was owned by David Zook. Some years ago it was purchased by an English company, and was burned down about ten years ago (1887), and was not rebuilt. This mill manufactured "Linsey-woolsey" and casinet cloth. I remember when a small boy of taking fleeces of wool to this mill to be carded. Upon one occasion I went to the upper story to see the looms at work. I was surprised to find so many young girls at work. They threw little wads of wool at me, and I hastened out of the mill. When I returned home the back of my roundabout was found to be full of little pieces of wool. This was my first and last visit to the weaving room.

Hugh White resided along Little Chiques creek, near the Paxtang road. He left sons Hugh, John Henry, and Moses. One of his sons was Col. Hugh White, of the West Branch valley, in the Revolutionary War. John Tyler lived along Little Chiques creek, near where Myers' stone bridge now is. Jonah Davenport, who crossed the mountains to trade with the Indians at the Ohio as early as 1727, settled on three hundred acres of land near where Bainbridge now is, in 1720. He sold to James Logan, whose heirs sold to the Groffs, Works, and Scotts. The latter sold to James Galbraith. James Cunningham settled near the spring at Donegal church in 1720, taking up several hundred acres of land adjoining the glebe on the north. In 1730 he sold to John Gass. Subsequent owners of the tract, which has been several times divided, include McClelland, McCleery, Kerr, Willson, Cameron, Garber, Hoover. A State hatching house occupied part of the tract. A son of James Cunningham had a distinguished Revolutionary record; he (Col. James Cunningham) commanded the flying camp at the battle of King's Bridge, and at the battle of Long Island. He was a member of the Supreme Executive Council from this county. In later life he was a land surveyor, and laid out the soldiers' lands west of the Allegheny. He died in Lancaster, about 1801.

Patrick Campbell kept an ordinary near Canoy, Indian Town. He was the first constable of Donegal township after the county was organized. He married Mary, the widow of Capt. Samuel Smith, and they moved to one of the Smith farms, that in late years owned by the Engles. There he kept an ordinary, or continued one conducted by Capt. Smith for many prior years. It was well patronized, being near the Indian Town, and also on the Peters road which led to Logan's ferry. "It was the custom of the traders to assemble at Smith and Campbell's just before starting with their pack trains for the Indian country. They made things lively while they were there." They forded Canoy creek at or near where the stone mill stands, that in recent years called "Erb's Mill." Samuel Smith, grandson of Innkeeper Samuel, "was a distinguished general in the Revolutionary War, and was United States Senator from Maryland for fourteen years."

Isaac Marauda, a French trader, had a post near Campbell's inn. He died in 1732. One of his daughters married James Hamilton, who became Governor of Pennsylvania. James Smith, who lived near Conoy creek, was also a fur trader. The McNutt family settled in Donegal in 1722. Robert McFarland settled two years earlier on the right bank of the Little Chiques creek, about one mile from Mount Joy, southward. One of his sons moved to Virginia; John and James remained at home. The widow of James married Thomas Clingan, who thus came into possession of part of the original McFarland homestead farm. Part passed to Ludwig Lindemuth; and the Zercher family eventually acquired part. Nathaniel Lytle settled on Little Chiques creek in 1722; he came into possession of part of the Wilkins land, situated a short distance from the mouth of the Little Chiques; his son John sold the Wilkins farm to the Hersheys and moved to Middletown, where he established a ferry, during the Revolution.

The Sterrett family came into Donegal in 1720, John Sterrett then settling near Chiques creek. He was sheriff in 1744, his son James succeeding him and holding the office for three years. James married a daughter of Richard Allison, who owned several hundred acres of land along Donegal run, adjoining Andrew Galbraith's on the southeast, to which land James Sterritt moved after marriage. His grandson was Hon. James Sterrett, eminent jurist. Richard Allison had a tract of six hundred acres, altogether, along Donegal run, or Spring creek, as it was otherwise called. At his death it was divided between his three children: his son William; his daughter, who married William Miller; and his daughter Mary, who married James Sterrett.

John Gardner came into Donegal in 1718, and then settled at the mouth of the Chiques creek. Peter Gardner came from New Jersey in 1720 and took up 630 acres, "extending up the river from Chiques rock about three-fourths of a mile, and running back about a mile and a quarter, which embraced some land in West Hempfield, where the Big and Little Chiques unite," and also about two hundred acres between the two creeks. Peter conveyed some of his land to John Gardner, who in 1720 built a hemp mill. It stood on the east side of the river and was in almost continual and full operation for a hundred years thereafter. John Gardner conveyed some land to John Bortner, who received a patent in 1733 for 230 acres, selling the next year to John Ross, who became so embarrassed that the loan commissioners had to sell his property in 1738. Thomas Ewing was the purchaser. He had also a year earlier acquired another two hundred acres of the Gardner tract, adjoining George Stewart's land on the east. Upon that land eventually developed two grist mills, one saw-mill, five anthracite blast furnaces, one rolling-mill, and the eastern extension of Marietta. Thomas Ewing was one of the most intelligent settlers, and possessed large means. He married the widow of James Patterson, the Indian trader, and through her came into possession of some of the land warranted to or acquired by Patterson. General James Ewing, of Revolutionary fame, was son of Thomas. James Ewing was also under Braddock and Forbes in the French and Indian campaigns. Later he was an Assemblyman, a member of the Council, and eventually a State Senator. He died at Wright's Ferry in 1806. John Kelley had 140 acres of land near what became the western platted parts of Marietta, in 1740. The farm passed in 1766 through his son to James Bayley.

The Indian traders, Bazaillon, LeTort, and Combs, were the first to have land surveyed in Conoy, the surveying being done by Isaac Taylor in the fall of 1719. James Logan also had three hundred acres surveyed for himself in the same year. That tract he some time later sold to Jonas Davenport. In 1728 Melchoir Breneman acquired the seven hundred acres surveyed for Martha Bazaillon. Captain Samuel Smith settled at the Spring, near the house of Simon Engle, in 1718. James Cook settled on the east side of Conoy creek in 1720, his land adjoining that of John Galbraith; he died in 1741. Andrew Boggs settled on the river between Bainbridge and Falmouth in 1730; he died in 1765. John Catherwood was well known to most of the early settlers in the Donegals; he was a saddler, and "worked around among the farmers," making his home at Patrick Campbell's tavern, where he died in 1742. Randall Chambers resided near Conewago creek at a very early date. He with Andrew Galbraith organized the Donegal Presbyterian church, being one of its first elders. His daughter Margaret married David McClure, who settled in Conoy along the river. Hugh White resided along Little Chiques creek, near the Paxtang road, prior to 1726; his sons were Hugh, John, Henry, and Moses. The last-named took patent for 168 acres of land in Mount Joy township in 1741, though he probably had been in possession for many years earlier. He had two sons, Hugh and William; Hugh married the daughter of John Allison, and was a colonel during the Revolution. William took patent for a large tract in Mount Joy in 1741. William Paterson was probably one of the first settlers in Rapho township, taking up about 300 acres in the southern part; his descendants are still in the township. He probably was of the same family as James Paterson, who was in Manor township as early as 1716. The Scott family came into the Donegals in the twenties. Samuel Scott settled on a large tract on the Big Chiques, in 1721. In later years he built the Chiques Hotel, which passed from him to his nephew, Hugh Pedan, who was landlord during the Revolutionary period. General Washington is said to have been a guest several times. It was afterwards kept by John Guy, who ran the stage between Lancaster and Harrisburg. It stood until about fifty years ago, and upon its site Andrew Garber built a fine residence. The original tract patented by Samuel Scott has been since much divided, parts latterly being in possession of the Eby, Stehman, Brubaker, Nissley, and other families. Almost all of the foregoing were settlers in the Donegal region prior to the forties of the eighteenth century.

Other Settlers Prior to Revolution—Of the later settlers of the Provincial period there were several families of prominence. Christian Winiker (Vinegar), Sr., settled in Donegal in about 1750, and rented the ferry near what became Marietta, about two miles west. His son Christian subsequently purchased the ferry and a tract of land. The ferry for many years was known as Vinegar's Ferry. Ludwig Lindemuth emigrated from Germany in 1750. He purchased the Robert McFarland farm about a mile from Mount Joy, along the Little Chiques creek, in 1752. Lindemuth was a Lutheran, and for about a dozen years regularly attended the Lancaster church, walking both ways every Sunday. He was one of the founders of Maytown Lutheran church in 1765. In 1761 Herman Long acquired 469 acres of land from William Smith, who had received patent in 1749. In 1785 Long also gained possession of the John Stehman farm of 330 acres. This land Stehman had bought in 1751 from his father-in-law, Christian Breneman; the land extended along the Maytown and Bainbridge road. Richard Keys settled near Big Chiques creek probably in the fifties. There was also a James Keys; the latter during the Revolution rented Anderson's ferry, and in 1779 established one in his own right two miles farther up the river. He also purchased the Tate farm of 150 acres, near Maytown. James Keys was one of the founders of Falmouth, and was elected to the State Legislature for several terms. Christian Bucher, Mennonite, settled in the western part of Donegal township in about 1760, and through his father-in-law, Melchoir Breneman, in 1768, acquired a tract adjoining his own, this land being the tract warranted to William Bryan in 1720. It was about one and a half miles from Maytown, on the road to Elizabethtown. Frederick Bauer and other Lutherans settled to the westward of Maytown in the sixties, soon after the town was laid out. Their farms were parts of the original LeTort-Logan tract of 900 acres.

In 1750 Nicholas McClelland, Andrew Berg, Thomas Cotters, Matthew Blazer, Henry Rup, Martin Heisey, Widow Hones, Jacob Ebersole and John Allison were settled along the west side of Coney creek, near Nissley's mill, in western Donegal. David Craig in 1751 took up several hundred acres along Conoy creek, a little north of Conoy township. His son Robert was a Revolutionary officer. Samuel Woods settled near Conewago in 1760. Peter Wayland owned the Petersburg tract, near Conoy creek; he sold it in 1773 to Jacob Witmer. Benjamin Whisler, John Neesly, Peter Rutt, Jacob Boyers and David Coble owned adjoining farms. James Jamison settled on land one and a half miles west from Elizabethtown before the Revolution. He was quartermaster in Col. Lowrey's battalion, and in later years kept a dry-goods store in Elizabethtown. He died in 1783, his unmarried daughter Nancy inheriting the farm on Conewago creek; this she sold in 1784 to Bates Grubb. Jacob Cook settled on the Paxtang and Conestoga road in the fifties, his land being between that of Thomas Harris at Conewago and the Bear Tavern kept by Barnabas Hughes. He was a major during the Revolution. William Cochran bought a part of Moses White's land in Mount Joy township, in 1766. Later, the land passed to the Scanlons. The Hiestand family was resident in Mount Joy township very early; Jacob Hiestand probably settled in the thirties or earlier. He sold 150 acres of his tract in 1741 to Jacob Rief; the latter sold to Martin Kreider in 1761. The mill which stood on the outskirts of Mount Joy was operated by the Hiestand family probably before the Revolution. The Nissley family is another closely identified with early milling in Mount Joy township. Jacob Nissley built a grist mill at the head of Spring creek in about 1761. The Moorheads came into Mount Joy township probably in the fifties. Thomas Moorhead received patent for land about a mile north of Mount Joy in 1761. He died two years later, the property going to his sons, James and Robert. James was an officer in two wars, French and Indian, and the Revolution. He removed to Donegal, and for many years was one of the ruling elders of that church. In 1787 he purchased the glebe-land of the church. Finally, the Moorheads moved out of Lancaster county.

The Norrises were in Rapho township as early as 1734, when Isaac Norris bought five hundred acres of land partly in Rapho and partly in Hempfield township. The Ackers were in Rapho at about the same time. The

Metz family was also of early settlement in Rapho; indeed, there were several branches of that family in that region before the Revolution. Ludwick Metz built a substantial house in 1771; it is still in very good condition. The Erisman family, which owns the Metz farm, comes into the genealogy of the Metz family. John Rora (Rohrer) owned several hundred acres in Rapho township in the sixties; he built a fine house in 1769, which still stands. Conrad Wolf bought 175 acres of land in Rapho in 1753. From him the land passed through many hands before coming into possession of the Kauffman family. Henry Kauffman established a distillery on that property early in the nineteenth century, if not before. For seventy-five years Kauffman's distillery was well known locally. Widow Dunning, who comes into the 1720 list as a resident and taxpayer in Donegal, was probably Mary Denny; she kept a tavern on the Paxtang and Conestoga road in 1730, perhaps earlier. James Anderson, son of the Rev. James Anderson, first pastor at Donegal Presbyterian church, kept the Anderson's Ferry Tavern for many years. He built the house and for a while during the Revolution, Richard Keys was the landlord.

Pioneering in the Donegals was somewhat different to that in other parts of Lancaster county, where farming was the staple, almost the only industry. Along what was the frontier, along the river, ferry privileges were almost as profitable as fur-trading licenses. And generally with a ferry went a tavern. The first and most important ferry in Conoy township was Logan's, which was established at Bainbridge in about 1730. Old Peter's road ended at Conoy Indian Town, but a road was cut from there to Logan's Ferry, or Galbraith's Ferry, as it was more generally known. It was discontinued after the Pennsylvania canal was constructed in 1832. Rankin's Ferry, at the foot of Conewago Falls, was established by James Rankin some years before the Revolution. James Rankin was a Quaker, and eventually was proved to be a Loyalist. He would probably have been shot or hanged had he been captured by the patriots sent to seize him; however, he escaped into the British lines, while Howe was at Philadelphia, and thence to England. His farms were confiscated. There was litigation later regarding the ferry and tavern and tavern and ferry-right, which a century later were owned by Abraham Collins. However, the ferry has long since been discontinued. Daniel Ellicott had a ferry from the mouth of Conewago creek to his island, thence to Shelly's island, and thence to the York county side of the Susquehanna. Immense catches of shad occurred every spring along these shores. Richard Keys (Keyes), who rented Anderson's Ferry for a couple of years, established one for himself in 1780 a couple of miles above Anderson's; he also had a tavern. Noah Keesey had a ferry across Chikis creek at its mouth soon after the Revolution.

Villages, and Smaller Centres of Population—Beginning with the farthest west, the village of Falmouth, in Conoy township, calls for brief review. It had its origin in 1791, in the enterprise of the Hon. John Bayly, and of his son Thomas, and sons-in-law John Greer and Richard Keys, who with James Hopkins platted a townsite at the mouth of Conewago creek, on the east side, on land which had been taken up before the Revolution by Philip Schneider. These partners in the town-planning project in 1791 proceeded to exploit their holding by means of a lottery plan. One hundred and forty-six lots were sold by lottery, for ten pounds each; and the future of the town of Falmouth seemed good, for at that time boats could not ascend beyond that point on the river. This condition gave promise that Falmouth might soon become a somewhat important river-terminal point. This plan was furthered by the incorporation of the Falmouth & Elizabethtown Turnpike Company in March, 1810. John Greer and James Hopkins were interested in this promotion, the turnpike being built to accommodate persons at the head of Conewago Falls, who brought produce down the river in keel-boats to the mouth of Conewago creek. However, the success of the canal around the falls on the western side of the river took all of the river trade away from Falmouth. The turnpike was then abandoned, and for some years until settlers in Conoy became more numerous and traffic greater, the use to which the highway was chiefly put seemed to be that of a trailing bed for pumpkin vines of settlers who lived along that road. It became known as the Pumpkin Vine turnpike. In later years, the highway was found to be a great convenience to the settlers, as a roadway. Falmouth to-day is a village of about 300 population. The banking town is Elizabethtown.

Bainbridge is the principal village in Conoy township. This also came into existence by means of a lottery enterprise, in 1813, at which time the place consisted of a farmhouse occupied by Mr. Shaffer, and two taverns, one owned by Bertram Galbraith and the other later owned by Henry Breneman. Henry and John B. Haldeman in 1813 bought Mr. Shaffer's farm and proceeded to plat a townsite which they named Bainbridge, in honor of Commodore Bainbridge. The town thus laid out was on the north side of the main street leading eastward from the river at the railroad station. The land on the south was owned by Jacob Hoffman; but, following the success of the Haldeman lottery, another townsite project was initiated. John Smith and John Seiple purchased from Jacob Hoffman land on the south side of Main street. These were platted as the village of Centreville, and disposed of by lottery. Eventually the two adjoining villages were consolidated as Bainbridge. There seems to have been a ready sale for lots in this promising place, but the purchasers evidently held the lots for speculation, for the growth of Bainbridge was slow for some years. The first store was opened by John Hartzler. Other early merchants were John Klein, Hipple & Curran, May & Hamilton, John Kauffman, Haldeman & McQuay, and Jacob Backstresser. More recent merchants include Thaddeus Groff, John F. Smith & Sons, and W. S. Smith & Sons. Bainbridge now has four groceries and two general stores. It also is a banking town, the First National Bank of Bainbridge being a well-established financial institution; its original capital was $25,000. Andrew Bademan was the innkeeper at Galbraith's when Bainbridge was established. The first blacksmith was Abraham Bracht; the first shoemaker was John Breining; the first tailor was Jacob Voglesong; George Kinney was the first saddler, Dr. David Watson the first physician, and Samuel Hackenberger the first druggist. The first school probably was that kept by a Mr. Baxter in his own home.

Bainbridge reached its highest point in population about the time of the Civil War; in 1880 it had about 800 inhabitants, and in 1920 only about 700. Its industries include two or three leaf-tobacco plants. Several fraternal orders were early represented in Bainbridge; the Odd Fellows instituted Bainbridge Lodge, No. 627, in 1868, with Dr. George T. Deseman as first noble grand. Bainbridge Lodge, No. 231, O. U. A. M., was instituted March 25, 1870, with David Moore as councilor. John Hipple Post, No. 353, Grand

Army of the Republic, was organized in June, 1883, and named in honor of Private John Hipple, who fell in the battle of Spottsylvania Courthouse. Bainbridge churches and schools have been noticed elsewhere in this chapter. Bainbridge Cemetery was incorporated in 1874. Bainbridge is a station on the Pennsylvania railroad, which skirts the river boundary of Conoy township; the other railway stations in Conoy township are Collins, Conoy and Falmouth.

Ridgeville, about one and a half miles east of Bainbridge, in Conoy township, was a place of three houses in 1844, when George Stacks decided to establish a wagon shop and smithy there. He added two houses to the hamlet, which thereafter for about forty years was known as Stackstown. Locust Grove is near the southern boundary of Conoy township, a mile or so southeast of Bainbridge.

Rheems, in West Donegal township, an active little village southeast of Elizabethtown, developed around the Rheems schoolhouse. Rheems is a station on the Pennsylvania railroad system, and also on the electric railway between Lancaster and Elizabethtown. Considering its size, Rheems has quite a large number of business establishments. The Penn Lime and Cement Company operates quarries, and there are several agricultural supply houses. The general store has been owned by the Kreybill family for many years. Landis Bros. have had a gasoline engine house there for long; S. K. Weaver has had a smithy and carriage shop near for many years; the Enterlines have been in similar business and now have a garage and auto-service establishment; D. G. Brinser has done good business there for many years, as coal, lumber and feed merchant; and Phares Grove has succeeded Isaac Grove as machinist. The Shank and Longenecker families have carried on businesses there in addition to farming extensively.

Newville, in West Donegal township, about two miles west of Elizabethtown, on the Falmouth and Elizabethtown turnpike, was laid out more than a century ago, "soon after the completion of the turnpike." Its founder was Paul Yeuts, and although Newville seems to have been the generally intended and accepted name for the place, it was also known as Yeutstown. Its situation is good, high and healthy, but it has not grown much. Forty years ago Newville consisted of a tavern and store, a church, and a schoolhouse, and of course some dwelling-houses.

Florin, partly in Mount Joy township and partly in East Donegal, lies about a mile westward of Mount Joy borough. It is on the Lancaster and Harrisburg turnpike, and consequently on the route of the Conestoga Traction Company. Florin is also on the Pennsylvania railroad. The village is more than one hundred years old, having come into establishment at the period in Lancaster county history when towns were born with no more logical reason than that the landowner sought a profit by town-platting and selling by means of a lottery drawing, and that the buyers of lots were attracted by the chance of also drawing one of the grand prizes. Thomas Bayly was the first to settle on the land which became the site of Florin; he came into Donegal township in 1718, and the land was warranted to him soon afterwards, though it was not patented during his lifetime. His widow eventually received the patent on August 8, 1743, for 279 acres, which she conveyed to her sons in 1749. They, John and James Bayly, sold part of the tract in 1763 to Thomas Anderson, son of the first pastor of Donegal Presbyterian church. Thomas became financially involved, and his brother James acquired the land at sheriff's sale. Elizabeth Kelly, granddaughter of this James Anderson, married into the Baylor family; her children sold 197 acres in 1799 to Frederick Stump of Columbia, who sold to Christian Hoffman. The Hoffman farm, or part of it, passed into the possession of Christian Hertzler in about 1812. In 1813 he laid out part of it into town lots, bestowed upon the townsite the name of Springville, and proceeded to sell the lots by means of lottery tickets. An unsuccessful attempt was made a few years later to rename the village Spring Garden; at one time the place was known as Hertzlertown; but the name of Springville held until 1880, when Florin became the name of the post-town at that point, and gradually was adopted as that of the village.

Springville was laid out into 420 lots in 1812 or 1813, and sold at $85 each. Another record gives the number of lots as 421, and the price, $110 each. The village plat was resurveyed in 1844.

The first buildings in Florin were those of the Hertzler farm. The original homestead was of logs, but eventually was rebuilt of brick. It has recently been in the possession of the Mickey family. The barn on the Hertzler farm had originally a thatched roof of straw. The public watering trough at the Florin Inn is over the spring which first suggested the name Springville for the village. In 1829, when a building for use as house of worship and schoolhouse was erected, the village "could count twenty-four houses and shops along the pike, and seventeen in the back streets." The schoolhouse was used for school purposes until 1870, when the Mount Joy township board erected a new one, and the old building was converted to other communal uses. Another story was added to it in 1870, and it is still to all intents the Town Hall of Florin, known as the Florin Hall, and used generally for village gatherings.

In 1851 the East Donegal township school board erected a brick schoolhouse in that part of Springville which is in East Donegal; a storm destroyed the building soon after it was completed; another schoolhouse was soon afterwards erected, but found too small. A larger one was soon afterwards built on Market street, and is the present Washington school building. Springville became a post-office in 1864, Samuel Hinney being postmaster; the post-name was changed to Florin in 1880.

The churches of Florin have been referred to earlier in this chapter. The first railroad station at Florin was built in 1860; the place at that time was only a small flag station. The first siding was laid by Thomas Stacks, in 1866; he also built a warehouse and waiting-room on the south side of the track. The first station agents were Joseph Habecker, and J. K. Nissley, appointed in 1879, at which time they had charge of the warehouse. In 1887 T. N. Hostetter built the present three-storied building, and fitted out two waiting rooms, with ticket office in the centre. Two platforms were erected in that year. This was the station until 1906, when the new building on Plum street, on the north side of the track, was erected. Florin in 1920 had a population of 768, possessed several good stores, a mill, a hotel, two restaurants, a milk-shipping station, a shirt factory, a good water plant, a concrete-block factory, two or three tobacco and cigar factories, two schoolhouses, and two churches. Its progress, while not rapid, has been proportionate with that of very many other centres of population in Lancaster county.

Milton Grove, a village of about 150 population, is in Mount Joy township, five miles northeast of Mount Joy, and had its birth also in a lottery scheme, the town, however, almost expiring in the collapse of the lottery project. It appears that in 1820 a German immigrant named Hardtman purchased some unimproved land and platted a portion as Hardtmantown. He appeared to be a man of more than ordinary means, and the prospect seemed good; but "when the day of settlement came, Hardtman suddenly disappeared," and the land again reverted to the original owners. Possibly this Hardtman was the John Hartman who platted a town in Mount Joy township in 1813; indeed, the Springport project reported in the Lancaster papers of 1813 seems to have been an earlier exploitation of the same land. A paragraph regarding the 1813 project is given in volume IV-29, of the Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society. It reads: "In 1813 a town, to be called Springport, was laid out, containing 173 lots, in Mt. Joy township, four miles from Elizabethtown, eight miles from Manheim and seven miles from Marietta. The projector of the lottery scheme was John Hartman." Nothing further was done in town-platting or exploiting after the collapse of the Hardtman attempt until 1849, when Benjamin Grosh purchased a large tract and platted the present village, naming it Centreville. His was a legitimate enterprise, and he began the basis of a town by erecting a general store and dwelling-house on the northwest corner of the Square, where he carried on mercantile business until 1871. His sons, Frank B. and Eli F., carried forward the business. Eli F. was storekeeper for more than thirty years, and the store is still possessed by the founding family. Others of the Groff family established houses and businesses in the village, and Daniel E. Gingrich founded the Centreville Nurseries before the Civil War. The difficult war period was, however, more than he could live through; pressure of creditors forced Gingrich to sell. In 1862 Mr. Benjamin Grosh built a residence on the Square, and five years earlier Samuel M. Groff built the hotel. No further building was done until 1870, when the village became a post-office under the name of Motley. In a short while the name was changed to Milton Grove, and the village also took that name. Unfortunately, the spurt was not long effective, and the village is still a minor one.

Maytown, in East Donegal township, is more than 160 years old, and for several decades was the most important town in the Donegals. The principal pioneer family was the Lowrey, headed by Lazarus Lowrey, an Indian trader and the father of famous Indian traders, who have been the subjects of many references earlier in this chapter. Their connection with Maytown is recorded in the patent issued to Lazarus Lowrey in 1748 for 411 acres of land, through which the "Great Road" ran, and upon which the village of Maytown eventually was platted. Mr. Lowrey sold 150 acres of his tract in 1748 to Dennis Sullivan, a fur trader in his employ. But that calling was uncertain and precarious, both as to property and life. Sullivan sustained losses in exciting engagements with Indians, and was unable to pay for his land, and in consequence the land was repurchased by Mr. Lowrey at sheriff's sale; in 1753, however, he resold to John Kennedy, also a trader. He also met with unfortunate experiences with Indians; indeed he almost lost his life, and was carried away in captivity. His property was sold by the sheriff and bought by Thomas Harris and Joseph Smith, Indian traders. In 1760 they sold to Jacob Downer, who owned other adjoining land, which he had purchased ten years earlier from Lazarus Lowrey. In 1760 he platted a town on the 150 acres he had recently acquired. The town was named Maytown, and was well planned. It was a busy centre of the fur-trading industry, and the lots sold readily, though only ground-rent deeds were given. In 1770 the Downer estate went into the hands of the sheriff, and the land and ground-rents were purchased by Alexander Lowrey, youngest son of Lazarus, the original owner. He bequeathed the ground-rents to his daughter, Frances Evans, in 1805. She sold to John Smith in about 1828, and he a year or so later sold to John Whitehill. Fee-simple title has since been acquired by the lotholders, though for a while there was litigation between landlord and renter.

The first settlers in Maytown were mostly Germans. Many were in the vicinity two or more decades before the townsite was platted; some were farmers, others were mechanics. In 1780 the lot-holders included the widow of James Anderson, Stophel Albright, Walter Bell (innkeeper), Nicholas Blaser, George Barr, Christian Bellar, Robert Cavin, Henry Derr, Peter Dill, John Enrich, Laughlin Free, John Gorner, Daniel Gilman, Hannah Haines, Charlotte Haines, Henry Hinkle, Jacob Hoffman, John Hollinger, Enoch Hastings, Frederick Gailbach (still-house and inn), James Karr, Joseph Lowrey, Abraham Long, William McGeary, Adam Ness, Daniel Ort, William Peck, Frederick Sailor, Ulrich Tanner, Margaret Tate, Jacob Wiant, Jacob Wiant, Jr., Widow Work, Frederick Yeah.

One of the most distinguished of the early families of Maytown was the Cameron family. Donald Cameron and his son John, and Simon Cameron and wife, came from Scotland on the ship which brought the Rev. Colin McFarquhar to America in 1775. The Camerons were tenant farmers in Scotland, and after setting in Donegal they rented part of the church glebe. William, son of Simon, eventually settled in Maytown and became a tailor, also innkeeper for a while. He married, and a son Simon became famous as a politician and statesman. General Simon Cameron was born in Maytown in 1799. Nine years later the family moved to Northumberland county, where the father soon afterwards died. Simon learned the printing trade, and eventually became a power in the newspaper world. He was State printer for some time, and an authority on internal improvements. His interest in public-works projects brought him into actual lead as a contractor. He carried through several important contracts in Pennsylvania, and in 1831 undertook to build a canal in Louisiana from Lake Pontchartrain to New Orleans. He was recalled from that work to organize a delegation to the National Convention at Baltimore, the first national convention ever held in the United States. After the convention, General Cameron was appointed a visitor to West Point by President Jackson. Eventually he became a United States Senator, and reached so high a point in political favor as to be Pennsylvania's choice in 1860 for President. Abraham Lincoln won the nomination, who when elected and in office appointed General Cameron his War Secretary. In 1866 Cameron was again in the United States Senate, and remained there until 1877. "His influence on national legislation was as great as that of any man that ever served in the Senate. * * * What he lacked in fervid flashing speech he made up in terse solid common sense." There were several other men of Maytown who reached distinguished place, but none advanced so far in national affairs as did Simon Cameron, the son of the village tailor.

The first tavern erected in Maytown was the stone building put up by Frederick Gailbach, on the northwest corner of the Square, in 1762 or 1763; he became wealthy. Daniel Gillman was a manufacturer of muskets in Maytown during the Revolution. John Nicholas made broadswords in his smithy at Maytown, just as afterwards he beat the steel into ploughs. Sally Hastings became famous as a poetess. Maytown churches and schools are reviewed elsewhere. Maytown Public Hall was erected in 1853. Maytown Cemetery was incorporated in 1871. The village unfortunately is not progressing; its population is less than it was forty years ago; still, not appreciably. Maytown has two banking institutions—the Maytown National Bank, and the People's Bank of Maytown, the former being the older establishment. The village is an important tobacco center, there being eight or ten leaf-tobacco and cigar factories in Maytown. For a hundred years brickmaking has been an appreciable industry, Frederick Sherbahn beginning to dry bricks in 1820.

The township of Rapho is large, but almost without railway facilities, consequently its villages are small. Sporting Hill is the best situated, about two miles from Manheim and five from Mount Joy. David Cassel, the founder, built the first five houses, including tavern and store; and the place for long was known as Casseltown. The houses were all of two stories, and were erected probably soon after the Revolution. The hotel was well known, and frequented by many of the old settlers. It is said that this was the reason why the village became known as Sporting Hill. This by the way casts no unfavorable reflection on the place or the inhabitants; the tavern was probably old-fashioned and homelike, and the inhabitants steady and loyal. They were known for their integrity and honesty, even though for the greater part of a century Sporting Hill was without a church. John Metzler is remembered as one of the most stalwart and reliable residents. The three-story store building was erected by him, and for thirty-five years he was miller and storekeeper. He sold the store in 1859 to Noah H. Zook, who five years later went south with his brother, Abraham Zook. Possibly the bitterness felt by southerners against Yankees in the first years after the Civil War had ended, had some part in the tragic deaths of these two Lancastrians. Both were killed; at least, Abraham's body was "found the midst of a canebrake, partly devoured by birds;" but Noah's body was never found. The Sporting Hill store was operated by the Stauffer family for many years. Later storekeepers include Joseph R. Zug and D. M. Dissinger. Henry K. Dillinger was miller for many years. Near Sporting Hill was the Kauffman distillery, to which reference has already been made. Sporting Hill is no longer without a church, the Zion United Brethren congregation in the village being an active organization. Sporting Hill is now a place of about 250 inhabitants.

Mastersonville is a village of about two hundred inhabitants, in the northwestern part of Rapho township, near the Mount Joy township line, and not far from the Lebanon county line. Thomas Masterson, who has been referred to before, was its founder. He settled about one and a half miles north of the village about one hundred years ago, and there built a fine stone residence. He acquired a large tract of land, and upon it Mastersonville developed, through his own enterprise and initiative. He and his son Joseph established a store, and he secured appointment for himself as postmaster of Mastersonville. Joseph Masterson also built a number of substantial brick dwelling-houses. The Exchange Hotel was erected by Samuel R. Zug, his son, Samuel S., succeeding as landlord. N. B. Frolich was proprietor of the hotel ten years ago; the present landlord is C. H. Heller. The Ginder family operated the mill for a long time, and the creamery was a branch of Lebanon. Harvey

H. Stauffer has had a grain and feed business for many years, and for long Hiram Eby operated the smithy. H. P. Wisgarver is justice of the peace, and the storekeeper is Jacob Z. Hackman. The Brethren in Christ congregation is strong in the village.

Old Line is a small place between Sporting Hill and Mastersonville. It came into establishment as a post-town of that name, B. F. Diffenderfer, who had a store at that point, being postmaster. The store was later owned by Enos H. Hoffer, and at present is conducted by H. E. Strugis. The population of Old Line is probably less than one hundred. Union Square is between Old Line and Mastersonville, in Rapho township. It was made the Sixtieth Election District of Lancaster county in 1878, Sporting Hill becoming the Fifty-ninth District at the same time. The hotel at Union Square was kept by Reuben Shelly for many years. Newtown is about four or five miles north of Columbia, and somewhat farther northeastward from Marietta. It is in the extreme southern part of Rapho township. It was known as Drytown in early days, because of the fact that it had never had a tavern; but its official name has always been Newtown, at least since it became a post-town. It is a little agricultural centre that has developed around a country store. The store is now kept by Emanuel H. Myers. Historical sketches of the boroughs of the Donegal Region, Elizabethtown, Marietta, and Mount Joy, will be given space later in this compilation.

Churches and Schools—(See also religious chapters). Besides the Donegal Presbyterian, the Milton Grove Moravian, and the Maytown Reformed churches, there are the following in East and West Donegal townships: The Kraybill Mennonite; Reich's United Evangelical; the St. John's Lutheran, and the Church of God, at Maytown; eight or more churches at Marietta; Bossler's and Good's Mennonite, Newville Brethren and Rheems Brethren churches in West Donegal.

The present churches in Conoy township include the Bainbridge Church of God, the St. Luke's Lutheran and Ludwig M. E. Church, at Bainbridge; the United Brethren Church at Falmouth; the Stevens Hill Church Brethren, and the Billmyer African Baptist Church. The churches of Mount Joy township include two Brethren churches in Florin, the Newtown United Brethren, the Mount Pleasant and Crossroads Brethren, and the Green Tree Church of the Brethren. There is also the Evangelical church at Milton Grove, and Risser's Mennonite meeting-house. In addition there are eight or more churches at Mount Joy.

Florin Hall, which was built in 1829 and used for a while for school purposes, has been at different times the place of worship of almost all of the denominations in the vicinity. It has been used by the Brethren in Christ, Church of God, United Brethren, Methodist and German Baptist, in about the order stated. The first Sunday-school formed in Florin was that organized in Florin Hall by Amos Slaymaker, a Presbyterian, probably eighty years ago. The United Brethren congregation began with six members; it now has a Sunday-school enrollment of almost two hundred. About fifty years ago the German members of the United Brethren congregation at Florin withdrew, and in 1876 built a brick church on West Main street. In 1890 it was acquired by the Methodist class, and has since been served by the pastors of the Mount Joy Methodist Church. An African Methodist Episcopal church was organized in Florin about 1840; twenty years later they built a church on Square street. It is now used by colored church people of Mount Joy.

The Rapho township churches include: Ruhl's United Brethren, a very strong congregation, with a Sunday-school of almost three hundred, under Rev. A. L. Haeseler, of Manheim, pastor, and F. E. Druckenbrod, superintendent; two churches of United Zion Brethren, the Pleasant View and Sporting Hill congregations, neither of which is strong in numbers, but function regularly under Rev. John D. Brubaker, of Manheim; the Mount Hope, Chiques Hill and Fairview congregations of Church Brethren, all strong churches, the two former under pastoral care of Rev. S. S. Eshleman, and Fairview in charge of Rev. S. B. Fahnestock, of Manheim. Each of the three churches has a Sunday-school of more than 200 members. Erisman's Mennonite Church, the pastor of which is Rev. Isaac Brubaker; Mount Hope Episcopal Church, Rev. Azael Coates, of Manheim, pastor; Mastersville Church of Brethren in Christ, a moderately strong church under Rev. Jacob Ginder, of Manheim; and Gautz's Mennonite, a church of many members, Rev. John B. Swaveley being pastor. The Mastersonville Church of Brethren was erected about forty years ago, replacing a stone structure somewhat larger than the present frame church. When the latter was raised, many of the congregation and people of the neighborhood gathered to assist. A serious accident occurred, part of the structure collapsing, and three persons being killed.

The Common School Law was passed in 1834, but there was opposition to it in the Donegals, and it could not be brought immediately into effect in that region. It was probably in operation, however, in 1837, or a little later. Rapho township adopted the common school system in 1837, and it is stated that Conoy accepted the Act "before the township of Conoy was erected," while it was still of course part of West Donegal. Thus, it would seem that the common schools were in operation in the Donegals before 1842, when Mount Joy township adopted the new system, and Conoy township was erected. The record as to East Donegal township shows that "when the common school system was started in 1834, the citizens of the township refused to accept the law, and declined to levy a tax to support the same. A. N. Cassel, Wm. D. Slaymaker, and a majority of the school directors were warm friends of the law. They employed teachers and made themselves personally responsible for the payment of the teachers' salaries. In the following year the farmers gradually came to the support of the law."

In 1842 John Scott, an ardent Presbyterian, died. He had lived in the Donegals since 1799; was a fencemaker until his death, "and plied his trade among the early settlers and farmers of this community." He was a bachelor of frugal habits, and saved several thousands of dollars, which he bequeathed to two Donegalians, one a Presbyterian Scot, and the other a German, for the "education of poor children of all denominations to read the Bible, the best of all books." It would seem that he had intended the money to be used for religious instruction. However, the difficulties and expense of properly establishing the common school system were then perplexing questions, and at the request of Donegal representatives the State Assembly passed a measure authorizing the executors of the last will and testament of John Scott "to pay over to the treasurers of the townships of East Donegal and Conoy * * * the proceeds of the estate of the said John Scott," the treasurers being authorized to invest the fund in bonds secured by mortgage on real estate, "in trust for the support of the schools of said townships, applying the interest thereof from time to time to school purposes." The records seem to indicate that in Conoy township the fund was used to pay for schoolhouses built, this use possibly being deemed legitimate investment of the principal in real-estate mortgages. The fund undoubtedly helped Conoy township, then barely out of its first year as a separate township. Conoy township was erected early in 1842. The first school board, which consisted of Frederick Hipple, Dr. Robert H. Jones, John Haldeman, Solomon Haldeman, John W. Hamilton and John Smith, Jr., met first on April 4, 1842, and then unanimously adopted the following resolution: "That Conoy Township does accept of the common school system, to commence the first day of June next, and that the County Commissioners be requested to make the necessary arrangements to carry out said system according to the Act of Assembly." Two years later, on April 8, 1844, the Conoy township school board passed a resolution to build four new houses out of the fund bequeathed by John Scott, of Donegal. These houses were built by contract at prices of from $220 to $265, and situated one in Bainbridge, one at Stony Run near Collins' Station, one at John Kob's on the Falmouth and Elizabethtown turnpike, and one at Ebersole's. The houses at Kob's and Ebersole's are still being used for school purposes. Conoy township received from the estate of John Scott a total amount of $1,234.18, the larger amount therefore going into the school treasury of East Donegal township.

The common school law took effect in Mount Joy township in 1842. In 1855, excluding the schools of the boroughs, there were eleven schoolhouses in Mount Joy township, and eleven school teachers. The enrollment was 522 scholars. Rapho township accepted the common school law previous to 1837, in which year there were in the township fifteen schoolhouses. Sixteen teachers were employed, and there were 904 pupils. The school revenue in that year was $2,676.26, but the expenditures was $4,443.38, the greater part of which, however, had been expended in building schoolhouses. Further information on the schools of the Donegal region will be found in the two chapters devoted to school history exclusively.

CHAPTER XI.

CAERNARVON TOWNSHIP—THE WELSH SETTLEMENT IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

Almost all of the early and influential settlers in Caernarvon township were of Welsh origin. One would infer as much from the township name, which is that of one of the most historic places in Wales; and from the accurate spelling of the very many Welsh place-names borne by hamlets, villages, boroughs, and larger civil divisions of southeastern Pennsylvania, one might logically assert that not only was there a strong Welsh representation in early Pennsylvania, but that its leaders were men of education; also that they were influential in the Province. Indeed, had William Penn not had to bow to the wishes of the King, his new province would have been named New Wales instead of Pennsylvania, it is said.

Quakerism had important part in the establishment of the Province of Pennsylvania; and it had some part in the affairs of the Principality of Wales earlier in the same century. Quakerism in Wales had its beginning in about the middle of the seventeenth century. "The doctrine of George Fox began to be preached in Wales in about 1653, and one of the earliest ministers of that faith was John ap John, who afterwards was a purchaser of considerable land within the boundaries of Chester county, Pennsylvania." He, however, died in Wales. The Welsh Quakers had little comfort or freedom under the Cromwells, and less under the Stuarts; so that when they learned that one of their own faith, a Quaker, intended to found a colony in the New World, a province in which there would be religious liberty, they soon resolved to see him. Certain Welsh Quakers journeyed to London in the fall of 1681, and there met William Penn. They returned to Wales, reporting that they had completed arrangements to purchase from William Penn "a barony" of forty thousand acres in Pennsylvania.

The leaders of the Welsh syndicate, or "company of adventurers" (as such organizations were usually termed in those days) were mostly of the leisured upper class, the county gentry of Wales; indeed, those who were not of that social station probably were willing to emigrate as servants or husbandmen to the manorial lords, the leaders of the expedition. It is quite clear that the original plan was to establish a barony in Pennsylvania to be governed somewhat like the feudal system of Britain; and it is possible that had they been able to insist upon what Penn had originally promised—an undivided barony of forty thousand acres—they would have brought such a system of government into effect in Pennsylvania, introducing into the Province a mode of plantation life somewhat like that of the southern colonies. Unfortunately, the arrangement they made with William Penn did not in written agreements make clear the "undivided barony" understanding. Nevertheless, when the advance parties of the Welsh colonists reached Pennsylvania in 1682 and were offered several smaller tracts in New Castle, Kent and Sussex (now Delaware) counties, instead of one undivided tract in Philadelphia county, they were surprised; and when they found that lands were already being surveyed for the English within the bounds of their proposed barony along the Schuylkill, there was open friction between the Welsh agents and the Provincial authorities. They appealed to William Penn, who frankly admitted his liability, and sought to keep his word by issuing a warrant in 1684 to Thomas Holmes, the Surveyor-General, to survey forty thousand acres "layd out contiguously as one Barony" in as "uniform a manner as conveniently may be upon the west side of Skoolkill river," for "divers considerable persons among ye Welsh Friends." But it proved to be inconvenient to the provincial authorities to set aside so large an undivided tract, and even William Penn himself had to be reconciled to the dispositions made by his deputy-governor. So it came about that the Welsh company had to abandon their plan of one vast barony, and content themselves by accepting their 40,000 acres in several smaller tracts. Part of the land offered to and accepted by them was in Radnor and Haverford townships of Chester county. And eventually, as their numbers increased, they reached out into other townships of Chester county, coming ultimately into what are now Caernarvon and Brecknock townships of Lancaster county.

The emigration of Welsh Quakers began in 1682, and the movement continued steadily until about 1710. But the emigration of Welshmen was not confined altogether to those who were of the Society of Friends. There were at least two other important and concurrent migrations. The Welsh Episcopalians began to come in numbers in about 1698, and Welsh Baptists, it is said, began to cross the sea in about 1701, continuing steadily until about 1735. Rupp writes:

> At the very infancy of the Pennsylvania Colony, a number of Welsh, of sterling worth and excellent character, arrived in the province in 1682. They had early purchased of the Proprietary, in England, forty thousand acres of land and settled west of the Schuylkill. In a few years their number was so much augmented that they had settled, before 1692, six townships in the lower counties.
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> The Welsh customs, and that of the Swiss and Palatines, in settling new countries, were similar in many respects. At first, they would send persons across the Atlantic, to take up land for them, and make some preparations for the reception of their families. Among the Welsh, who acted as pioneer, was the well-known Rowland Ellis, who sent over Thomas Owen and family to make a settlement; and as soon as Owen had made some improvements, in which he spent a few years, Ellis, and one hundred other Welsh passengers, arrived in 1686. In 1698 other Welsh families arrived; among them were William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith, Edward Foulke, John Humphrey, Robert Jones, and others, who purchased ten thousand acres of land of Robert Turner, in Guinedd (Gwynedd) township, Chester county.
>
> Another settlement was commenced about the year 1722 or 3, by the Welsh, extending up as far as to the present site of Churchtown. Among the principal settlers were Torbet, Douglas, E. Davis, A. Billing, Z. Davis, Spenger, Henderson, Evans, Ford, Lardner, Morgan, Robinet, Edwards, Jenkins.

The tax-lists of seventeen townships of Chester county for an early year of the eighteenth century show that the Welsh were then predominant, there being 248 Welsh landholders and only 237 of all other nationalities. Radnor and Tredyffryn townships were settled exclusively by the Welsh, and in some of the other townships, Haverford, Nantmeal, Charlestown, there was just a stray "foreigner." Conestoga township, however, had eleven Welsh colonists and twenty-nine of other nationalities.

The migration into Caernarvon township of Lancaster county is referred to on the first pages of a Vestry Book of Bangor Episcopal Church. The book was opened with an introductory historical review on November 17, 1751, by the Rev. George Craig, who was then pastor. In part it reads:

> By the Honorable William Penn, Esq., original proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania, his Charter to all persons who should be inclined to transport themselves from any part of Christendom into said Province, it is granted they shall enjoy the free exercise of the Christian Religion, under whatever denomination. Upon this so engaging a plan of Priviliges, among others, several families of Welsh, known by the name of Ancient Britains, did transport themselves from Wales, in Old England, unto the Province aforesaid, and settled themselves at first in the township of Radnor, in the County of Chester, in the Province aforesaid, where they erected a place of worship, where they had divine service, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church of England, of which Church they were all zealous members, and had for their minister the Rev. Mr. Robert Weyman, the Society's Missionary for the Propagating of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. After some years many of them, finding their settlements too confined (from the vast numbers of incomers), they, Anno Domini 1730, removed some miles to the westward into a new county, called Lancaster, and settled in a Township called Caernarvon, from a shire of the same name in Wales, in Old England, and fixing here they (in immitation of all good Christians) found that no place would be agreeable to them without the Public Worship of God, therefore, Unanimously and Cordially Consented and agreed, according to their worldly circumstances, to build a Church of square logs, which they finished, and gave it the name of Bangor, from a Diocese of that name in Wales, in Old England.

The Ellis & Evans "History of Lancaster County" (1883) agrees that Caernarvon township was first settled by a colony of Welsh people about the year 1730, and seems to have based this statement upon the church record quoted. But there is good reason for believing that the statement, though substantially correct, is inaccurate as to dates.

Lancaster county was created in 1729, mainly from the western part of Chester county; and it is obvious that there were then settlers within Caernarvon township, for the boundaries were set upon the lines of land-holdings of settlers specifically named. The following is the boundary definition "settled and agreed upon by the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the said county on the 9th day of June," 1729:

> 17. Caernarvon.—Caernarvon Township, beginning at the county line at the corner of Salisbury on the mountain, thence northerly along the said line to the northeast corner of Cadwalader Elis's land, thence westerly by * * township along a ridge of mountains to Earl Township at the northeast corner of Thomas Edwards' land, thence southerly by the said township to the corner of Leacock and Salisbury township, thence easterly by Salisbury and along the said mountain to the place of beginning.

As a matter of fact, lands along the Conestoga river, from below Morgantown to Terre Hill, were partly surveyed in 1718-20. Cadwallader Ellis's tract of five hundred acres on what became the eastern boundary of Caernarvon township was surveyed in September, 1718; the tract on the extreme western boundary of the township was surveyed for Thomas Edwards in June, 1719. By the way, Thomas Edwards was one of the first judges appointed for Lancaster county, in 1729; and he remained a jurist for more than thirty years. "The surveys and drafts of John Taylor, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania," show that the land between the Ellis and Edwards tracts was almost wholly taken by Welshmen, among the names being John, Evan, and Edward Edwards; William, Hugh, Edward, John and Gabriel Davies; William, Nathan, David, and Evan Evans; Thomas and John Morgan, Hugh Hughes, John Jenkins, John Bowen. These are unmistakably Welsh names. While the majority of the patents for the land surveyed were not actually issued until after 1730, the account books of the Penns for the year 1735 show that the patentees were in many cases then debited with interest for sixteen years. For example, the account of Gabriel Davies is shown below:

Account of Gabriel Davies:

1735			Dr.	
June 11	—To 450 acres of land.............	£45	0	0
	—Interest and rent to date..........	48	12	0
		£93	12	0
1735			Cr.	
June 11	—By payment......................	£44	0	0
Sept. 8	—By payment	49	12	0
		£93	12	0

Mr. B. F. Owen, an authority on Caernarvon township history, takes issue with the Rev. George Craig as to the date of settlement. He says that the settlers were all originally Quakers; that they came "organized in their meetings," and settled in Radnor and other townships in Chester county, in 1682-88; that the failure to organize a Welsh Barony brought much discouragement, and division not only in temporal matters. Many espoused the faith of George Keith, becoming known as Keithian Quakers, and after he had deserted them, further divisions brought into being societies of Keithian Baptists, Baptists, and Seventh-Day Baptists. "Many united themselves with the

Established Church, which they abhorred in the old country." Among them was George Keith himself, who was ordained in 1700.

Upon the plantation of William Davis, a former Quaker, Episcopal missionaries built the first church of St. David. As to the settlement of Caernarvon township, Mr. Owens writes:

> The movement west was a second effort of the Welsh to be alone. They did not move into Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, but into Conestoga township, Chester county, in the valley of the Conestoga. They were largely the children of the first settlers from Wales. This was in 1718 and 1719, and it is unaccountable that they should have permitted a statement of first settlement in 1730, when many of those who came before 1720 were living to contradict it. The county of Lancaster was established in 1729, and it was persons in this settlement who helped in that work.
>
> The first settlement in the Conestoga valley was made November 5, 1718, when Cadwallader Ellis had surveyed a tract of 500 acres, now east of Morgantown. This was followed November 6, 1718, by Thomas Morgan, 400 acres; Hugh Hughes, 630 acres; John Bowers, 100 acres; Anthony Yeidel, 340 acres (afterwards added to John Bowers'); Gabriel Davis, 450 acres, and in 1719, Thomas Edwards, at Spring Grove, 1,000 acres, and Jenkin Davis 1,000 acres at the mouth of the Muddy Creek; in 1720, George Hudson, 312 acres; Nathan Evans, John Davis, Philip Davis, Edward Davis, William Davis, and many others, until, in 1735, the entire valley was surveyed, settled, and much of it patented.

Another indication that Caernarvon township was settled before 1730 is given in Bangor church records. The Rev. Griffith Hughes is said to have been the first pastor. He was sent as a missionary to St. David's and Perkiomen in 1732, by the Society of London, and made monthly visits to Pequea, Caernarvon and the Tulpehocken region. Yet in 1734 a petition was sent by settlers to the Society of London, part of the preamble of which reads: "That we, being well-affected to the Church of England, tho' destitute for several years of an orthodox minister, until the coming of our dear countryman, Mr. Hughes," and so forth. Yet, though they may have been ministered unto many years prior to the coming of the Rev. Hughes, it appears that they had not progressed far in the matter of church building in Caernarvon township, though a frame church had been raised in Pequea in 1728 or 1729. Missionary Hughes in a letter from Radnor, March 2, 1733, wrote: "I found a great necessity of visiting a great many Welsh and English gentlemen that lived far back in the woods, where I found a great number of well-disposed persons, but entirely destitute of a minister. At their earnest request I have gone there several times since and for a long time had no other place to preach but under the shade of a large tree—their houses being too small to contain the great numbers that resorted there."

Surprising as it may seem, many of those pioneers of Lancaster county were actually native-born Pennsylvanians, children of the Welsh migrants of 1682-88. They had grown to manhood in the wilds of Pennsylvania; had lived a frontier life, and, excepting home instruction, had probably grown up untutored. Nevertheless, most of them knew the language of their fathers, Welsh, and the petition of 1734 was for Welsh books, many of the church members being able to read Welsh, as well as speak it.

Further conclusive evidence that settlers had reached Welsh Mountain in about 1719 is given in other Church of England records. The Rev. Robert Weyman, a missionary of the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was in the Conestoga country in 1717-19. In 1728 the Rev. John Blackhouse, of the same society, reported that he had visited the people of Conestoga, 70 miles back in the country from Philadelphia, "near the place where Mr. Weyman used to go." Further, he wrote: "About 36 miles back from Chester, on the road to Conestoga, the inhabitants are building a church at which (at their request) I design (God willing) to preach once a month." Thirteen years later Mr. Blackhouse reported: "About a month ago, went 40 miles back to among my old congregation at Pequea."

Pequea church, about eight miles due south of Bangor church, was built in 1728 or 1729; a frame structure, and presumably intended for English members. Bangor church, at Churchtown, was built of squared logs in 1733. In it the Rev. Griffith Hughes conducted the Church of England service in English and Welsh. Later Bangor may have become an exclusively Welsh church, for the Rev. Richard Locke, who from 1744 served the parishes of Lancaster, Pequea, and Bangor (Churchtown) reports in 1748 that he had "constantly attended a Welsh church (Bangor, Churchtown) every other Sunday, at twenty miles distance" (from Lancaster). The Rev. George Craig succeeded Mr. Locke in 1751, and in the same year made the historical note in the Vestry Book of Bangor church, to which reference has been made. He had only arrived in the colony in that year, and he lived in Lancaster. Still, had he not made a similar introductory entry in the Vestry Book he began for the Pequea church, one would be inclined to place more reliance on his historical review of Bangor church, for he probably had among his congregations some of the pioneers of Caernarvon.

However, we may accept some of Rev. Craig's records as reliable. He set down in his account the names of "the principal members who built the said (Bangor) church." They were: Thomas Williams, Philip Davies, George Huttson, Reese Davies, Nathan Evans, Thomas Morgan, Edward Davies, Gabriel Davies, Morgan John, Edward Davies, John Bowen, Hugh Davies, John Edwards, David Davies, Nicholas Huttson, Morgan Evans, Evan Hughs, John Davies, Zaccheus Davies, Charles Huttson, George Huttson, Thomas Nicholass, Edward Nicholass, John Davies. With two exceptions these are familiar Welsh patronymics.

Fortunately, there is a more reliable record than Rev. Craig's, of the Welsh settlement within Lancaster county. Tax-lists may be taken as reliable evidence of possession or ownership; and those lists for the Conestoga country prior to 1729 have been put into the county record by Mr. H. Frank Eshleman, whose labors are untiring in certain lines of historical research. Quoting from his compilation, it appears that in the 1718 tax list for Conestoga township of Chester county, one Welsh name, Morgan Jones, is listed in "English Inhabitants" classification; three names, James Davis, Evan Evans, and Thomas Jones, come into the "Freemen" classification; Richard Davis and Woolrich Howell appear among "Dutch Inhabitants." Colonel John Evans is listed among "Non-resident Lands upon the River Pequea," as owner of 1,000 acres. New Welsh names in the Conestoga list for 1719 were William Hughes, David Jones, John Williams, Charles Jones, and Robert Evans. There was evidently little further movement of Welsh into Conestoga township until 1724. The tax list for 1724-25, however, shows a great increase, the Welsh settlers including James, John, Jr., Thomas, Philip, and Richard Davis; Gabriel, John, and Edward Davies; Robert, David, and Nathan Evans, Cadwallader Ellis, Thomas Edwards, David Jenkins, David, Charles and John Jones. The "Conestoga Rate" for the year 1726-27 lists new Welsh names as follows: John Loyd, Richard Owen, Pane Williams, Sam Lewis, and Thomas Morgan.

It is therefore very obvious that settlement of Caernarvon township began earlier than 1730.

The village of Churchtown is situated almost in the center of the township, on the high ridge. "In the days of the forges, it was a busy hive of industry. Tailors, shoemakers, hatmakers, cabinet and chair makers, harness shops, blacksmiths, Conestoga wagon builders, and nearly fulling mills, gave employment to many persons, and an air of prosperity was evident to the traveller." To-day it has no appreciable industries other than the mills already referred to. Its population is about 400; what it was in the heyday of the forges has not been recorded. But Churchtown and its environs will ever be one of the historic spots of Lancaster county. It seems that originally it was intended to name the village Bangor; and for long it was referred to as the Bangor Church Town. The place became a post town eventually, as Churchtown. Beartown, in the southwestern corner of Caernarvon township, is a hamlet that developed to some extent during the exploitation of mineral properties, 1850-75.

The old Welsh settlers have been succeeded in Caernarvon township by Germans. These are mostly of Mennonite sects, and their presence in the region is represented in the Churchtown Mennonite, Conestoga Amish Mennonite, and Lichty's Amish Mennonite meeting-houses. There are also three United Evangelical Association churches, or meeting-houses, Bridgeville, California, and Mt. Culeman, all active churches with large congregations. The Evangelical Association worshipped in a stone church just east of Churchtown, and even forty years ago had a large and flourishing congregation.

CHAPTER XII.

MARTIC TOWNSHIP.

Martic (or as it was originally named, Martock) township, was one of the township divisions delineated when Lancaster county was set off from Chester county in 1729. It was ratified in 1750. The original boundaries of Martock township as fixed "by magistrates and inhabitants of the county," at a meeting held in Lancaster on June 9, 1729, "to settle and agree upon the names and boundaries of townships," and as confirmed by the Court of Quarter Sessions held at Lancaster on the first Tuesday in August, 1729, were as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of Muddy Run, thence up Sasquehanah to Pequea, thence up Pequea to the mouth of Great Beaver creek, thence up the said creek to Sadbury line, thence by said line to John Kyle's corner aforesaid, thence by Drumore township to the place of beginning."

As now bounded, the Martic township line borders on Pequea township on the north, the Pequea creek dividing, Providence is northeast and east, Drumore is east, southeast, and south, and the Susquehanna river is the western boundary. Limestone deposits are along the northern and northwestern borders, magnetic ore is found in some sections, and black oxide of manganese, but not in paying quantities, is in another part of the township. The land is rich and gently rolling in the north and south, but hilly and gravelly in the center, the Martic Hills seeming to be the dividing line between the Scotch-Irish and the other settlers of the township. South of the Martic Hills might properly be considered as in what is termed the "southern end" of the county, the region of the Scotch-Irish. The watercourses of the township are: Muddy run, rising near Rawlinsville, flowing southwestward and forming the southwestern boundary between Martic and Drumore, finally reaching the Susquehanna; the Tucquan, which rises in the village of Rawlinsville, and runs a distance of six miles before reaching the Susquehanna. It is a swiftly flowing stream at times, and has made for itself a beautiful course, some of the ravines being deep and enchanting. At the Devil's Hole, the rocks are precipitous and the view grand.

The first settlement of Martic township was in the northern sections, along the Pequea creek. Matthias Kreider is considered the first settler, and while the date of his coming is not definitely determined, one record seeming to seek to assert that he was in the region as early as 1691, there is not good reason to set his coming into Martic township earlier than about 1710. The majority of the early settlers in Martic were Germans, from Hesse-Darmstadt. Matthias Kreider settled on the southern bank of the Pequea, a little to the northward of the village of Marticville. He purchased two hundred acres of land, the consideration being one shilling an acre, "or one cord of wood for every acre of land." He paid in wood, it is said, but how he transported it is not clear. Soon, others settled nearby, fellow-countrymen—the Goods, Hubers, Warfels, Hares (Herr), and Millers; later the Sweigarts, Eshlemans and Shanks came in. The Good family settled south and west of the village of Marticville.

The section of the township along the Susquehanna river south of the mouth of the Pequea was settled by Scotch-Irish emigrants, the Clarks, McCrearys and Reeds coming in the early decades of the eighteenth century, they and the Neels (Neils) taking up nearly all the land from the river to and including what became known as Mt. Nebo. The Clark family came creditably into Methodist church history, and the McCrearys into Presbyterian church history of Mount Nebo. Scotch-Irish Covenanters came into the southern part of the township in 1740-42, among the earliest settlers being David Jones, John Marshall, William Andrews, James Stewart, the Duncans, Grays, Dixons, Boyds, Steeles, McCaughlins, Robinsons, Whorrys, Whites, Pegans, and Soskes. The oldest house in that part of the township is that erected in 1755, by James Duncan. Worthy citizens of later settlement include Joseph Wentz, John Simpson, John Robinson, William Ambler, Joseph Harner, the Shoemakers, the Armstrongs. The warrantees of land in Martic prior to 1800 were as follows:

William Anderson, 1745, 200 acres; Thomas Armor, 1772, 40 acres; Andrew Armstrong, 1753, 100 acres; Michael Atkinson, 1748, 50 acres; Jacob Barr, 1754, 50 acres; John Baldridge, 1750, 100 acres; Jeremiah Barnard, 1745, 150 acres; Michael Bleecher, 1759, 20 acres; Thomas Bowles, 1744, 200 acres; John Boyd, 1750, 50 acres; Jacob Boyse, 1743, 100 acres; Samuel Boyse, 1743, 50 acres; James Duncan, 1753, 150 acres; Samuel Erwin, 1755, 50 acres; Robert Forsyth, 1742, 50 acres; Patrick Gibson, 1744, 50 acres; John Gwin, 1750, 60 acres; Andrew Gross, 1745, 50 acres; Jacob Grunde, 1755, 20 acres; George Johnson, 1743, 50 acres; Benjamin Johnson, 1787, 14 acres; John Kinkead, 1750, 50 acres; Elizabeth Laske, 1750, 100 acres; John McAnaulty, 1750, 100 acres; Samuel McCall, 1764, 50 acres; Samuel McCullough, 1750, 100 acres; George McLaughlin, 1750, 30 acres; Alex. and George McLaughlin, 1753, 150 acres; Alexander McLaughlin, 1755, 20 acres; Samuel Mears, 1750, 40 acres; George Middleton, 1737; the same, 1745, 50 acres improved in 1737; John Ramsey, 1743, 100 acres; James Read, 1754, 30 acres; the same, 1743, 50 acres; the same, 1755, 70 acres; the same, 1756, 50 acres; Joseph Read, 1759, 50 acres; James Robinson, 1752, 100 acres; Frederick Schollas, 1756, 50 acres; Abraham Smith, 1737, 200 acres; James Snodgrass, 1751, 20 acres; John Snodgrass, 1750, 100 acres; Janet Snodgrass, widow, 1750, 100 acres; Robert Steel, 1753, 90 acres; James Stewart, 1742, 50 acres; Adam Thomas, 1759, 25 acres; Thos. Warry, 1750, 100 acres; John Adam Wentzel, 1748; Uriah Yorty, 1750, 100 acres; Samuel Wilson, 1751.

Villages—There are four villages in Martic township—Marticville, Rawlinsville, Bethesda, and Mount Nebo. Marticville is in the northern part of the township, about nine miles from Lancaster. It was probably the first village to be laid out in the township, and at first was known as Frogtown. It first began upon the road leading from Conestoga Centre to the present village of Marticville. It is a place of about 200 inhabitants, has a hotel, two stores, a post-office, a school, and a church. Attached to the Marticville church is the oldest graveyard in the township; the first interment is said to antedate the French and Indian War. It was used as a cemetery by the miners of the Pequea silver mines, in Pequea township. Bricks have been extensively manufactured in the vicinity of Marticville since the early decades of the last century. Isaac Heiney began to make brick at Marticville in 1813, though the first large brickyard was not opened until about 1847, D. S. McElhaney soon developing a wide market for the high-grade Marticville brick. There were several distilleries in the vicinity of Marticville at one time. At Martic is a most unique railway. It is one and a quarter miles long and is operated for ten days each year, from the trolley junction at Martic Forge to Rawlinsville, during the sessions of the Rawlinsville Camp Meeting.

Rawlinsville, in the eastern part of the township, is credited with a population of about two hundred, has two stores, a hotel, and a church. It has a good school, and is the centre of a thrifty agricultural population. About one mile from Rawlinsville stood the first hotel opened in Martic township, the Cob Hotel. Another famous tavern was in the village of Rawlinsville, Oldfield's Inn. The Methodist Episcopal church at Rawlinsville is an active society. The building, a frame structure, was raised in 1875. The original trustees were John Monteith, Elias Aument, John Hart, Jacob Hart, H. L. Thompson, Abraham Creamer, Samuel Drumm, Lewis Volrath, Washington Drumm. The church is now in the Mount Nebo circuit. It has a Sunday school of about 140 members. On Muddy run, which rises near Rawlinsville, there have been several good mills, and on the Tucquan some more. They include Snavely's, Wentz's and Erb's. The Wentz family took most prominent part in the development of Bethesda.

Bethesda, in the southwestern part of the township, is a place of less than one hundred population, but is nevertheless the centre of a good farming district. It has two stores, a Methodist church, a post-office, and a public school, also a grist-mill. The Bethesda Methodist church was built of stone in 1843, the first board of trustees being William Mayberry, Henry Hart, John Wentz, Isaac S. Wentz, Lewis Wilkinson, Daniel Swift, and Harrison Potts. James Hahn was the first preacher-in-charge—a typical pioneer, who did much of the actual building himself. The church has a large membership, and a very vigorous Sunday school, it having an enrollment in excess of two hundred. It is in the Mount Nebo circuit.

Centrally situated, Mount Nebo is the most flourishing village in Martic township. It has a population of about three hundred, and has been an active place of business. Its most important plant has been that developed by the industry and enterprise of the Hagen family. The "Hagen Axe" was widely known, and three generations of the Hagen family operated the Hagen Axe Factory, near Mount Nebo. Bedroom and kitchen furniture has been manufactured by S. C. Stevenson at Mt. Nebo for more than fifty years. The Erb Mill is still operated by the same family. Mount Nebo is beautifully situated; from Armstrong's Hill to the east of the village "may be seen one of the grandest landscape scenes to be found anywhere within the limits of the county," hill, dale, woodland, river, all contributing to an ever-varying panorama of beauty. Mount Nebo Methodist Episcopal Church is the oldest in the township, though it is not as old as the Mount Nebo Presbyterian.

The Susquehanna river at Holtwood has a mean volume of about 40,000 cubic feet per second, states Dr. Roddy. In dry weather the mean volume is sometimes not one-tenth, but this is offset by the dam-site at Holtwood, which gives in Tunquan Lake more than three square miles of storage capacity. Of the nine water-power plants in operation in Lancaster county, the largest is at Holtwood. The Holtwood plant was designed to generate about 120,000 h. p., and "has the largest artificially-produced waterfall used for the development of electric light and power east of the Mississippi," stated Dr. Roddy in 1916. The fall of water at Holtwood is from 55 to 59 feet. "Were the climatic and ground-water conditions less variable, and hence a mean discharge of 57,000 cubic feet maintained throughout the year, the possibilities of this plant would reach nearly 300,000 horse power. The Holtwood plant consists of mainly an immense dam of reinforced concrete more than half a mile long, fifty-five feet high, and 65 feet wide at the base, requiring more than 4,000,000 tons of material to construct; a power-house of concrete, 500 feet long, with space for ten generators of from 12,000 to 18,000 h. p. each; and various other electrical equipment necessary.

The electricity generated by the Pennsylvania Water and Power Company at Holtwood is sent over two lines to Baltimore and over one line to Lancaster. Recent plans for expansion provide for supply to Chester and York counties. The city of Lancaster gets the greater of its electric supply from Holtwood; and the Conestoga Traction Company's 165 miles of trolley lines are supplied from the same station. However, the bulk of the Holtwood supply goes to Baltimore, for lighting and traction, supplying 450 miles of tramways.

The power generated by hydro-electric means in Lancaster county is about 125,000 h. p., stated Dr. Roddy in 1916, of which the Holtwood plant provided 112,000 h. p. The others are Slackwater, 1,000 to 1,500 h. p.; Rock Hill, 400 to 450 h. p.; Wabank, 350 to 400 h. p.; Brownstown, 100 h. p.; Colemanville, 200 h. p.; Edisonville, 75 h. p.; Wheatland Mills, 150 h. p.; Terre Hill, 30 h. p. It is estimated that the one hundred and fifty water-driven mills of the county use an aggregate of about 3,750 horse power from the watercourses of the region.

The important mining history of Martic township is given in the special chapter devoted to Mining, Smelting, and Ironmaking. The early mills may also be traced in the Early Mills chapter. Martic township census in 1900 showed 1,831 inhabitants; the count in 1910 was 2,108; and in 1920 there were 1,798 inhabitants in the township, including the population of the villages.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TOWNSHIPS OF EARL, WEST EARL AND EAST EARL.

The townships of Earl, West Earl and East Earl were settled mainly by Germans from the Palatinate, "men of a hardy type, accustomed to toil, and the possessors of many sterling virtues." The pioneer settler was Hans Graaf, a Swiss refugee who arrived in Penn's colony in 1696, and after spending some years in Philadelphia located in the Pequea Valley, probably in 1708-09. It was not until 1717, however, that settlers entered the territory which became Earl township. The first to enter was Hans Graaf, in pursuit of straying horses. He came into "what is familiarly known as Groff's Thal, within the limits of West Earl township," and was so pleased with the country that "he had his wife, children and chattels conveyed thither, and located on the stream now called Groff's run, where he soon after took up land." The land was surveyed on October 4, 1718, and calls for 1,150 acres. In 1724 he bought a further 250 acres from Martin Kendrick and Hans Herr, who had purchased 5,000 acres from Penn in 1717. Under these two warrants "there were surveyed to him, in a single tract, on a branch of the Conestoga (Groff's run), 1,419 acres, on October 10, 1727, and for which a deed was made to him by Thomas Penn, on November 18, 1737." The price paid for the whole was £141 18s., "and one English silver shilling quit rent for every one hundred acres, to be paid annually on every first of March, in the city of Lancaster."

As the pioneer settler, Hans Graaf would be expected to attain prominence in the settlement that sprang up around him; but to his industry and to the strength of his character perhaps is due much of the prominence that was his in the affairs of the township. He had established a mill prior to 1729; and just as in these days transportation facilities govern largely the degree of prosperity possible to a community, so in early settlement days accessibility to mill governed the comfort possible in the home of the settler. Inaccessibility to mill would mean that grain grown could not be marketed; hence the settler's operations would be restricted to what could be consumed within his family circle. Therefore it is not surprising that when opportunity came, the settlers were glad to indicate their appreciation of the enterprise of Hans Graaf. Earl township was organized in 1729, and was given that name as the English equivalent of Graaf. Hans Graaf was naturalized, with many others, on October 14, 1729, and his name frequently occurs in the Colonial Records. He was one of the persons named to lay out the "King's High Road" from Lancaster to Philadelphia in 1733; and to his death had foremost place in the settlement, one would infer, for he was its wealthiest citizen, though "A true Inventory of all the Goods, Chattels and Credits of Hance Graef of Earltown in the County of Lancaster and Province of Pennsilvania, late Deceased, made & approved the fifth day of May, 1746," declared his estate to be worth only £648 3s. 10d. The most valuable asset included in this appraisal was "The Plantation, £300."

Other settlers located on Mill creek, southwesterly from Groff's Dale, in 1721. They probably were in what became Leacock township, but, with new arrivals and settlement along the stream eastward, the township line into Earl was soon crossed. Swiss and Palatines began another settlement in 1724; it became known as "Weber's Thal," later "Weaverland," in East Earl. They were chiefly Mennonites, the family names including Weber, Guth or Good, Martin, Schneder, Miller and Zimmerman. Their nearest neighbors were colonists of Welsh origin who had settled in Chester county in 1722, but who had extended their settlement as far westward as where Churchtown, in what became Caernarvon township of Lancaster county, later developed. Patronymics included Morgan, Edwards, Jenkins, Davis, Jones, and Evans. And by 1734 "the springs along the northern and southern slopes of the Welsh Mountains had owners."

The first settlement in what became the ultimate bounds of Earl township was not however made until 1728. The ship "William and Sarah" had sailed from Rotterdam in the summer of 1727 with ninety families of Palatines, in all 400 emigrants. Among them were the brothers, Alexander and John Diffenderfer. From Philadelphia, Alexander Diffenderfer went into Berks county, where he settled; John Diffenderfer, however, "in 1728 loaded his family and household goods on a wagon owned by one Martin, of Weaverland, and at length came to a halt beneath a spreading oak in the near vicinity of the present New Holland." He was welcomed by the settlers of Groff's Dale and Weber's Dale; and with their aid a log cabin was soon raised, and the newcomers provided with what food they needed, the neighborly solicitude even extending to the gift of a cow to the Diffenderfer family. Thus that family became settled in the vicinity of the later metropolis of the Earls, New Holland, the history of which is separately reviewed elsewhere.

Earl township was one of the seventeen established on June 9, 1729; and at the same meeting of magistrates and citizens township officers were appointed. No supervisors appear to have been appointed for Earl township; indeed, the first township officers of whom there is record were Martin Grove, who was appointed constable in 1729, and Edward Edwards, who was appointed poundkeeper in 1739. The next known record of Earl township constables is that which begins with 1762, and lists Henry Stouffer and Peter Baker as constables. The record is consecutive up to 1774, when William Reynolds was constable. He probably was the last to hold office in Earl township under the Crown.

John Diffenderfer and his family were not destined long to be without near neighbors, for within a few years many other German families settled in the vicinity. Among the family names were Stone, Brimmer, Diller, Brubaker, Koch, Roland, Sprecher, Mentzer, Kinzer, Ranck, Weidler, Becher, Luther, Bitzer, Schultz. It is not possible to give year of settlement, as in many cases the families merely "squatted," taking up land in later years when better circumstanced. Indeed, such was the state of the emigrants from the Palatinate that many were insolvent when they landed in America, and had to bind themselves to labor for others for, in some cases, years, to pay for their passage to America. This condition was more general among those who came in the first and second decades of the eighteenth century than among those who came later. But they would probably have assumed even greater obligations to escape from the persecution to which they had been subjected in their own land. One of the settlers near Diffenderfer was Johan Ulrich Huber (Hoover). He had been among the 33,000 refugees who crossed from Germany to England, in 1708-09, at the invitation of Queen Anne; had seen pestilence and privation reduce that number by 10,000 while in England, dependent on the bounty of the citizens of London; he had been among the 4,000 who were shipped in ten vessels to New York, on Christmas Day of 1709; he was one of the 2,300 who survived the voyage of six months, and who "were under bonds to serve the Queen faithfully, to manufacture tar and other naval stores, in order to repay the charges of their transportation and subsistence;" and ten years later, when he reached the bounds of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, he had to realize that he was still a pauper, ten years of industry in the crown colony on the Hudson going for nought. However, "quiet and prosperity at length rewarded him" in Lancaster county.

The experiences of other German settlers were somewhat similar, though few left their life-story to posterity; in the main, they were more intent on rising above insolvency than on recording their experiences. This may be the main reason why the settlement records of Lancaster county are so incomplete. Shipping records help us somewhat; they give the year of sea-passage of many of the emigrants who settled in Earl township; but it is by no means certain that the year of settlement was the same as that of emigration. It appears that: "The Zimmermans, Rudys, Wolffs, Witmers, Smiths, Stauffers, Millers, Seigles, Shultzes, Styers, Hoffmans, Keysers, Wengers, Kochs, Schmidts, all came over in 1727; the Shirks, Eshlemans, Rañcks, Stoufers, Seylers, in 1728; the Reifs, Bowmans, Keisers, Kochs, in 1729; the Nagels, Hesses, Meyers, Oberholsers, Bears, Kilians, in 1730; the Eckerts, Mummas, Mulls, Freys in 1731; the Musselmans, Holls, Stegers, Rudys, Benders, Schlaughs, Sprechers in 1732; the Winters, Wanners, Brimmers, Summys, in 1733." In some cases, "as many as a dozen persons bearing the same name came in the same year, and each succeeding year brought more of the same name." So one encounters difficulty and uncertainty in trying to determine year of settlement of some of the early families of Lancaster county.

The German settlers were hard-working thrifty agriculturists, in the main; and eventually hewed for themselves profitable holdings in the virgin lands of Pennsylvania. But their prosperity came mainly by their own industry, notwithstanding that James Logan, for many years Colonial Secretary, said in one of his letters: "The Germans squat on the best tracts of land, and rarely offer to purchase—after a while they pay when challenged." Officialdom, in general, looked askance at the Germans, at their dress, their customs, their clanishness. But at least one governor saw that the colony profited by their presence. Governor Thomas in 1738 said: "This Province has for some years been the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany; and I think it may truthfully be said that the flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of these people." An earlier governor, Sir Patrick Gordon, "a man of broad views," felt impelled to encounter a movement hostile to the German colonists by stating his own opinion of them, part of his message to the House in 1730 in this connection pointing out that the Germans "have hitherto behaved themselves well, and have so good a character for honesty and industry, as deserves the esteem of this Government, and a mark of its regard for them." Nevertheless, "the large German immigration" had caused "no little alarm to the colonial authorities" since the first years of the eighteenth century. For some years naturalization was denied them; and to discourage the settlement of Pennsylvania by other than English subjects, a forty-shilling poll-tax was even exacted from all Swiss, French, German, and Dutch immigrants. It availed not, however, for the Germans came in ever-increasing numbers. Its effect on the settlement of Lancaster county, and directly of Earl township, may be judged by one fact. In 1748, twenty years after the first settler, John Diffenderfer, had taken up his abode in the wilderness in the vicinity of the present New Holland, "seventy persons communed with the Lutheran congregation of this place." Thus, settlers to the number of perhaps 300, had in two decades gathered around him.

Tax lists of the earliest years of Earl township are not available, but in 1754 Earl township had 199 "taxables." The total levy was £29 19s. The largest tax paid by any one man was seven shillings and four pence, by Emanuel Carpenter, Esq.; the smallest sum paid was one shilling. The taxpayers included seven of the Graaf family, other pioneer names appearing as follows: Davis, 7; Carpenter, 5; Weaver, 5; Martin, 4; Diffenderfer, 3; Hildebrand, 3; Bear, 3; Hoover, 3; Edwards, 3; Ronk, 2; Mumma, 2; Sheaffer, 2; Roland, Smith, Shirk, Kinser, Diller, Kurtz, Greybill, Eby, and others, "only one time each." This tax list would indicate that the population of Earl township in 1754 was about eight hundred. Tax collector was Jacob Roland. Three years later the tax assessment had increased nine hundred per cent. Twenty years later, in 1777, a year of war, the requirements of which had made it necessary to subdivide the population into two classes, "Associators" and "Non-Associators," the latter representing the non-fighting element, such as Quakers, Mennonites, the tax lists of Earl township had 338 names under the "Non-Associators" heading.

In Colonial Times—From a sketch of "The Three Earls," written in 1876 by Frank R. Diffenderfer, whose contributions to the written annals of Lancaster county are probably second to none, one is able to picture conditions of living in the Earl townships and in other parts of Lancaster county during the colonial period. His sketch deals mainly with the German settlements. Farming, of course, was the main occupation. Wheat, rye, oats, and barley were the principal crops, and little heed was paid to rotation of crops. Horses were scarce, oxen being generally used. In one instance "nine German settlers united their means to purchase a gray mare, of whose services they availed themselves turn-about." Women customarily worked with the men in the fields, taking a share of the most arduous tasks. Indians were never numerous; "scarcely more than half a dozen families were ever to be found at one place;" yet the Indian custom of burning scrubby underwood "made it not a difficult matter to drive a cart for long distances through the woods in all directions." Cost of living was low, and wages were proportionate. At about the time of the Revolution, harvest hands earned about two shillings and six pence, or about thirty-three cents, a day. Wheat was worth about sixty-seven cents a bushel.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, bounties were paid for evidence of the destruction of certain animals and birds; blackbirds were paid for at three pence a dozen; wolves at fifteen to twenty shillings; squirrels at three pence a head. The forests abounded with squirrels, bounty being paid on 840,000 in 1749. Few sheep were raised, because of the wolves; very little hay was cut; and it would seem that cattle were of more value as beasts of burden than for provender. Hog-raising was easy and profitable, though bears abounded, and losses by their raids on the porkers were not infrequent. The principal flesh-food of the pioneer families for many years, however, was found in the deer and turkeys of the forest. A twenty-pound turkey could be had for a shilling, and a fat deer for two shillings, or twenty-five cents. "Mutual assistance was freely extended by the early colonists to each other * * * A generous hospitality was universally prevalent, and was calculated to promote good fellowship." A favorite sport was horse-racing; "no less than three race courses have existed at different times in the vicinity of New Holland." Fashions were not fickle, or little attention was paid to them;

tight-fitting buckskin breeches or coarse homespun was the common wear for men; honest home-made linen covered their brawny arms and broad shoulders. Umbrellas were unknown; and if the settlers sought to protect themselves in rain, a heavy woolen blanket from their couch afforded it. The horses were unshod and the men went barefooted. Boots and spectacles were little less than curiosities in the rural districts before the Revolution. Thomas Edwards, of Earl township, one of the eight justices of the peace appointed when Lancaster county was erected in 1729, was wont to walk barefooted from his home, north of New Holland, to Lancaster, and there sit shoeless, as a member of the justices' court. No calf-skin shoes were worn by the lower ranks in life of either sex. The garb of the women of Earl township was generally a short gown of homespun as an outer garment. "Pull-back skirts were unheard of; our good old dames consoled themselves instead of wearing half a dozen well-quilted petticoats;" and the old-fashioned bonnet served as headgear and parasol. Floors were carpetless, walls were unpapered, platters were of wood, and pewter dishes, spoons, and mugs met all table requirements in the average household. "When a bride went any distance to get married, she rode on a pillion before her father, or some kinsman, but after the ceremony she occupied a seat behind her husband." Life was simple, money was scarce; yet there was privation only in seasons of abnormal climatic conditions. Generally, food was present in abundance. Vehicles for purposes of pleasure were rare; a Conestoga wagon was a sufficient evidence of prosperity. The first two-horse carriage owned by Earl township people belonged to John and Thomas Kittera, of East Earl, "who in the year 1783 were taxed £4 State money" for the privilege of owning this "luxury." Squire William Smith, in about 1790, it is believed, also owned a coach; "it was a two-horse affair, and elicited much attention and comment." The only departures from the staid course of thrifty habits were to be found in their extravagant funeral-feasts, and in their favoring of lotteries. It was not uncommon to set such a feast before the friends and relatives after the funeral "as required a large slice of the deceased's estate to pay for." And lotteries were generally resorted to when money was needed in unusual amount for any public purpose, churches even being maintained with the proceeds of a lottery.

Some of the trials experienced by the settlers during the colonial period include destruction of crops by locusts in 1732; a severe earthquake in 1737; heat so excessive in 1738 "as to destroy many birds, while laborers fell exhausted and dead in their harvest fields; cold so extreme in 1740-41 that deer and turkeys, the main flesh-food supply of the colonists, perished in vast numbers. The next winter was even more severe. The years 1750 and 1751 were so lean that a county meeting was called to devise means of relief, the establishment of an almshouse resulting. The harvest of the next year, 1752, was so bountiful that the wheat was marketless; it was fed to the hogs. Three trying years of drought followed, in 1753-55. Diffenderfer writes: "The earth was parched, and vegetation of all kinds perished for lack of moisture; a famine seemed impending; to add to these horrors the French war broke out, and the frontier Indian tribes, having nearly all allied themselves with France, began killing and scalping on all sides. Terror and dismay filled all hearts; even after peace was concluded, the Indians continued their hostilities. So great was the danger in 1763 that farmers, in the more exposed districts, carried their rifles with them to the fields." A hailstorm on June 17, 1763, left the trees "as destitute of foliage as in midwinter;" hailstones "as large as turkey eggs" fell, and "birds and small quadrupeds were killed in great numbers."

As a class, the settlers were of little education and culture. The Germans were not more illiterate than the British colonists, but they did not help to better their state by their prejudice as to language. English, as one would expect to find prevailing in an English colony, was the official tongue; all legal business was conducted in English; yet, notwithstanding serious material handicaps, the German colonists adhered so closely to their native tongue that they actually resisted the introduction of English in their schools and churches. Indeed, there were instances in Lancaster county, even a century after the coming of Hans Graaf, of village schools being taught by men who could speak little or no English. This was a serious deterrent to Americanization; yet the German colonists proved to be much stauncher patriots than is generally supposed. The non-combatant Mennonites brought suspicion on the Germans as a whole, but in the French troubles of 1762 nine companies went into service from Lancaster county, Earl township sending its full share and also contributing its quota of horses and wagons to General Braddock's expedition. When the Continental Congress sitting in Philadelphia in November, 1774, requested freeholders to hold elections for representatives to the General Assembly, the testing time had come. There were comparatively few Torys in Lancaster county, though one of the representatives, George Rein, elected in East township on December 15th, is stated to have been a loyalist. The Assemblymen elected on December 15, 1774, were Alexander Martin, Emanuel Carpenter, Anthony Ellmaker, William Smith, Zaccheus Davis, George Rein, and John Brubaker. In 1775 the committee men chosen were Gabriel Davis, George Rein, and Jonathan Roland. Gabriel Davis "doubtless came from the Welsh colony at the eastern end of the township;" he was an assessor in 1730, and a juryman in 1733. In 1776 a Provincial Conference was held in Philadelphia, delegates from the ten counties of Pennsylvania attending. State elections were resolved upon, and for this purpose Lancaster county was divided into six districts, the fourth district embracing the townships of Salisbury, Brecknock, Caernarvon, Earl and Cocalico. The poll was opened in New Holland on July 6, 1776, and James McCamant, Gabriel Davis and Michael Whitman were elected. Earl township contributed well in man-power to the nine regiments and battalions raised in Lancaster county during the Revolutionary War. Earl township was also represented in the ranks of the exclusively German regiment raised in Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1776.

Among Earl township citizens who attained prominence in public affairs during the period of colonial government, and in the early Republican years, were many men of strong character. Thomas Edwards, one of the original justices of the peace, of Lancaster county, was a member of the Colonial Assembly for seven years of the period, 1729-39. Zaccheus Davis was county commissioner in 1756, and Assemblyman in 1774-75. Nathaniel Ellmaker was elected to the State Senate in 1796; John W. Kittera, a native of Earl, was a congressman for ten years, 1791-1801, and later attained eminence as a jurist in Philadelphia.

There were three prominent highways within the Earl limits prior to the township organization. It is thought that they were originally Indian trails. The highways were: The Horse Shoe road, running east and west, upon which New Holland is built, and upon whose course part of the New Holland turnpike later rested; the Paxton road, later known as the Harrisburg & Downingtown turnpike; and Peter's road, leading from the Conestoga to Pequea, to which road and to Peter Bezelion (Bazaillon, Bezellion, Bizaillon), the French-Canadian fur trader who traversed the route in pre-settlement days, several other references are made in other chapters. As settlement progressed, other roads became necessary; and those laid out between 1740 and 1775 had mills as objective points, and were from the early roads to certain mills. Of these mills, "quite a number were in existence as early as 1760;" among them were Rein's mill, Henry Weaver's, Greybill's, Carpenter's, Peter Light's and William Douglass's. In November, 1733, the "King's High Road" from Philadelphia to Lancaster was ordered to be laid out, Hans Graaf of Earl township being one of those who had charge of the work; the road was thirty feet wide. The first macadamized road built in the United States was it seems the Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike, commenced in 1792 and finished in 1794. The New Holland turnpike was projected in 1810, but the road was not completed until 1825 (see Borough of New Holland).

West and East Earl Townships—One hundred and four years were destined to elapse before the settlement of Earl township had reached such a point that it was deemed advisable to change its boundaries. The century of settlement had almost been reached before the inhabitants of the western part of the township petitioned the county authorities to divide the township. The petition was acted upon on August 18, 1828, viewers being then appointed. These viewers, William Gibbons, Adam Reigart and Christian H. Rauch, reported in favor of a division. Accordingly, the Court of Quarter Sessions on November 18, 1833, ordered that a new township be erected out of parts of Cocalico and Earl townships, and be known as West Earl township. The new township as defined was to have an area of 11,390 acres, and in that territory at that time were 345 taxables. The remainder of the old township of Earl was thereafter to be known as East Earl township. A further subdivision of the original Earl township was made eighteen years later. Then, acting upon a petition signed by freeholders and taxpayers resident in the eastern part of East Earl township, viewers were appointed by the court. These men, Samuel Eberly, John L. Sharp, and Adam Keller, on July 23, 1851, recommended a division; therefore on November 20, 1851, Earl township became the central portion of the original Earl, and thereafter East Earl township was to be as still bounded. At the time of the division, there were 756 taxables resident within the borders of the newly created East Earl township; and the valuation was $1,760,636.

It would seem that the first Lutheran congregation organized in Earl township was that at New Holland, the register of which church dates back to 1730. Another congregation was at Muddy Creek in, or perhaps before, the 'forties, but the principal Lutheran church centered in New Holland. Zeltenriech's Kirche," the German Reformed church at New Holland, has written record from 1746, and had a settled pastor in 1748. (See chapter on the Reformed Church in Lancaster County). The other churches of New Holland are of comparatively recent organization, and all will be referred to in the Borough of New Holland sketch.

In 1876 there were ten churches in Earl township—two at Vogansville, one Union and one Evangelical; one at Hinkletown, a Union church; two Mennonite churches, one at Stauffer's and the other at Fairview, near Martin's store; four at New Holland; and one at Seldonridge's, a Union. There are still four at New Holland, as well as a Roman Catholic charge, and the others include the Vogansville Church of Brethren, the Mt. Tabor U. B., the Martindale United Evangelical; the Red Well Mennonite; and the Vogansville Mennonite.

On April 29, 1848, a public meeting was held in Vogansville to consider the question of building a meeting-house. Resolution was passed to erect "The Vogansville Union Meeting-House," open to all Christian denominations. The building was completed that summer, and thereafter was used by all village classes for many years. Formerly church societies had worshipped in the village schoolhouse. In about 1848, a congregation of the Reformed church was organized in Vogansville, and the Lutherans and Dunkers also had classes, comparatively active. The Church of the Evangelical Association at Vogansville was erected in about 1873. The Union Church at Hinkletown was built in about 1851, through the instrumentality of Sr. Isaac Winters, Sr., and the Rev. John Stamm. Lutheran, German Reformed and United Brethren congregations used the building, but two decades or so later one society only, the United Brethren, was using it.

There were four churches in West Earl township in 1876; one Evangelical church at Brownstown; one Union church at Carpenter's, Earlville; and two Mennonite meeting-houses, one at Metzler's and the other at Groff's Dale. There are now two churches at Brownstown—the Emanuel Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical; the Mennonite churches are unchanged, but the Earlsville church is of the Brethren in Christ denomination. It appears that camp meetings were held in a grove belonging to the Evangelical Association at Brownstown, fifty years ago. The meeting-house of that denomination in Brownstown was built in the 'sixties.

Carpenter's Church at Earlsville is historically interesting. Henry Zimmerman, or Carpenter, was second only to Hans Graaf in settlement in West Earl. He was an early miller, and built a large stone house, which was standing and in good state of repair one hundred and fifty years later. Three or four generations of Carpenters and of their neighbors had lived in the village before the church was built, of stone, northeastward of Carpenter's house, in 1824. The church was probably erected on that site, because it was already consecrated ground, a graveyard having been laid out and used at that point very much earlier, the donor of the land, a Mr. Casson, having stipulated that the burial-place be made free to all denominations. The graveyard at Groff's Dale was used for many years before the conveyance of a deed of trust executed by Henry Landis, son-in-law of Hans Graaf, on January 17, 1775. Its one acre was conveyed in trust for the use of the neighborhood forever.

There were six churches in East Earl township in 1876—a Presbyterian at Cedar Grove; an Evangelical and a Union at Fairville; a Mennonite at Weaverland; a United Brethren at Ranck's, commonly known as the "Brick Church;" and a Lutheran and Reformed at Center, known as Center Church, also as "St. John's." The churches of the present in East Earl include the

Goodville Union, the Cedar Grove Presbyterian, the Center Reformed, the Center Lutheran, Ranck's United Brethren, the Goodville Mennonite, and Weaverland Mennonite. The Presbyterian Church at Cedar Grove was originally organized at Blue Ball in 1775, and for twelve years thereafter services were held in a grove. In 1787, a lot at Cedar Grove was bought for $13.33, and a church built. The building served the congregation until 1853 unchanged; it was then remodeled. The first Centre Church was built in 1819. It was torn down in 1872, and the new edifice erected upon its site was named St. John's. The building was used by both the German Reformed and Lutheran congregations.

The Evangelical Association organized in Fairville (Terre Hill) in the 'thirties, and in 1838 built a church. The building was used until 1882, when lightning caused its destruction. A new church was built without delay; it was dedicated on August 5, 1883, by Bishop Thomas Bowman.

Under the Constitution of 1839 each township became a separate district; therefore from that time the justices of the peace can with more certainty be localized. Roland Diller and Peter Ranck were the justices appointed on April 14, 1840, for Earl township, or East Earl, as it then was; and Samuel W. Groff and George Reed took offices at same time for West Earl township. The first justice of the peace in the recreated East Earl township (of 1851) was Daniel S. Geist, who took office on April 15, 1852.

Hamlets, Villages, Boroughs—The history of the townships would be incomplete were brief mention not made of some of the principal communities. New Holland will be reviewed separately, but other long-established places such as Vogansville, Hinkletown, in Earl township; Fairville (Terre Hill), Goodville, Blue Ball, in East Earl; and Brownstown, Farmersville, Earlville, and West Earl, in West Earl township, must be mentioned, though space for extensive review is lacking.

Vogansville was founded by John Vogan, who erected the first house on the site of the present town in 1839. He was of the third American generation, his grandfather, William Vogan, having emigrated from Ireland. James Vogan, father of John, founder of Vogansville, was a soldier of the Revolution. It was upon part of his father's farm that John Vogan laid out the village of Vogansville, in 1839. Post-office was established in 1845, C. S. Hoffman being first postmaster. School was early established; and a church of union character organized in 1848, another church being built in 1873. The population was about 134 in 1880; in 1920 it was about 300.

Hinkletown grew mainly by reason of the mill and inn conducted by the Hinckle family at that point for many decades. In 1767 the regularly licensed innkeepers in Earl township were George Hinckle, George Staley, Abraham Forney, Christian Schwartzwelder, Martin Soyer, and Conrad Bartling. At least one other than Hinckle, Abraham Forney, long an innkeeper, was looked upon as the founder of a village. George Hinckle died comparatively wealthy, and after his death his widow, presumably Ann Hinckle, is recorded as the licensed innkeeper. They had four sons. Hinkletown lies along what was once known as the Paxton road, and later as the Harrisburg and Downingtown turnpike. In 1876 the place contained two hotels (one had been recently closed), two stores, two blacksmith shops, two harnessmakers, one coachmaker, one carpenter, one stone mason, one tailor, one dentist, two physicians, a watchmaker, one schoolhouse, one union church, and one resident clergyman; also there was a grist and saw mill. The population is still about the same as it then was, about 200; there are still two stores, a hotel and a restaurant; and the Hinkletown Milling Company still operates the mill. The church and school have been mentioned earlier in this article. Postoffice was established in or before 1840; at that time John Wickel was postmaster. Part of the village lies east of the Conestoga bridge, and was formerly known as Swopestown, the unusual name being derived from the number of Suabians who had settled there, principal among them being Johan Barnhard Frank, who erected the first house. The first tavern was kept by a widow, Elizabeth Rhine, who died in 1807.

Terre Hill, the youngest borough of Lancaster county, was begun as the village of Fairville in 1840. Abner Clime is looked upon as the founder of the village, and the Clime family is still prominently identified with Terre Hill. The land upon which part of Terre Hill lies originally belonged to the Oberholser family, who were Mennonites, or with inclinations thereto. Martin Oberholzer was in the neighborhood, farming a large acreage, some years before Clime came. Oberholzer's sons were John, Isaac and Jacob; and his daughters were Mrs. Hetzel Stirk and Mrs. Samuel Watts. The family lived about half a mile south of where Fairville later developed. A schoolhouse was built near their farm in about 1835. It therefore seems possible that a community had grown up in the vicinity prior to Abner Clime's founding of Fairville in 1840, or that the schoolhouse was centrally situated in a comparatively thickly settled rural district. At all events, itinerant preachers were in the habit of using the schoolhouse for preaching services in the 'thirties. Some were of the Christian or so-called Albright Methodist denomination which eventually became the Evangelical Association; and in 1835 a local church society was organized. In 1838 (or 1841) a church was built, Jacob and Isaac Oberholser and their sisters, Mrs. Hetzel Stirk and Mrs. Samuel Watts, with their families, being among the most active members. Isaac Oberholser became a well-known local preacher and served as such usefully until his death in 1875. His brother John was a distiller as well as a farmer. He seems also to have kept a tavern, for the following incident is narrated of him: " * * * Mr. Oberholser * * * pursued the calling of a distiller, (and) had for a customer a neighbor who often drank immoderately, and who when overtaken in his cups, illtreated and abused his own family. After one of these drunken debauches, the ill-used wife took her way to Mr. Oberholser's house, exhibited the plainly visible marks and stripes receives at her husband's hands, and told him such were the results of his supplying her husband with liquor. Mr. Oberholser was so wrought upon by the poor wife's story that he resolved at once to quit the business, and did so forthwith."

From this John Oberholser, Abner Clime in 1840 purchased a small frame house, for the sum of one hundred dollars. It stood on Oberholser's place, half a mile south of the present town, and Clime planned to move it onto his own plot of eleven acres. He was a hardworking man, in regular employment, and had to carry through this house-moving by night, after the labors of the day were over. He completed it eventually, almost without help, reërecting the house on the northwestern corner of the Reamstown road and the public street. This it seems was the first house built in Fairville. But others were soon built nearby, on parts of his eleven acres, which he had sold to advantage. Abner Clime was "the fourth in descent from George Clime, who was a German emigrant;" and he lived in Terre Hill until his death. Until 1861 he lived in the Oberholser house above described; it was then destroyed by fire, but he built another without delay. He owned a cigar manufactory that found constant employment for from twelve to twenty persons; and the present Terre Hill firm of W. F. Clime & Brother is probably a continuation of the enterprise of Abner Clime. Henry Haller in about the year 1845 opened a store a short distance east of the village, on the road leading to the Dry Tavern. A year or two later the road from Haller's store east was laid out. In 1848 Haller sold to Levi Klauser, who in a short time sold to his brother Simon, who built a stone storehouse opposite the church, and opened a large general store.

Movement to secure the establishment of a postoffice in the village was projected in about 1848. One was established, but not under the village name, for it was found that another Fairville post-office existed in Pennsylvania, in Chester county. Fairville being situated on the southern slope of a moderately conspicuous elevation which had formerly been known as "The Hill," that name was suggested for postoffice purposes; and to designate it more particularly "Terre" was prefixed. Simon N. Klauser was the first postmaster, and his large general store was the first postoffice.

Forty years ago the main industry of Fairville was cigar manufacturing; it still is, for there are at least a dozen factories in Terre Hill. Frank R. Diffenderfer, writing of Fairville in 1876, summed it up thus: "The distinguishing industry of Fairville is the cigar business. There are no less than twelve establishments where this branch of trade is carried on, exceeding in this particular every other town of equal size in the county. It also has two churches,—one Evangelical and one Union,—two smith shops, two shoe-making shops, one wagon factory, one saddle and harnessmaker, one tinsmith, one merchant tailor, one coach factory, two cabinet-making and furniture establishments, one undertaker, one refreshment saloon, two stores, one brass band, two physicians, and one resident clergyman. Population about 300." Terre Hill's industries have since grown proportionately with its population; the last census-taking, 1920, showed that Terre Hill then had 840 inhabitants; and its industries include a knitting mill, and some shirt factories. The Evangelical Association Church built in 1882-83, to replace the original church which was struck by lightning and burnt, in 1882, is an imposing structure of red sandstone. The Evangelical Mennonite church edifice, a short distance westward of Fairville, was also in existence in the 'eighties.

Terre Hill is a banking town, the Terre Hill National Bank having a capital of $40,000, and almost as great a surplus. The officers are F. S. Stover, president; William H. Martin, vice-president; Levi F. Talley, cashier. There was a newspaper in Fairville fifty years ago, the "Terre Hill Standard," an eight-page weekly, handsomely printed, with able editorials and choice selections. J. J. Sprenger was editor and proprietor, and J. C. Martin associate. The successor to the "Standard" is the "Terre Hill Times," the owners of which had leading part in the incorporation of the borough.

Goodville, in East Earl township, about eighteen miles from Lancaster, and two and one-half miles from Churchtown, equidistant from Blue Ball and Churchtown, had its beginning in the tavern erected by John Weaver at that point in 1815. His tavern was known as the Red Lion, and stood alone for some years. But as it began to be more and more frequented, Jacob Shultz erected a store nearby, his business partner being Betsey Kibler. Peter Good not long afterwards came and also entered into mercantile business, whether in succession to Jacob Shultz or in opposition is not known; but it is known that Peter Good later took as partner John S. Weaver, and that the firm of John S. Weaver & Son was in possession of the original store of Jacob Shultz sixty years after it was erected by him, although the building was not then on its original site but stood on the opposite side of the street. In about 1845 a post-office was established in the village of Goodville, at first being known as Old Earl post-office. One of the earliest Sabbath schools in the eastern part of these townships was organized near Goodville in about 1820, by Miss Betsey Kibler. For many years the school was conducted in private houses, later in the Red schoolhouse, near Goodville. Somewhat later the Sabbath school was organized as Cedar Grove Church, and Miss Kibler was the teacher there for many years. Goodville had about twenty-five dwelling houses in 1876. The population then was about 130. It is now about 200, and some of the old business houses are still being conducted. There is a large hardware establishment, a drug store, an implement house, a general store, a hotel, and two garage stations.

Spring Grove, near Goodville, was the site of the Spring Grove furnace, built after the Revolutionary War by Cyrus Jacobs, who came from Wales, and at first worked at Windsor Forge. He married the daughter of Ironmaster Old, and soon after the latter's death erected the Spring Grove forge. The village was of some importance during the operation of the forge, but with its closing, the place declined.

Blueball, at the junction of the old Paxtang and Horseshoe roads, is a banking town of 300 population. Its history covers a period of more than 150 years, its site having been part of the original tract of the Weavers. On August 27, 1766, Robert Wallace bought twelve acres from Jacob Weaver, and became a storekeeper at the junction of the roads. Soon he erected a tavern and opened it "At the Sign of the Blue Ball." In November, 1778, he sold to Peter Grim. The tavern for many years was a noted crossroads hostelry. John Grim, son of Peter, became prominent in mercantile, agricultural, and church activities, for thirty-two years being a ruling elder in Cedar Grove Presbyterian Church. Blue Ball of to-day in business activity consists of a shirt factory, two tobacco factories, a large machine shop, a large general store, and other retail places, and of course the Blue Ball Hotel. In addition there is the Blue Ball National Bank, the capital of which is $50,000, and the surplus about $30,000.

Farmersville, a village in West Earl township, situated on the Lancaster and Hinkletown road, was founded by Eckert Myers, who erected the first house in it in 1843. Thirty years later the population was about 300. Since then the increase has been slight. A post-office established in the village in 1855 as Farmersville gave the place its name. Some representatives of the pioneer families are still in the village, among them being Burkholders, Rupps, Seldomridges, Rudys. Dr. C. H. Groft was the first postmaster, being succeeded in 1860 by S. M. Seldomridge. Two or three newspapers have been published from Farmersville, the Burkholders having a printing plant in operation for several decades from the 'forties.

Brownstown, in West Earl township, was made a post-office in about 1860, A. K. Homberger being first postmaster. The village is probably as old as Farmersville, and grew more rapidly. In 1876 the village possessed two dry goods stores, two smithies, one hotel, one cigar factory, two schoolhouses, one church. The population then was about 200. Brownstown is now a banking town of 500 population, has an electric light, heat and power plant, a knitting mill, a flouring mill, about half a dozen cigar factories, a printery, two hotels, a lumber yard, and the usual retail establishments. The Brownstown National Bank has a capital of $25,000, and surplus of about one-fourth its capital; president is Dr. A. V. Walter. The Evangelical church was erected in the 'sixties. The Brownstown United Evangelical church is an offshoot of the other, and is now almost, if not quite, as strong.

Earlville, about a mile south of Brownstown, developed around a flouring mill erected at that point several years before 1800. The mill was later owned by Peter Kafroth. The pioneer family of the district was the Zimmerman or Carpenter family. Christian Carpenter, who was sheriff of the county in 1797, built the first store. Isaac Carpenter was an innkeeper in Earlville in 1826, and for about a decade thereafter. When West Earl township was formed in 1833, the village took the name of Earlville. The Carpenter Union Church, elsewhere referred to, was built in 1824.

West Earl, near Brownstown, was originally known as Forney's Tavern, from the hostelry around which the hamlet grew. The inn became the West Earl Inn, and the village name was likewise changed. The West Earl Inn was kept by Jacob L. Erb in 1884; in 1767 Abraham Forney was the innkeeper.

Of those citizens resident within the townships of Earl, West and East Earl, who came notably into Lancaster county public affairs from the time of the establishment of the Republic, might be mentioned: Jacob Ringwalt, State legislator in 1811; Amos Ellmaker, lawyer, legislator, jurist, Anti-Masonic candidate for United States Vice-Presidency in 1832, and opponent of James Buchanan for U. S. Senatorship in 1834; Gen. Henry Hambright, soldier of the Revolution, and State legislator for four terms; Hy. Shirk (1810), Henry Roland (1821), Adam Bare (1834), Anthony E. Roberts (1839), William Duchman (1845), David Shultz (1847-51), county officials; William Heister, Congressman, 1830-37, and unsuccessful Anti-Masonic candidate for Congress against James Buchanan, in 1828; Anthony E. Roberts, county sheriff in 1839, and United States marshal, 1849-53, and twice afterwards Congressman; Isaac E. Hiester, Congressman in 1852; Soloman Diller, State Representative, 1836-39.

The census figures for the last three decadal takings are as follows: Earl township, 1900, 2,327; 1910, 2,280; 1920, 2,282. West Earl township, 1900, 2,275; 1910, 2,265; 1920, 2,204. East Earl township 1900, 3,360; 1910, 2,487; 1920, 2,437. The boroughs (New Holland, 1,463 in 1920, and Terre Hill, 840 in 1920), are additional to the township figures.

CHAPTER XIV.

LEACOCK TOWNSHIP.

Leacock (or Laycock) township was one of the original township divisions of Lancaster county, having been delineated at the first meeting of magistrates after the separation of Lancaster from Chester county in 1729. The derivation of the township name is not known. It is stated that the political division was originally known as Laycock, which is a patronymic, though no man of that name is known to have had part in the earliest affairs of Lancaster county. However, the magistrates, in defining the boundaries of the seventeen townships organized in 1729, wrote the name as Leacock, which perhaps is a place-name. Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs wrote as follows: "Leacock is said by our local historians to have been called after a place in Ireland; but the exact spot we have been unable to identify."

The township boundaries, as confirmed by the Court of Quarter Sessions in August, 1729, were as follows: "Leacock township, beginning at the mouth of Beaver creek, thence up the east side of Pequea to Philip Fiere's lower corner, thence west by Lampeter township to Conestoga creek at the upper corner of George Bard's land, thence up the said creek to Peters' road, thence easterly along the said road by Earl township to David Cowen's land, thence southerly and westerly by Salisbury, Sadsbury and Martick townships to the place of beginning." Part of Leacock township was taken in 1843 to form Upper Leacock, and the former township as now bounded has an era of 11,272 acres, the land adjoining that of Earl township on the north, Salisbury on the east, Paradise on the south, East Lampeter on the west, and Upper Leacock on the northwest. It is limestone land, rolling and productive. It is watered on the southern border by Pequea creek and on a portion of the northern border by Mill creek; and Muddy run and Cattail run flow through the township.

It is difficult to name the first settler in Leacock township. Hattil Varman (Hatwell Varnon, or Vernon) is said to have been the first. However, he did not settle until 1728 it appears, but the names of several of the early owners of Leacock land are to be found on earlier tax-lists of the Conestoga country, then in Chester county. As a matter of fact, the name Verner appears on the tax-list for the year 1724-25, classified under Pequea township, the boundaries of which were not defined but which probably would include Leacock and Salisbury townships of later erection. In the next year (1725-26) the name is spelled Varner, and in the tax-list for 1726-27 the name Vermon appears. The lists are unreliable therefore in this respect, and it is possible that the family was that to which Hattil Varman belonged. Another name that appears on these early tax-lists is Cowan, sometimes given as Cowin, Cowen, Cowyn, Cowym, and it will be seen that the name David Cowen appears in the Leacock township boundary definition of 1729. The "Pequea Rate—1726" assesses the following persons then resident in that division: Daniel Cockson (Cook-

son), Wm. Clark, Jos. Jervis, John Whiteside, Jos. Hickman, John Brandt, Sam Vermon, Thos. Clark, Morgan Jones, John Williams, Wm. Willson, James Goult, John Clemson, Benj. Heath, David Cowen, Hugh Tompson, John Thompson, Sam. Robinson, Jas. Roe, Wm. Richardson, John Hartings (Hastings), Chas. Clark, James Cole, Widow Faulk, James Whitehill, John Barger, James Gauston, David Cowym, Wm. Cowym, John Miller, Thos. Gardner. How many of these were resident within what are the present borders of Leacock township cannot be determined, because the boundaries of the first Pequea division are not known.

Hattil Varman was born in Wexford, Ireland. His part in the functioning of Quaker meetings in Lancaster county is stated in another chapter (q. v.). There were several large holdings in Leacock township, and this may have delayed its settlement somewhat, but in all probability there were many settlers before 1729, when Lancaster county was formed, for Hattil Varmon was a member of the grand inquest at the November sessions of court in 1730, and township officers were named in 1729; therefore, if Varman is accepted as the first settler, he must have settled, one would think, earlier than 1728. The constable appointed in 1729 was Henry Jones; and William Clark was collector in Pequea township in 1721. An argument against the thought that the Varman and Verner families were at least related is in their church affiliation. Hattil Varman was a Quaker; the Verners were Presbyterians.

Among the early settlers were John Lyon, who warranted a tract of about 200 acres in 1741; John Verner, who purchased or received patent for 300 acres in the same year; the McCausland family; the Snavely family; Daniel Besore, James Copper, John Hurst, Joseph Rutter, Adam Miller, Eby, Buckwalter, and Caldwell families. One of the earliest State lists is that of 1782. The following are names for assessment as Leacock township residents in that year:

Mathias Alt, Andrew Baer, Balsor Besore, John Bair, David Bair, Hy. Bair, Philip Bard ("George Bard's land" is referred to in Leacock Township boundary description of 1729), Francis Buckwalter, Peter Baker, Moses Brinton, Hy. Bigart, Martin Bair, Jacob Bair, James Crawford, Andrew Caldwell, James Cooper, James Clemson, Wm. Clark, Brice Clark, Wm. Craighton, Abram Curtz, George Ecker, Peter Ecker, John Eby, Abram Eby, Peter Eby, Jacob Eby, Benj. Erwin, Isaac Free, Jacob Free, Eman Free, Widow Fullerton, Jacob Gerber, Michael Gerber, Peter Gerber, John Gerber, Abram Gibbons, Martin Hiller, Michael Hess, Elias Hillar, John Henry, John Hillar, Wm. Huston, William Hamilton, Sr., Daniel Herbert, Jacob Hillar, Peter Hildebrand, James Hamilton, Hy. Hartman, Hy. Martin, James Hamilton, Abram Jons, Jacob Jons, John Jons (probably Jones), James Knox, John Kilheffer, Hy. Line, Thomas Lyon, John Lyon, Sml. Lyle, Geo. Lirue, David Line, Adam Leitner, John Leitner, Abram Myers, Jacob Myers, Christian Myers, Adam Miller, Andrew Maxwell, Martin Maxwell, Sr., John Maxwell, Martin Maxwell, Jr., James McGomry, Henry Musser, Felty Myers, George Mackrell, Wm. McCausland, Matthew McClung, Sr., Matthew McClung, Jr., Ester McCausland, David Painter, Wm. Porter, Thos. Pinkerton, John Painter, Jacob Pecher, Isaac Rife, David Rife, Hy. Ritter, Wm. Rutter, Jos. Rutter, John Rowland, John Rush, Catharine Rutter, John Sensinich, George Seldenrich, Jacob Snibly, Jacob Shearer, Daniel Swobe, Adam Swobe, Hy. Swobe, Jacob Swobe, Samuel Smith, Michael Shellebarger, Hy. Shively, Peter Sharp, Robert Stewart, George Stewart, James Scott, Jacob Stoner, Thomas Skiles, Harman Skiles, Wm. Skiles, Sr., Wm. Skiles, Jr., John Torbet, Leonard Tiller, Catharine Vankenon, Benj. Vernor, Michael Widler, Wm. Whitehill, Wm. Wallace, Stophel Weaver, Sr., Stophel Weaver, Jr., Henry Wenger, David Whatson, Adam Woods, Thomas Woods, John Wilson, John Walker, Jones Yoner, Robert Young, Paul Zantzinger.

Interesting information given on that list is that there were then at least eighteen negro slaves in the township, the following residents being apparently taxed upon such property: Andrew Baer, Andrew Caldwell, Brice Clark, Isaac Free, Jacob Free, James Knox, William Porter, John Torbet, David Whatson, Adam Woods, John Wilson. The millers at that time were George Ecker, Peter Ecker, Abram Eby, Jacob Pecher, Henry Shively. Eby owned a hemp and flax mill. A century later there were only two grist mills in the township, both being run then by William Flickinger, one of the plants being that formerly owned by Peter Ecker (Eckert).

Villages—The chief centers of population in the present Leacock township are Intercourse and Gordonville, the former having a poplation of 500 and Gordonville 413 residents. Intercourse, which is about eleven miles from Lancaster, traces its establishment to the Cross Keys Tavern, a well-known hostelry along the old Provincial road. It was erected of logs in about 1754, and was a public house probably from almost that time. In 1796 William Crawford was the innkeeper. In 1814 Nathaniel Lightner was the owner, and in that year he erected a brick annex, two stories high. John Seldomridge was a later owner, landlord for many years. Among others up to 1873 were Henry Hess and Samuel M. Knox. Jacob Rutter took over the property and business in 1873, and then demolished the older part of the house, erecting a brick western side, to match the annex built in 1814. The place was known as Cross-Keys until 1814, when an attempt was made to exploit a town-site at that point. George Brungard was the adventurer, and the plan was to sell the town lots by means of a lottery drawing. This George Brungard was at that time represented as a resident of Marietta, though earlier he had lived in Lancaster. He was a carpenter, and in 1795 advertised in the Lancaster journal for four journeymen and three apprentices; he was therefore a man of ambitious endeavors or much business. In 1813 or earlier he acquired about forty-eight acres of land lying on the north side of the old Philadelphia and Lancaster road, and on the north side of the Newport road, in the vicintiy of the Cross-Keys Inn. He laid out 151 lots, advertising them as "151 handsome building lots, at $250 each, to be drawn for by number." The drawing took place November 14, 1814, at the house of Hugh Urban, in the city of Lancaster. At the time of drawing there were only five houses on the townsite; one was the old Cross-Keys Inn. It was at that time that the name Intercourse was given to the platted townsite. Possibly the lottery was not a success; there had been so very many lottery projects in Lancaster county during the previous fifteen or twenty years that it would not be surprising if this one failed. At all events, development of Intercourse was slow. "It appears that from some cause the land that had been distributed by lottery was not much built upon until after a considerable number of buildings had been erected on the south side of the old road, but the chief part of the lottery land was consolidated and became one tract." However, in 1827 another tavern was built on some of the lottery land, by Lemuel Sappington. For some time he was landlord, being succeeded by the Rutters, who held the property for many years. Jacob S. Shirk made alterations and improvements in 1882, for some time conducting the hostelry. The Pinkertons later took the hotel.

The development of the south side of the road, opposite the Brungard townsite, was promoted by Jacob and Joseph Wenger, who owned the land and built several houses upon it, the first a store building erected in 1833.

Jacob Wenger carried on a general store business in this brick building for some years. Moses Eby eventually became the owner, and enlarged the store, in which he carried on mercantile business for many years. The store was destroyed by fire in 1882, but soon afterwards rebuilt, again of brick, and by Mr. Eby, Jason K. Eby, son of Moses, continued the business for more than thirty years, and Mrs. Jason K. Eby still owns it. Others who took property on the south side of the road, purchasing land from the Wengers, included Daniel Trout, Charles Sweigart, William Lytle. Daniel Zook bought 35 acres of land for farm purposes and only partly fronting on the Old road. It was of the Wenger tract. Thomas Hines built a house facing on the Newport road. The first houses built on the west side of the south street were those of Samuel O'Dare and David Trout, Sr. The land on the north side of the Old road began to be further built upon in about 1855. Houses early erected were those of John Curley, Isaiah Miller, Christian Beam, and others. John Seldomridge had earlier erected several houses on the land lying between the Old road and the Newport road.

In 1880 Intercourse was a place of 280 inhabitants and fifty-four dwelling houses. Its business consisted of smithy, wagon shop, two saddleries, three carpentries, three stores, two hotels, and a tobacco-packing establishment. The population is now about 500, and there has been some expansion of trade. Zimmerman & Son conduct the other general store. Intercourse is a place of good business, and is a banking town, the Intercourse First National Bank having the strength of a couple of decades of operation. The village is also supplied with most of the city conveniences, the Intercourse Electric Light, Heat and Power Company having been established for many years. Latterly, the village has also had a hosiery mill, as well as a tobacco factory.

Gordonville has railroad connection, the Pennsylvania system; and the village began to take life when railroad construction began. The land on the western side of the railway route at Gordonville earlier belonged to Christian Hershey, which family name appears upon the earliest tax-list of which there is record, that for the year 1718; and a Christian Hershey is of even earlier record in the Conestoga country. Rupp lists him as of the Pequea Colony of 1709 (which first settlement in Lancaster county, by the way, did not occur until 1710; see Vol. XIV-2, "Papers of Lanc. County Hist. Soc.), so that Gordonville may be considered to have been settled almost as early as was possible. The first dwelling house was erected by Daniel Gordon in about 1832. Fifty years later it was in the possession of Henry Eckert. "When the railroad was completed, Mr. Gordon had an old warehouse standing on the west side of the railroad, in which business was carried on by himself. In 1836 he built a storehouse on the same side of the railroad." There William Manahan was the first to keep store; he was storekeeper from 1836 to 1839, and at the same time he used Mr. Gordon's other building for a warehouse. He was succeeded by Hathorn Freeland as storekeeper and warehouseman. Later the businesses were carried on by John Seldomridge and John Smoker, the latter having the ownership during the Civil War. Amos Hershey bought the store in 1864. The Hersheys have ever since held the business, also a coal and lumber business. The old warehouse was torn down in 1857 by Samuel M. Brua, and another built. In 1868 Amos L. Witmer acquired it, but four years later, after a fire had destroyed the machine shops of the Witmer Company, Mr. Hershey acquired all of the property on the western side of the railroad.

Mr. Manahan was one of the enterprising early residents of Gordonville. After he sold the Gordon store and warehouse in 1839, he bought some land on the eastern side of the railroad and erected a number of buildings upon it. In addition, he built a store and a stone warehouse, and for some time conducted a store and warehouse business. The store and warehouse passed under different ownership several times before the warehouse was destroyed by fire. Mr. Manahan seems to have had the desire to found another village, for he laid out some of his land into building lots, and in course of time many houses were built upon his land. That part of Gordonville which lies east of the railroad was given the name of Concord by Mr. Manahan, and it held that name for many years after a post-office named Gordonville was established on the village west of the railroad. In course of time, however, the villages, by force of common convenience and without formal action, merged under the name of the post-town, Gordonville. One of the houses Mr. Manahan erected was for a while used as a two-family house, but in 1843 it became a tavern, among the owners in the first fifty years as a tavern being Martin Rhoads, Christian H. Hershey and Martin K. Mylin. Lewis E. Edwards was a later owner. It was enlarged, and raised to three stories in 1876 by Martin K. Mylin. The population of Gordonville has been almost doubled during the last forty years; it is nine miles from Lancaster, near two good pikes, and has railroad facilities. Weaverstown, situated in the western part of the township, is another village. It has long been the centre of population for that part of the township.

Among the distinguished citizens of Leacock township must be included Major William McCausland, a soldier of the Revolution; Dr. Nathaniel W. Sample, a brigadier-general of the War of 1812; Drs. Samuel R. Sample and Brainerd Leaman, surgeons of Civil War record; John Seldomridge, prothonotary of Lancaster county in 1863, and justice ot the peace for many years; David Graff, justice for twenty years; and Abraham Bair for as long.

Leacock township has some historic churches. The Leacock Meeting of Quakers was established as early or earlier than 1728; it has been referred to at some length in the East Lampeter chapter, and the Leacock Presbyterian Church will be referred to in the review of the Presbyterian churches of Lancaster county. Prior to the passing of the common school law, the schools of Leacock township were probably as poor as those of most rural districts. And it was some years after the passage of said law that the new system was adopted in Leacock. Election in 1844, however, brought in as the first board of school directors in Leacock township the following: Thomas S. Woods, John L. Lightner, Christian Eby, Andrew Dunlap, Christian Beiler, and William P. Michael. Whether more than two schoolhouses were formerly used is not stated, but as soon as the newly constituted township school board came into control of school affairs, they contracted for seven new frame schoolhouses. These when built were organized as school districts, and two others were made use of, the first teachers being: Chiron T. Whipple, at the Hollow; Donald Sutherland, at Hatville; John Seldomridge, Jr., at Intercourse; Thomas Coulter, at Eckert's; R. M. Creamer, at Concord; John McKillips, at Weavertown;

Henry D. Metzler, at Stoltzfus; Daniel LeFevre, at Zuck's; and Thomas Allen at Rutter's. Subsequent school history cannot be stated in detail; there is not available space. The school directors alone during the first forty years would give a list of sixty names; the list of teachers would have to show about 160 names; and there has been much building and enlarging of schoolhouses. Further information is contained in the public schools chapter.

The population of Leacock township in 1880 was 2,142. In 1900, it was 2,122; in 1910 the count was 1,998; and in the last census-taking, 1920, Leacock township was credited with 2,004 inhabitants. Almost one-half of these reside in Intercourse or Gordonville villages.

CHAPTER XV.

LAMPETER TOWNSHIPS, EAST AND WEST.

The township of Lampeter was one of the original townships of Lancaster county, its boundaries being clearly defined in the year of county erection, 1729. Earlier, from 1718, it was part of Conestogoe township, which embraced practically the whole of that part of Chester county taken to form Lancaster county. The very earliest settlement history of Lampeter township is therefore part of that of Conestoga township, and much of interest and information to citizens of the Lampeters will be found to have been recorded in the Conestoga township sketch.

At the August term of court, 1729, which convened at Postlethwaite's Tavern, in Conestoga township, the township boundaries set in June, 1729, were approved. The Lampeter township boundary was thus defined: "Lampeter township, beginning at the mouth of Mill creek, at a corner of Conestogoe township, thence up the east side of Conestogoe creek to Leacock township, thence easterly by the said township to Pequea (creek), thence down Pequea (creek) by the said township to Beaver creek, thence by Conestogoe township to the place of beginning." The Lampeters still have those bounds, though the original township has been split almost in half, in a straight line from almost southeast to northwest. This was done in 1841, the original township of Lampeter then passing out of existence, and the townships of East and West Lampeter being constituted. East Lampeter has the form of a parallelogram, and lies diagonally across the county. It is bounded on the north and northeast by the townships of Upper Leacock and Leacock, east by Leacock, southeast and south by Paradise and Strasburg, southwest by West Lampeter, and west by Lancaster and Manheim townships. West Lampeter is bounded on the north and west by Lancaster, east by East Lampeter, southeast by Strasburg, south by Providence, and southwest by Pequea townships. The townships of Lampeter lie in three valleys, Conestoga, Pequea and Mill creek. The last-named creek approximately runs through the center of East Lampeter, and through the northern part of West Lampeter. Its direction is almost west, and it empties into the Conestoga at the extreme western corner of West Lampeter township. The Conestoga and Pequea creeks form the northwestern and southeastern boundaries. Stauffer's run and Bard's run empty into the Conestoga in East Lampeter. The soil is rich limestone loam, wonderfully fertile and is excellent tobacco land. Some very valuable farms are to be found in the Lampeters.

As to the origin of the township name, there can be no question that its name was suggested by the like name of the Welsh college town Lampeter, which lies on the border of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire in Wales. One or two Welsh patronymics are among those of the pioneers of Lampeter township, and at least two Welshmen were among the original magistrates and justices of Lancaster county, whose particular duty it was in June and August of 1729 to consider and approve the names and limits of the townships of the new county then established. Lampeter would at once suggest itself to Welshmen as a dignified name, because at the Welsh Lampeter was one of the leading colleges of that principality. To suppose that Lampeter, of Lancaster county, was derived from Peter Yorty, or Yoerdy, an early settler who was lame, is possible, but not probable, for almost all of the original townships were given place-names, and a name which would give the new townships some reflected dignity. Lampeter, from Lame Peter, may reasonably be dismissed.

Land in Lampeter township was conveyed by William Penn to others as early as 1699. In that year he gave a syndicate of London merchants the right to survey and hold for colonization 60,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. The holdings of this syndicate later became known as the London Company's lands. At least two large tracts belonging to this company were within the limits of Lampeter township, and in the 'twenties and 'thirties of the eighteenth century many Palatines had settled upon them. Many were squatters, and the London Company had to post notices throughout the region stating their intention to eject these squatters, and to hold them responsible for damage done to trees. The choice lands of Lampeter township were among the first to be sought for by settlers, and their reason for squatting was probably to, as it were, stake a holding until such time as they could get it warranted and patented. Among the pioneers who received title to land in East Lampeter township were, it is recorded, Philip Ferree, Hans Graaf, Peter Leman, James Smith, John Steer, William McNabb, Joseph Steer, James Gibbons, William Evans, John Hendrickstone, Andraes Soldenrick, Jacob Landis, Joseph Buckwalter, Michael Danner, Felix Landis, Benjamin Witmer, John Hess, Joseph Dawner, John Musgrove, William Willis, Derrick Jansler, Peter Yorkee (Yorty, Yoerdy), Martin Bare, John Graff, Hans Brand, Jacob Graff, Jacob Mayer. In West Lampeter, the Mennonite settlement in 1710 represented by the Herr, Kendig, Mylin, Bowman, and other families, covered a large tract, beginning near Willow street. The Ferree family is referred to in the Strasburg and Paradise chapters. Philip Ferree and Abraham Dubois, his father-in-law, had land partly in East Lampeter township; and the old Ferree homestead, which was built in 1795, is still tenanted by a descendant. Hans Graaf comes more into Earl township history; he was the pioneer in that township. Peter Leman received a patent for 400 acres in 1723, and his descendants still live in the county; James Smith, an English Quaker, settled on London Company land, and a patent was issued to him in 1723. On adjoining land were other Quakers—Joseph Steer, William McNabb and John Steer, who all received patents in the same year, 1723. On some of the land of

McNabb and Steer, the Quaker meeting-house at Bird-in-Hand was built in 1749. Jacob and John Witmer acquired the remainder of their land in 1768. William McNabb had 200 acres, and gave two acres to the Friends' meeting-house in 1749; he and Joseph Steer moved to Virginia before the Revolution. John Steer's land passed to William Hamilton in 1748. James Gibbons bought 1,000 acres of land in 1723 from Elizabeth Wartnaby, of England. He never settled upon it, but his son, Joseph, took the land in about 1724, and a further tract, surveyed from the London Company's land, and received letters patent to these lands in 1732, though they remained in almost the virgin state until James, son of Joseph, married in 1756, and took up the task. It is said that it was not until this year that a member of the Gibbons family came to this county to reside, James then building a log cabin on the banks of Mill creek, north of where the Bushong mill property later stood. But there are other records to show that the Magus of Ephrata, Conrad Beissel, had a log cabin on the Wartnaby estate, prior to the sale of the land to James Gibbons, and that one of his fellow-hermits sold that cabin to James Gibbons in about 1723, or 1724, making it necessary for Beissel to vacate it then. However, it is still possible that the grandson, James Gibbons, with his wife, Deborah Hoopes, was the first of his family to take up residence upon their large tract in Lampeter. In 1757 he built a homestead, and he soon became the leading man in that section of the township, being surveyor, scrivener, justice of the peace, and innkeeper. He conducted a tavern business for some years before and during the Revolutionary War. He was a Quaker, but was offered the colonelcy of a regiment. The overseers of the Friends' Meeting and his own family, however, after a determined effort, dissuaded him from accepting. Part of the land is still in the possession of his descendants. William Evans was related to Governor John Evans, and it was the latter who first held title to the land in Lampeter township which William Evans eventually possessed. Patent to 1,000 acres was granted to John Evans in 1716, and in the same year he sold to John Moore. The latter transferred to William Evans in 1730. Col. John Evans was a Calvinist, but William Evans was a Quaker, as were his direct descendants for several generations. The last male of his line to hold the Lampeter land was Aaron S. Evans, who died in 1845. Soon afterwards, his heirs sold the land and moved away. But Rebecca Evans, sister of Aaron, held her share of the ancestral estate up to the time of her death, in 1878. Upon it stood three stone houses, the oldest being the original William Evans homestead, still in good state of preservation.

All of these settlers lived in that part of East Lampeter beginning in the eastern part and proceeding westward to Bridgeport on the Conestoga. The settlers on the London Company's land in the central, western and southern sections of the township included: John Hendrickstone, who had 100 acres immediately west of the Evans tract, but who sold almost immediately to the son of the local land agent of the London Company, Benjamin Witmer; Andreas Soldenrich, or Andrew Seldomridge, received land west of Hendrickstone's and east of Landis', his patent being dated March 14, 1722. The tract was of 200 acres, and in 1747 it passed to Louis Boughwalter. Regarding the tract of Jacob Landis, the record reads: "In Taylor's surveys of the old patent tracts, Jacob Landis is said to have taken out the patent for a tract, but in the records of the Landis family, which are very voluminous, the original patentee was Benjamin Landis, a Swiss Mennonite preacher. He came to his country and received a patent for this land in 1718. He had but one son, Benjamin, Jr., who had four sons, one of whom was named Benjamin. In every generation since there has been a Benjamin, and the name of Jacob is less common. From all the records extant there is sufficient proof that the name on the old surveys was a mistake and that Benjamin Landis received the patent from the London Company. A grandson of the original Benjamin moved into Landis Valley, in Manheim township, and is the common ancestor of the Landis family there. Part of this land remains in the possession of the Landis family at present. The original tract contained two hundred and twelve acres." Benjamin Witmer (Weitmer, and later Anglicized even to Whitmore) was, it would seem, of German birth. "The name with all its changes was written with the German character for almost half a century after their coming to this country." Benjamin received a patent for 265 acres from the London Company in 1722, his land bordering both sides of the provincial road. Through it the Horseshoe road was laid out. In 1746 it passed to his son, John Whitmore. John Witmer died in 1790 and bequeathed his real and personal estate to his sons Henry and Abraham. A fine stone house upon the property was built in 1773. Henry sold his share to Abraham in 1806. It was through the enterprise of Abraham Witmer that the Conestoga Bridge came to be built, as will be noticed later in this chapter. When Abraham Witmer died in 1818, his affairs were so involved that the amount realized by the sale of the whole of his real and personal property, excluding his Bridge interest, was not sufficient to meet his debts.

Joseph Boughwalter (Buckwalter), a Palatine, was granted patent for a tract of land on Mill creek, lying south of the William Evans tract. Here a mill and a large log house was erected by Boughwalter and his son, John. In 1798 or 1800 a large stone residence was erected. That is still standing, in good condition, and the log house stood for almost 150 years. The mill passed out of the possession of the Buckwalter family early in the nineteenth century, but the homestead was held. The old house was used as an inn for many years; it was known as "The Running Pump." Felix Landis received title to 400 acres of London Company's land by patent in 1723. Part he transferred to John Binckle (Binckley). The latter died intestate, and at the division by his three sons, who were Felix, Henry and Johnson, the first-named took the water-right and adjoining land. There in 1767 he erected a mill, whish he operated until his death.

Another patentee of London Company's lands was Martin Bare, who in 1723 received letters patents for the land surveyed in the name of Hanse Snider. In 1757, Martin sold to his son Christian. The latter's daughter married Martin Mellinger, a prominent Mennonite. Mellinger's Mennonite church is upon land which was given by Christian Bare to the Mennonite congregation, and Mellinger eventually became the possessor of the original Bare estate, the property being bequeathed to him. His wife, daughter of Christian Bare, probably willed it to him at her demise, and their son, Martin, Jr., also died before the father. In fact, Martin Mellinger, Sr., married again, his second wife being a widow, Elizabeth Denlinger. She had one son, Abraham

Denlinger, and to this stepson Mr. Mellinger bequeathed the Bare homestead. It has remained in the Denlinger family, and the residence is still in good repair.

Jacob Graff bought the right of Peter Yorkee (Yorty) in 1722 to a tract of 212 acres of London Company's lands surveyed for the latter, and Graff eventually received patent. The property passed to Theophilus Hartman in 1743, and at his death to his son Christian, who lived there until his death in 1825. He, however, sold part of the land to Henry Yank, a tanner, in 1769, the latter selling to George Shindle in about 1775. It passed by will to his daughter, Mrs. Metzger, in 1820, and from her to Michael S. Metzger. The Christian Hartman portion of the original estate passed to his son-in-law, Jacob Rohrer, and eventually to the latter's son, of same name. On Metzger's portion is a very old house, thought to have been built by Theophilus Hartman. The Graff tract was north of the provincial road, in the present village of Bridgeport.

During the Revolution, the settlers in the Lampeters had many perplexities. The Mennonites would not fight, but paid their war taxes. The Quakers, however, not only would not fight, but felt that they could not conscientiously support a war, by contributing money by way of tax. At least one of the prominent Quaker pioneers of Lampeter was imprisoned because of his (Abraham Gibbons') outspoken opposition to the war. His brother James, however, was ardently in the Revolutionary cause, and so was not considered "a very strict Friend."

The pioneers of West Lampeter come prominently into some of the creditable history of Lancaster county. The record is chiefly in Mennonite activities. One unique landmark of that township is the house of Hans Herr, the oldest now standing in the county. Until a decade or so ago, another landmark was the original house of Martin Mylin, which was built in 1740, and so well that when, a century and a half later, it was demolished, the old mortar adhered so firmly to the sandstone walls "that the stone broke where mortar would not yield." Rupp writes regarding the house:

> Martin Meylin built (1740) what was then called a palace of sandstone. It was in 1742 one of the most stately mansions of the county; and as the Mennonites were a plain people and Martin Meylin an active member, the house was not only considered too palacelike but the appearance of it might, as they reasoned, strengthen their enemies in prejudicing the Government against them—they had been virtually charged with disloyalty, determined not to obey the lawful authority of government; that they were disposed to organize a government of their own. The bishop, Hans Tschantz, with his elders and assistants, having repaired to the humble log cottage hard by this "stately mansion," and organized a meeting, himself presiding over the deliberations of the assembled, Martin was first questioned, upon conscience to openly declare what his intentions were in erecting so large, so gorgeous, a dwelling—reminding him of the rumor some twelve or thirteen years ago; and lately, of the prejudices excited against the Germans. He stated he consulted only his comfort and that he had no sinister views. Next, he was reminded that, in their view, the house was rather too showy for a Mennonite. The question was whether he deserved severe censure, if not suspension, from church principles, for this oversight. After some concessions and mutual forbearance by the parties, it was resolved that Martin be kindly reprimanded; to which he submitted—and thus the matter was ended, and all parted as brethren.

The older house, and, so far as is known, the oldest of the many substantial stone dwelling-houses one sees in a tour of Lancaster county, stands about a half a mile east of Willow street, in West Lampeter township. It was erected in 1719 by the Rev. Christian Herr, son of Hans Herr, who is the American progenitor of very many branches of that family. Hans Herr and his five sons, John, Rev. Christian, Emanuel, Abraham and Henry, were among the Mennonites who settled in the Conestoga country in 1710. Hans Herr was the Mennonite bishop of the first settlement, and Christian, who built the Herr house in 1719, followed him into the ministry. Carved into a prominent sandstone of one of the walls of that house is to be seen the foundation history of that structure; it reads: "17 C. H.-H. R. 19," proving that it was erected in 1719. Hans Herr was "the central figure, so to say," of the original Mennonite settlement in Lancaster county, the central figure, "both spiritually and in purse, around which the men of smaller mind and lighter means revolved who associated with him. * * * In person he was of medium height, with long gray hair curled under at ends and parted in the middle; had heavy brows, dark hazel eyes, aquiline nose, mouth rather small with heavy lips, complexion florid, with full beard covering the face, the whole lighted by a countenance in which sweetness and austerity were gracefully blended." Hans Herr was selected by lot to return to Europe to induce the relatives of settlers to emigrate; "but his flock were so reluctant to spare him that Martin Kendig, who was an influential leader among them, volunteered to go in his place, and made the hard journey, bringing back with him a considerable number of immigrants." Hans Herr as bishop was responsible for the erection in 1712, between Lampeter and Willow street, of the first Mennonite meeting-house and school erected in Lancaster county. Regarding the Mennonite church, H. W. Miller wrote in 1883: "He (Hans Herr) * * * erected the first Mennonite church, a structure built of sandstone, the ruins of which can still be seen on the farm now owned by David Hoover (Huber), residing near Willow street." The following description of the Lampeters, as seen from a trolley window, was written in 1910, based upon an article, "The Picturesque and Historical East End," by Hon. W. U. Hensel, who knew so much of the history of, and saw so much beauty in, Lancaster county:

> Descending the long hill which leads to the (Conestoga) Creek, by groups of beautiful suburban homes, an exquisite park to the right of the track is seen extending far to the south. The Conestoga is crossed upon an open bridge of concrete and iron, from which the passenger obtains a view up and down the stream.
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> During the War of the Revolution, this spot on the river was known as "Deering's Ford," and it was almost continuously thronged by the passage of wagon trains and herds of cattle, destined to the Army Quartermaster, marching and returning troops and other military movements. Here the American Congress forded the water in 1777, when it hastily moved from Philadelphia to York, via Lancaster, holding one session here.
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> The magnificent nine-arch stone bridge, which carries the turnpike across the stream, was the enterprise of Abraham Witmer, a public-spirited citizen who, in 1795, obtained the Legislative charter, enabling him to erect it and to charge tolls until such time as he was recompensed or the county bought it; which it did in 1817, at a cost of $58,444.41. The beauty and endurance of this structure have commanded encomiums from architects and engineers. It is a monument of solidity, honesty, disinterestedness of the county's earlier citizens. The bridge bears the following inscriptions:
>
> ERECTED BY
> ABRAHAM WITMER
> MDCCXCIX—MDCCCI.
> A LAW OF AN ENLIGHTENED
> COMMONWEALTH
> THOMAS MIFFLIN, GOVERNOR,

SANCTIONED THIS MONUMENT
OF THE PUBLIC SPIRIT
OF AN INDIVIDUAL
61 M TO P.

THIS BRIDGE WAS BUILT BY
ABR. WITMER AND MARY, HIS WIFE,
AND COMPLETED
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1800.

Abraham Witmer never received proper reward for his public service in building the Conestoga bridge. It seems incredible that along the King's highway, the busiest thoroughfare, no way across the Conestoga river other than by a ford should have been provided even fifty years after the road had been opened. The public fording still exists, though over part of it the tracks of the Lancaster and Eastern Street Railway Company now lie. Several earlier attempts to carry through, or at least to promote a bridge project, were made by the county authorities, but it remained for a private individual to accomplish out of his own means, and by his own initiative, what the public authorities had failed to do. In 1753 the county commissioners were considering proposals for a stone bridge across the Conestoga on the Provincial road, but in the following year they were of the opinion that this project would be "a great burden on this county, the expense wherof will, by estimation, amount to near two thousand pounds." A little later an attempt was made to raise the money by means of a lottery, but this effort was futile. An Act of the Legislature in 1787 granted Abraham Witmer the privilege of building at his own expense, and of reimbursing himself, if possible, by the exaction of tolls. Under this act, it seems that Abraham Witmer built a wooden bridge, to serve the temporary need, apparently. Judge C. I. Landis writes: "The bridge built by Abraham Witmer under the act of 1787 was not the present bridge. That one was evidently a wooden bridge, and therefore a much lighter structure. When it was erected I cannot exactly say, but in May, 1789, the road leading from the King's Highway northward to what was known to us as Ranck's Mill, and before that as Andrew Graeff's Mill, was laid out, and it began as recited in the Court proceedings 'two perches west of Whitmer's Bridge, nearly opposite the fourth pillar, on the west side of said bridge and on the west side of Conestoga Creek,' etc. This and the former records referred to fix, therefore, the time of its construction as between June 17, 1788, and May, 1789."

Act of April 4, 1798, supplemented the Act of 1787, and encouraged Abraham Witmer to undertake the more permanent work. He went ahead courageously with the construction of the stone bridge; and the "Lancaster Journal" of Wednesday, November 12, 1800, issue carried the following notice: "Conestogoe Bridge—It is with great pleasure that Abraham Witmer informs the public that his new bridge will be completed to-morrow, on which day, at one o'clock, the inscription stone will be fixed in the centre of the north wall of said bridge. The friends of Abraham Witmer and all other citizens desirous to see the same are respectifully informed thereof."

Abraham Witmer was still the owner of the Conestoga bridge twelve years later, though the county was desirous of raising the money, by taxation, with which to acquire it "and make it free." An act was passed on March 27, 1812, entitled "An act to purchase and make free the bridge over the River Conestoga, built by Abraham Witmer, in the county of Lancaster." The county commissioners met in June with other commissioners appointed by the State, and "made an award that the sum of $58,444.44 should be paid to Witmer," for the bridge. The county commissioners were, however, dissatisfied, and refused to draw an order for the award. Witmer took the case into the Supreme Court, but the opinion of the court did not altogether favor Witmer. He died in 1818, while the matter was still undecided, died insolvent, if one excludes his Bridge claim. Nine years later, David Witmer, an executor, compromised for less than half the amount of the original award. Judge Landis writes: "I am afraid Abraham Witmer met the fate which falls to the lot of many public-spirited citizens. * * * This magnificent structure yet stands to attest the solidity and completeness with which the work was done. This bridge was one of the first of its kind in the State, and it excites admiration to this day. The man who conceived and completed it is, in my judgment, entitled to be gratefully remembered by our citizens and to have his name perpetuated." Continuing, the Hensel article before-quoted:

> Immediately east of the bridge is the Bridgeport Hotel, probably built in 1758-60, once a famous stopping-place for Pittsburg wagons, the center of a land boom in 1819, when lots were laid out and disposed of, but the hopes were blasted. The roads forking here, we follow the turnpike leaving to the left the "Old Philadelphia Road" laid out 1730, the shortest route between Lancaster and Philadelphia, and known for sixty years as the great road of the county, the famous turnpike on which we travel not having been finished until 1794. About two miles east of Bridgeport there branches off from the Old Philadelphia Road the "Horse Shoe Road," which was laid out in 1738 to connect the town of Lancaster and Coventry Iron Works on French Creek, and along which sprang up Heller's Church, New Holland, Bangor, Churchtown, and Morgantown.
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> About a mile beyond Bridgeport we get a good view of the County Seat, profiled against the sky, with its steeples, stacks and pipes, and presently pass Mellinger's Meeting-House, a place of public worship since 1757, attached to which is the oldest graveyard in the township, surveyed and reserved as a burial place long before the church was built, the resting place of the remains of pioneer Palatines and their descendants. We now enter East Lampeter, one of the wealthiest and most populous townships of the county, settled about 1720, organized 1841, but originally a part of Lampeter laid out 1729, a district without great landscape beauty or rich manufactories, devoted to agriculture, including truck farming.
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> Just east of the junction with the Strasburg pike, three miles from the city, a stone viaduct carries the roadway over a ravine, which attests the substantial construction of public works years ago. Another strong and handsome arched bridge spans Mill creek at Greenland, and near the breast of the millpond, to the right a group of buildings, formerly known as Eshleman's Mill—the birthplace of Col. B. Frank Eshleman—now houses the Yeates School, a notable Episcopalian academy for boys, founded by Miss Kitty Yeates, a daughter of one of the earlier justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.
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> A half mile beyond there stands an old dwelling-house, on the south side, for many years the Running Pump Hotel, now George Brubaker's property, where man and beast may slake their thirst at the ceaseless fountain. We presently reach the summit of a hill affording a splendid view. It takes in immediately and in the northeast foreground, the splendid "Mill Creek Country," with the stately rows of Lombardy poplars in the centre of the scene, that indicate the way from Gibson's Mill to Bird-in-Hand, and, far away, a road to Ranck's. Thence are spread out to the patient tourist's eye, the great expanse of eastern Lancaster county, from the Furnace Hills on the Lebanon corner, far northward, to the Mine Ridge, south, with the Welsh Mountains in the middle distance eastward, and back to the clustered spires of Lancaster, forming the western skyline. Chestnut Hill, far on the sunset side, comes into view and frames the western border of the scene. * * * Away to the north and northeast are Witmer, Bird-in-Hand and Ronks, marked by stately trees.
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> In 1749 Friends reërected in Bird-in-Hand a log meeting-house which had been origi-

nally erected in Leacock township in 1732, and which was displaced by the present brick meeting-house erected in 1790. This was built around and over an old log building, which, upon completion of the new building, was taken out log by log through the door. Migration thinned out this meeting over fifty years ago, and made it the parent of a flourishing Illinois meeting. The Bird-in-Hand Hotel, which has preserved its original name to the present is one of the oldest stands in the county, having been the headquarters of the first surveyers of the old road in 1734. Four buildings have been erected successively upon the same site and the same cellar walls. Prior to 1862, when the Reading and Columbia railroad was built, Bird-in-Hand was the shipping station for the northern section of the county. Not unlike other sections, it has seen business come and go a number of times.

For about a mile we pass through the borders of the Amish section, with its quaint characteristic customs, dress, and colors on buildings. At the Amish schoolhouse, near Soudersburg, one may see the children of these primitive people in their unique uniforms. Half a mile to the north a group of Lombardy poplars mark and hide the old Steele mansion, where George Whitfield, the English evangelist, was a guest one hundred and fifty years ago, and where dwelt the collector of the Port of Philadelphia, under President Madison, Captain John Steele.

We now approach Soudersburg, where Hattel Varman built the first house, 1727, and Friends conducted meetings prior to 1732. We notice to our right a Methodist church of historic significance, as marking one of the earliest Methodist settlements in the county, services being held here as early as 1791, and a house of worship erected in 1802, replaced by a brick building in 1872. Passing a fine brick farmhouse on the hill, near which stands a giant balsam poplar, brought as an ox "wattle" from Virginia in 1812, and the scion of numerous progeny in the neighborhood, we soon cross the Pequea on a fine stone arch bridge and enter Paradise township.

The earliest tavern-keepers in the Conestoga country, part of which Lampeter township was, have been noticed elsewhere, but some of the innkeeping licenses issued in provincial and early-republican times may be noted here. The Quarter Sessions Court in 1765 issued licenses to keep inns in Lampeter to Frederick Larger, Robert Eachus, George Aston, George Diehl, William Christie; in 1766 to Christopher Franciscus, James Gibbons; in 1774 to Timothy McCormick; in 1775 to John Witmer, Jr., Willis Davis, Hannah Hains; in 1778 to James Kerry, John Willson, Wm. Hains; in 1779 to Wm. Hains and Geo. Michael Brecht; in 1780, to Henry Shute, Wm. Hains; in 1781 to George Bressler, Henry Shute, Salome Hains, and John Moore; in 1798 to Jacob Hartman, Gaynor Pierce, Arthur Travers, Henry Kendrick, Jacob Duchman, Adam Pickel. In 1798 Jacob Hartman kept the Bird-in-Hand Hotel; Gaynor Pierce kept the Seven Stars; Arthur Travers had the Lamb; Jacob Duchman the Fountain, and Adam Pickel the Blue Ball Inn.

The Bird-in-Hand Hotel has held that name throughout its nearly two centuries of existence. It was one of the first inns along the road, and was headquarters for the first surveyors of the old road in 1734. Upon the same foundations four hotels have stood, the last having been erected in 1852 by Benjamin Graff. The property was originally warranted to William McNabb, and in 1748 passed to his son, John, by bequest. In 1755, John Steer purchased from John McNabb; in 1768 John Witmer was the landlord. At his death, it passed by decree of the Orphans' Court to John Witmer, Jr., who sold it to George Bressler in 1775. John Bender acquired it in 1802; six years later John Bender, Jr., inherited the inn, and in 1827 sold to Samuel Rinzer. Benjamin Graff became the owner in 1844. At his death in 1853, the property was sold to John Gyger. In 1865 Levi R. Rhoads purchased it.

The Bridgeport Hotel property was in the possession of Roger Hunt and Esther his wife in probably the earliest days. They sold in 1740 to Henry

Bostler. Four years later James Webb acquired it. He sold in 1758 to Jacob Shoemaker. But there is a doubt whether the property was ever used for hotel purposes prior to 1766, when Christopher Franciscus purchased it, and in the same year secured license to keep an inn. However, foreclosure sales and deeds to Franciscus seem to indicate that Jacob Shoemaker built the hotel between 1758 and 1766. John Witmer bought the property in 1772. Eleven years later he moved out of the county, and transferred the hotel to Henry Lougher, a tanner of Bridgeport. George Shindle purchased it from Lougher in 1809. The Witmer family seems to have regained possession, for in 1821 the hotel passed from David Witmer to Lemuel Sappington, and twenty years later from the assigness of Sappington to Rudolph Kauffman. Cyrus Miller bought from Kauffman in 1847, Michael Metzgar becoming landlord and owner in 1852. As the Witmer bridge across the Conestoga was so near the Bridgeport Tavern, the place became a stand for Pittsburgh wagons, and at one time an attempt was made to exploit a townsite, by lottery, at that point.

There is another hotel at Bird-in-Hand; it was built in 1834 or 1835 to accommodate the railroad construction gangs, for Abraham Bruner, of Columbia. It passed through several hands before Peter Boffenmyer acquired it, in 1866. It has always been known as the Railroad House.

Bird-in-Hand is one of the oldest villages of East Lampeter township. In the earliest days it seemed to have been a Quaker community, for to it, from Hattil Varman's land in Leacock township, was removed log by log the meeting-house which had been erected on Varman's land in 1732. William McNabb was the original patentee under the London Company at Bird-in-Hand, and he or his son gave the land upon which the Quaker church was reërected in 1749. It served until 1790, when a brick edifice was raised around and over it and completed before the original log church within was razed. Whether William McNabb was the pioneer innkeeper is not clear, but the Bird-in-Hand Hotel property is traced back to him. Bird-in-Hand in 1880 was a place of two inns, the Bird-in-Hand and the Railroad House, one post-office, one railroad station, an express office, a good schoolhouse, several stores, a cigar factory, a wheelwright's shop, and a lumber and coal yard, and a mill. To-day it has two hotels, two general stores, an implement and hardware house, paint shop, smithy, garage, some nurseries, mill, coal, grain and feed establishments. Its population is about 400.

West Enterprise is one and a half miles northwest of Bird-in-Hand. The railroad station and post-office go by the name of Witmer's, or Witmers. The village came into establishment with the coming of the railroad, in 1836, and although until 1873 there was not a passenger station at Witmers, the freighting facilities provided from 1836, when a warehouse was built, proved sufficient to bring about a steady growth. The population now is about 250, and it is a center of much business. A large coal and lumber business is done from Witmers.

Smoketown lies upon the original Wartnaby tract, which the Gibbons family acquired. The Gibbons mill was the most important property at that point on Mill creek in provincial days. The Gibbons homestead was an inn for a while during the Revolutionary War. It was destroyed by fire in 1837.

There are several old houses in Smoketown, some now probably more than a hundred years old. The first settlers in the vicinity of Smoketown were English and Welsh immigrants; among them were Peter Ballas, David Harman, William Evans and James Smith, who came into the Conestoga country in 1715.

Soudersburg has had village existence for more than a hundred years, and the place has been settled for more than two hundred years. The original patentee was Abraham Dubois, the letters patents being dated May, 1717. The tract of one thousand acres patented to him was warranted to others some years earlier. Philip Ferree, son-in-law of Abraham Dubois, was son of Madame Mary (Maria Warenbauer) Ferree, who settled in Strasburg in 1711. Abraham Dubois remained in the Huguenot colony at Esopus, now Kingston, New York State, for some years after crossing to America from England, in 1709 or 1710, and some of Madame Ferree's sons may also have gone to Esopus after landing, instead of going to Philadelphia direct. It was to the New York Colony that Philip Ferree returned to marry Leah Dubois, and it would seem that it was through information conveyed by the Ferrees that Abraham Dubois bought from Hans Graaf in 1716 the latter's one thousand acre tract in the Pequea Valley. Hans Graaf within a year or two went into Earl Township, and there settled. It is doubtful when Dubois settled on his one thousand acres, but it was patented to him in 1717. His name appears among the "non-residents" on the tax-lists of 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723. The tax-list for 1723-24 is missing, but his name does not appear on the lists for 1724-25. He died in 1731, and by his will his daughter and her husband, Philip Ferree, acquired a life interest in the paternal estate. The next generation in due time divided the estate, their youngest son Joel receiving one-third of the one thousand acres. One hundred acres of his tract he eventually on March 30, 1789, sold to Jacob Souders. Upon this land part of Soudersburg was built. According to Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County" (1883):

> The first house built in Soudersburg was erected by Hattil Varman, who bought land in Soudersburg in 1727, and as Friends' meetings were held here until 1732, it is to be supposed that the house was built soon after the property was purchased. The next building of authentic date is the Methodist church, which was built in 1802. Whether or not there was an old hotel in this village cannot be ascertained, but, as the turnpike was only finished in 1798, it is not likely that the house of Hattil Varman was an inn in early times. In Soudersburg was one of the earliest toll-gates on the old turnpike, and from that dates the building of this village. It now contains (1883) a post office, a general store, two resident physicians, two blacksmith shops, shoemakers, plasterers, and carpenter shops. There were formerly two hotels here, but now there are none.

Soudersburg is now (1923) a place of about one hundred inhabitants. The general store there has been kept by S. M. Herr for many years, and descendants of the Souders still live in the village, Earl Souder having had a smithy there for many years.

These villages are in East Lampeter. Those of West Lampeter include Lampeter, Willow Street, Wheatland and Lime Valley. There are other smaller places, but these were named post-offices. Williow Street and Lampeter are flourishing villages, and their settlement reaches back two centuries or more. Lampeter had a population of 191 and Willow Street 182 inhabitants in 1880; forty years later they were credited with 368 and 450 residents, respectively. It will therefore be seen that their growth has been appreciable, due mainly, it would seem, to their nearness to the county seat, and to the development of means of transportation. Lampeter is eight miles from Lancaster, has a general store, hotel, some smithies, and two automobile garages and service stations. The general store at Lampeter has been kept by Eli Witmer for many years. Willow Street, six miles from Lancaster, has three general stores, hotel, wheelwright, tinning, blacksmith and nursery establishments, and a saw and grist mill. The Hildebrand family kept the hotel for many years, and John M. Eckman is the sawyer and miller. Wheatland Mill, and Eshleman's Mill, the latter now a boarding school, were the business reasons for the hamlets of Wheatland and Greenland. The same may be written of Lime Valley, not one of the hamlets having one hundred inhabitants. The post-offices have largely given way to rural routes from Lancaster, Strasburg and elsewhere.

In 1813 the town of Bridgeport, in Lampeter township, on the east bank of the Conestoga, was laid out by Christian Martin, and lots offered by sale. There were 38 lots at $420 each, to be drawn by lottery.

James Black and Michael Good were the last justices of the original Lampeter township. The first justices appointed for the new townships were William Bull, for East Lampeter, and Henry Carpenter for West Lampeter, both taking office in 1842. One of the prominent men of Lampeter township, indeed of Lancaster county, in the first half of the nineteenth century, was David Miller, who was sheriff of Lancaster county in 1834. "He was an eccentric though amiable character, * * * familarly known as 'Devil Dave' Miller. He made return of a bench warrant to Judge Lewis on one occasion by riding his horse up the steps of the court-house and through the main aisle of the court room, dismounting in front of the bench. He kept the Washington House on East King street (Lancaster), located next to the Farmers' National Bank, and ran what was known as the Blue Line freight cars on the Pennsylvania railroad." (More is written regarding the State's first and only experiment in railway ownership and operation in the Paradise township chapter).

The early schools of Lampeter township were church schools. Sachse thinks that the first school work done in Lancaster county was that which the hermits of Mill Creek undertook for the children of the settlement in 1721-23. The teachers were Conrad Beissel, and his fellow-anchorites, and they taught in their log cabin on the Wartnaby-Gibbons tract, near Smoketown, in East Lampeter. This, however, was spontaneous, no organized, service. Lampeter township accepted the common school law in 1836. In 1837 there were eleven schoolhouses, 366 scholars, and an expenditure of $2,624.66. Further information is given in the two chapters devoted to school history. The churches of East Lampeter include Mellinger's Mennonite, Soudersburg and Bird-in-Hand Methodist Episcopal, the Witmer Union, and the St. John's United Brethren. Those of West Lampeter include Willowstreet Reformed, Willowstreet Mennonite, and Lampeter Union. Extensive reviews will be found in the church chapter.

While so many of the townships of Lancaster county show a decreasing population, both East and West Lampeter are maintaining a steady increase. The census of 1900 credited East Lampeter with 2,519 inhabitants; that of 1910 with 2,595 residents; and the last census, 1920, with 2,697 inhabitants. The figures for West Lampeter are: 1900, 1,870 inhabitants; 1910, 1,927; 1920, 2,018 residents.

CHAPTER XVI.

MANHEIM TOWNSHIP.

The townships of central Lancaster are perhaps richer in Indian history than some of those of other parts of the county; and while Manheim township has little of pre-settlement history that is much different than that of neighboring townships on the Indian route, some reference might be made here to an endeavor made some years ago, by Mr. C. H. Martin, to record Manheim township's connection with the Indian history of Lancaster county.

Peter's road was made the northern boundary of Manheim township. This road was so named because it was the route used by Peter Bazaillon in going to and from his Indian trading post in the Donegal region. And William Penn in 1690 wrote of a road which was cut in 1687 between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna river, "which is the course the Indians on the Susquehanna took when trading in Philadelphia." Further regarding early roads, Mr. Martin writes:

> The earliest road across the township of which I find any record is the Lancaster and Reading road, which to-day deviates but little from the original road from Hickorytown (Lancaster) to the Tunker settlement on the Cocalico * * * now known as the Ephrata Cloister * * * and on to Reading. This road likely followed in part the path to the Nanticoke Indian town of "Lehoy," settled a short distance north of Oregon, on lands lately owned by Levi S. Reist, in which section scattered families of the tribe were as late as 1758. Oregon, the oldest settlement along this road, was settled in 1717 by Jacob Baer. It was near this road that the last lone Indian of the township lived and died. * * * During the excitement rampant on the frontier owing to Indian incursions, the inhabitants of Berks county sought shelter, and some of them fled to Lancaster by this way in 1755 (Pa. Gazette, 10-30, 1755).

* * * * * * * * *

> Andrew Billmyer was granted a patent of land along the Lancaster and Reading railroad, at what now is Landis Valley. The date I have been unable to determine, but it must have been directly after 1730, since he took land adjoining Hans Adam Shreiner, who took up land in 1729. This land was deeded to Leonard Billmyer, who deeded it to a Mr. Landis, and in which name it is now held. There are four springs on this land in succession. The lower spring is known as Indian Spring. It was here that the last Indian of the township had his wigwam, lived and died. He went around among the settlers of the community for food, and occasionally performed small favors in return therefor. The year of his death I have been unable to determine definitely. He is supposed to be buried in the Billmyer family graveyard.

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> The abundance of relics found gives mute evidence that this section was thickly settled with Indians. * * * Villages were located at different places, principally at the Landis farm, Landis Valley; Hess, Nestleroth, and Zobler farms, near Fruitville; and the Buckwalter farm, at the northern end of the township * * * relics by the hundreds have been found around the springs on them. They consist of axes, pestles, hammer stones, spears, ceremonials (both finished and unfinished), arrow points and * * * pipes. * * * A jasper spear, six inches in length, was found some years ago. A soapstone pipe, with a face carved on the bowl and a hole in which to stick the stem, found about one-half miles east of Neffville some few years ago, was among the Zahm collection.

Manheim was one of the original township divisions of Lancaster county. Its boundaries were determined by the magistrates and inhabitants, who met for the purpose at Postlethwait's Tavern, in Conestoga township, on June 9, 1729. Manheim township lines were described as follows: "Beginning by Peter's road, at a corner of Donegal and Warwick townships, near the head of Little Conestoga creek; thence down the said road by Warwick township to Conestoga creek; thence down the said creek to the Old Doctor's ford; thence westerly by Lancaster township on a direct line to Little Conestoga, at the upper side of Peter Bomgarner's land; thence up the said creek to the place of beginning." With the exception of slight changes caused by the extension of the Lancaster city boundary, the Manheim township lines have remained practically as first delineated. Manheim is bounded on the north by Warwick township; on the southeast by Upper Leacock and East Lampeter townships; on the south by the city and the township of Lancaster; and on the west by East Hempfield township. It has a larger population than any other township except Manor. Its proximity to the county seat is the main reason, probably, though it must be admitted that Manheim township is one of the richest agricultural sections of the county. The farmers are prosperous, and their accessibility to Lancaster markets enhances this State.

Early Settlers—One early settler comes conspicuously into the first records of Lancaster county. The "Old Doctor's Ford," which comes into the 1729 boundary description of Manheim township, was at the point where later Samuel Rank's mill stood, and where the Graffstown road came to the Big Conestoga creek, a tributary known as Boring Mill run also reaching the creek at that place. It was there that Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff settled, soon after the surveying of land on the west side of Conestoga creek began in 1717. In that year he is said to have erected a small grist mill, with sawing attachment, at that point. In 1722 he received a patent for the three hundred acres of land upon which he had settled; the whole of his land was on the west side of the Conestoga creek, but eventually, in 1729, when township divisions of the new county of Lancaster were set, it fell partly in Manheim and partly in Lancaster township, the southwestern corner of Manheim township and the northeastern corner of Lancaster township being at his ford, that described as the "Old Doctor's Ford." He may therefore be claimed as a pioneer by both townships. Dr. H. B. Stehman, writing in 1883 on the "History of Medicine and Medical Men in Lancaster County," begins his article with the following references to Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff:

> The first regular-bred practitioner * * * came here some time before 1715, and settled within a few miles of Lancaster. It has been a question of some dispute as to who really was the first representative physician in the county, but it is clearly evident that this honor fairly belongs to Dr. Hans Heinrich Neff. So far as can be ascertained there were of this family two brothers, Francis and Hans, who, being Mennonites, suffered such intolerable persecution that they were obliged to forsake their home in Switzerland and take up lands in Alsace; "thence they emigrated to America, and Francis settled at a very early date on a small stream, Neff's Run, which empties into the west branch of the Little Conestoga." (Rupp.)
>
> The records show that the Neffs came here and took up lands prior to 1715, whereas Henry Zimmerman, or Carpenter, for whom this priority of claim is set up * * * settled first in Germantown, and removed within the bounds of Lancaster county (then Chester) in 1717. Dr. John Henry Neff took up land on the Conestoga, a few miles from

Lancaster, "under a perticular agreement with the Honorable Proprietor, William Penn." Afterwards he built a mill, and later owned the property now known as Hardwicke. It is not reasonable to suppose that at this early date he devoted himself exclusively to the practice of medicine; at the same time, however, he was quite popular, and generally known as the "Old Doctor."

Dr. Neff sold 150 acres of his land in 1738 to Sebastian Graffe, "shopkeeper in Lancaster townstead." His homestead farm, grist, saw, and oil mills he gave to his son Abraham, who however also sold to Sebastian Graffe, in 1750.

Another of the earliest settlers in Manheim township was Jacob Bear (or Baer, Bare, Barr). He settled in the vicinity of what became Oregon in 1717, building the first mill established on Carter's creek, sometimes called Lititz creek. Later he built another mill about half a mile above the first; this second mill was long known as Bear's Mill; in fact as late as 1865.

It may be safely inferred that the families whose names appeared on the assessment-lists for Manheim township in 1779 had settled in Lancaster county, and in most cases in Manheim township, during the provincial period. The list referred to shows the following families as landowners in the township in 1779: Anspach, Bossler, Brubaker, Blocher, Bart, Bugh, Bare, Bauer, Bombarger, Bachman, Binkley, Billmyer, Cummings, Conrad, Dietrich, Davis, Dentler, Frick, Foltz, Frantz, Groff, Grub, Gebel, Good, Grebil, Gerber, Gruh, Graff, Grisinger, Geiss, Hambright, Hess, Huber, Hortman, Hussley, Huhn, Hershey, Hubley, Kneissly, Kauffman, Kline, Kuntz, Kurtz, Kehler, Kraft, Layer, Landis, Long, Lehn, Leib, Lewig, Meister, Metzler, Miller, Mentzer, Myer, Peiffer, Reidebach, Rudy, Rudisel, Richebeeker, Ryer, Ridley, Ronner, Scholleberger, Shauson, Snyder, Seip, Senger, Sticker, Stoner, Streit, Stroh, Shreiner, Swarr, Shelle, Shaffer, Shantz, Snyder, Schenck, Wilhelm, Weichel, Weidler, Weybrecht, Weyland. More regarding some of these families can be stated. The Brubakers were in the Conestoga country as early as 1710, it is said, though not in what became Manheim township. And it would be interesting to compare the above list with the names shown on the Conestoga township assessment-list for 1718. Among the "Dutch Inhabitants" of 1718 were the families of Miller, Brubaker, Swarr, Hershey, Bear, Davis, Baer, Moyer, Kauffman, Landes, Groff, Schank. By the way, that first tax-list did not include all of those who actually were at that time settlers; the naturalization records show many other names. However, if the surveying of land in Manheim did not begin until 1717, one may reasonably assume that settlement of Manheim territory did not begin until then.

The Brubaker family was early represented in Manheim township; in 1756 there were among them Joseph, Henry, John, Sr., John, Jr., Christopher and Jacob, all independent landowners; Henry had a grist mill in 1786, and earlier had a distillery on his farm. John Bossler was an early settler, coming in 1740 or before; he had 150 acres patented to him in 1756. Peter Bachman had a tract of 300 acres in his name in 1779, though he was then an old man and had settled in the township very much earlier; he died in 1786. Christian Binkley was in the township in 1740, or earlier, and became one of the wealthiest men in the region; he had a grist and saw mill, and comes into distinction as the builder of the first stone bridge constructed in the county, that known by his name. Andrew Billmyer settled in Landis Valley in about 1730, as has been stated herein. Philip Dietrich was a landowner in Manheim before the

French and Indian War. Frederick Eiselberger settled in about 1739, and received a patent for 140 acres of land in 1745. Adam Simon Kuhn and William Bausman, of Lancaster, acquired his land in 1753, but three years later Abraham Stoner bought it, and settled there. William Davis had a grist mill on his land in 1786, probably before. Peter Frantz owned a small tract in 1779, and Christian Frantz was assessed on 100 acres in 1786. The Groff (Graff) family was early in the township; Sebastian Groff was on the assessment-list of 1756. George Bugh was operating an oil mill in 1779, and was assessed on fifty acres. Christian Froutz was perhaps Christian Frantz, who had a grist mill in 1786. Christian Hartman was assessed in 1756. The Graybill family was probably the "Grebil" shown on the 1779 list; the family was in the township much earlier, and is still represented in it. The Hershey family is numerously spread over Lancaster county. Abraham and Benjamin Hershey were early settlers, and appear on the tax-lists of 1756. John Huber was in the township in 1740. Christian and Jacob Kauffman came into the township from East Hempfield before the Revolution. In 1779 Jacob Kauffman had a grist and saw mill, and seven years later was taxed on two mills. Both brothers were millers. Jacob built a mill on the Little Conestoga creek, and Christian it is said built a large stone mill at the mouth of Carter run. Christian Lang or Long was in Menheim township in 1739, perhaps earlier; he received patent for five hundred acres in 1756. The Miller family settled prior to 1756; so did the Myer family. In 1756 the tax-lists contained the names of Christopher, Jacob, Stephen, Samuel and Martin Myer; and the list for 1779 assesses seven of that family, all holding substantial acreages. They settled in the Oregon district, where they established two mills, also a tavern. Caspar Nettsly settled in about 1739; maybe the name is misspelled, and should be Nissly (Nissley). George Honey, Samuel Bare, Christian Smith and Sebastian Shober were granted tavern licenses in 1765, and Henry Gesser, Peter Musenlus, Henry Shank and George Bowman in 1766. Jacob Wilhelm owned a distillery in 1786, and also kept a tavern; he was assessed on 150 acres of land in 1779. Michael Schreiner also owned a distillery in 1779, and sixty acres of land. John Shreiner had fifty acres. The first of the Shreiner family to settle in Manheim township was Hans Adam Shreiner, who came in 1729 or 1730. Martin Weybrecht arrived before 1739, settling on 275 acres along Conestoga creek. Benjamin Webb settled near him at about the same time; he did not stay long, and his land was taken up by the Landis family. Michael Shenk was in the township prior to 1756, also Daniel Rudy and Frederick Stouffer. Martin Shalleberger and John Snyder owned distilleries in 1779, and were taxed on 92 and 20 acres of land, respectively. The Reist family was in the township early; Jacob Reist was killed in the Braddock disaster of 1755; he, however, was not of the Manheim township branch.

Villages—Oregon was first settled in 1717, the pioneer being Jacob Bear, who built the first mill on Carter's creek, and another within half a mile, higher up. Samuel Bear, son of Jacob, established the first tavern at Oregon, at an early date, and succeeded his father as miller also. In 1767 he sold the mill property to Martin Myer, or Myers, but he continued as innkeeper through the Revolution. A distinguished guest on one occasion, perhaps on many, was Major André, who was imprisoned in Lancaster, and while on parole came to fish in the mill stream, which was famed for its abundance of catfish. So much so that the vicinity was named Catfish, by Martin Myer, the miller. Five generations of the Bear family were destined to be landlords of the Oregon tavern. John Bear, grandson of Samuel, was landlord from 1828-1836; Abraham Bear succeeded him; William Bear was the next innkeeper, in partnership with one of the Graybills. The mill was known as Bear's Mill a centry after it passed to the Myer family, but it does not seem that any of the Bear family were connected with it after 1767. Martin Myer sold it in 1810 to Jacob Staman. He built a new mill, but may have embarrassed himself in doing so; at all events the sheriff took possession in 1824, the Pennsylvania Bank buying the property, together with sixty acres of land, for $8,000. Benjamin Landis acquired it in 1829 for $9,000, and sold in 1850 for $13,000 to John Hess. Abraham Shenk paid exactly twice that amount for it in 1864. He bought at the wrong time; during the difficult war period; and though he made several improvements in the plant, and built a new house worth $3,000, he could only realize $22,000 for the whole property, when he sold in 1872. Shenk did other building of houses in the vicinity of the mill, including a large distillery operated by steampower. He conducted this plant for about ten years. Simon Hostetter bought the mill from Abraham Shenk. Christian Kauffman erected a large mill of stone at the mouth of Carter's run. One record states that it was erected by him in 1800, and that six or eight years later he sold to John Michael, Sr., of Lancaster City. In 1857, it was owned jointly by Jonas B. Nolt and John Miller, who dissolved partnership twelve years later, Nolt taking the mill. Recent millers at Oregon include Milton H. Bushong and H. S. Withers. The Bushong family comes into the Myers genealogy, in this connection through Anna Myers, of the Oregon branch of the Myers family, her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents being buried in the Oregon Union churchyard, one of the oldest cemeteries in the county.

The village of Catfish was given more dignified if less appropriate name in about 1846, when the Oregon question was before the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Measures were then taken to secure post-office privileges for Catfish, and at the suggestion of Henry E. Leman, a rifle manufacturer of Lancaster, the name of Oregon was proposed.

Oregon forty years ago was a village of about thirty dwelling houses, one hotel, a dry goods store, a coachmaking establishment, shoemaker's shop, smithy, two butchers' shops, four cigar factories, a grist mill, and a church of union constitution. It is now a place of about 300 population, and its recent tradespeople have included Wilson Bard, storekeeper; Milton R. Bushong and H. S. Withers, millers; John S. Wolf, carpenter and undertaker; Clayton M. and Wayne Neidamyer, butcher and blacksmith, respectively. The general store at Oregon is now conducted by P. M. Bard. The Union church built at Oregon was in part the result of general subscription among the residents, and in part through the munificence of Mrs. Anna (Myers) Bushong, of Reading. It was used by the three religious congregations represented in Oregon, Dunkers, New Mennonite, and United Brethren. The Oregon United Brethren church of to-day has a strength of about one hundred members, Rev. S. G. Kauffman being pastor.

Neffsville is the most important village of Manheim township; and it is appropriate that it should be named after the first settler in Manheim township, even though he did not happen to settled at that point. Neffsville, however, had one of the Neff family for its founder, though that event did not happen until a century almost had passed by since the "Old Doctor" Neff had settled. John Neff came into Manheim from East Hempfield township about 1806, and acquired the farm upon which a year later he laid out a townsite which eventually was given his name. What its original name was is not recorded, but it is said a man named Leonard Fiddler established a tavern at that point soon after the hamlet was laid out, and the place became generally known in that connection, being called "Fiddler's Green." It seems quite possible that Neffsville came into existence by means of a lottery project, as that was the most favored mode of town-exploitation at that time. The first store was that erected as a residence by a Mr. Slater, in 1815; he also was the first postmaster. John B. Vechter was postmaster for several years prior to 1833, when he died, and for very long thereafter his widow was postmistress. Mr. Slater's store building eventually became the Pennsylvania House Hotel.

The population of Neffsville in 1920 was 581. It has one grocery store, one general store and a drug store. The last has been conducted by Dr. Elias H. Witmer, who has been physician at Neffsville for many years. The two grocery and general stores were latterly kept by H. K. Funk and Mrs. Fannie M. Wechtel. Other recent business people of Neffsville have been Royer & Son, butchers; John Kratzert, blacksmith; Martin B. Hollinger, carriage builder; Jacob M. Amer, coachmaker; T. J. Eby, painter; H. E. Dunkle, general store. A small brick schoolhouse was built in the early days of the village, and to it came the children of the neighborhood. It soon became overcrowded, but other later schools reduced the size of the district and the enrollment. Upon the site of the original schoolhouse, a larger house of brick was erected in 1875. Lutherans resident in the neighborhood decided to build a church in Neffsville in 1880. They did so at a cost of $1,500 in that year. Rev. J. Peters, of Manheim, and Rev. J. Eckert, of Lancaster, supplied the congregation in early years. St. Peter's Lutheran Church at Neffsville was a congregation of thirty in 1880; forty years later its membership was about two hundred. President resident pastor is Rev. C. E. Rice. The Neffsville United Brethren church is a congregation of about one hundred, with a stronger Sunday school. Pastor is Rev. S. G. Kauffman, who lives at Neffsville, but also has charge of Oregon church.

Eden, a hamlet of fifty-six inhabitants, has had entity for about seventy-five years. The Rohrer, Binkley, Stauffer and Herr families were landowners at that point in 1845, when it began to come into consideration as a good center for a schoolhouse. In 1848 John Rohrer gave land for that purpose, and with the adoption of the free school system the schoolhouse erected became of service. It was also used as a place of worship, all denominations being free to make use of it. Eventually it was bought for church purposes exclusively.

The Eden Reformed Union congregation is still an active body; in fact, has a membership larger than the population of Eden; pastor is Rev. W. S. Gerhard, of East Petersburg. Opposite the church a tavern was built in 1850; succession of landlords includes F. Weidler, Martin Schaffer, William Ray, John Beach, John Bender, D. G. Kemper and others. David Herr was probably the first storekeeper in Eden; he built upon another corner of the crossroads. Samuel Francis was a later storekeeper. H. W. Dunkle has been storekeeper at Eden for many years. A. Maurice Bachman has been village blacksmith also for a long time. Ezra W. Weaver began as a nurseryman near Eden village in about 1875; and latterly several of the Weaver family have been extensively engaged as florists and seedsmen.

Landis Valley was early settled, as has been stated. It is the center of a rich agricultural district and developed as a commercial center after Jacob Landis built the hotel in 1855. He kept it until he died, the property passing to his son, Isaac. L. H. Longnecker was a later landlord, and J. F. Duing had the hotel recently. Landis Valley took the post-office from Roseville in 1872, H. L. Blackbill being first postmaster. The Mennonites erected a meeting-house near Landis Valley; it will be referred to elsewhere. It is the strongest congregation in Manheim township; Rev. Noah Landis is present pastor. Landis Valley is good tobacco growing country, and John Grosh has had a substantial leaf-tobacco business there for many years.

Roseville, Dillersville, and Fruitville are also hamlets of Manheim township. Roseville developed around an old tavern. Valentine Gable was the landlord in a brick house which stood on the Dunkerstown (Ephrata) road, three miles from Lancaster, in 1799. He was a brother-in-law of John Michael, who kept the "Bunch of Grapes" at Lancaster. Michael was born in the Roseville tavern and spent his boyhood there. Peter Frankfort kept the tavern in 1836. A few other houses were built along the road, and when a post-office was secured, the place had the name of Roseville.

Binkley's Bridge, on the Conestoga, in the eastern part of Manheim township, developed where Christian Binkley built the first stone bridge that spanned an important watercourse of Lancaster county. He, like Abraham Witmer who a decade later undertook a similar project, was destined to lose heavily by his enterprise and public spirit. The building of the bridge in 1789 cost Binkley about $17,000. He was denied the privilege of exacting toll from vehicular traffic and finally had to transfer the bridge to the county for less than one-third of its cost. The bridge stood as originally constructed until 1857, when a freshet carried away the center span. Eleven years later the entire structure was washed away. In 1869 a wooden bridge was built over the Conestoga at that point. There was an old grist mill near the bridge, built by Christian Binkley. In 1866 it became a paper mill, operated by a syndicate of Lancaster publishers. Its specialty was supercalendered book paper, and the plant was steadily operated until destroyed by fire in November, 1882. The bridge was destroyed at the same time. A tavern at the hamlet which became known as Binkley's Bridge was of later establishment than the first bridge. Michael Brubaker was the landlord in 1820. The post-office was kept at the tavern for many years—until about 1874.

In 1860 Manheim township had 2,510 inhabitants; in 1900 the census was 3,111; and in 1920 the township population was 4,280. In value of farm products and property the township undoubtedly could show statistics quite as satisfactory.

CHAPTER XVII.

HEMPFIELD TOWNSHIPS—EAST AND WEST.

Hempfield township was one of the original townships of Lancaster county, its boundaries being agreed upon by magistrates and inhabitants on June 9, 1729, at their first meeting after the passage of the act creating Lancaster county out of part of Chester county. The limits of Hempfield township were then described as "beginning at the mouth of Conestoga, thence up the Susquehannah to Chickasalunga; thence to Little Conestoga, and down the same to the 'Manor' line; and thence down the said line to Great Conestoga, and down the same to the place of beginning." The original bounds of Hempfield township therefore embraced what is now Manor township, as well as East and West Hempfield townships. William Penn early in the settlement had planned to establish a great city on the Susquehanna river, and had mapped a "Conestoga Manor;" the project is described in the Manor Township chapter, and need not be further referred to here. His ambitious project was not fully carried out; in fact did not materialize more than to check regular settlement over a large territory. Modifications of the plan were made by John Thomas and Richard Penn, resulting in the surveying of Hempfield Manor, of 2,816 acres, extending eastward along the range made by Chikis Hill and Chestnut Hill, in what is now West Hempfield township.

Manor township was not organized in the first year of Lancaster county, though it was well recognized that that part of the Hempfield township was a reserve of the Proprietors. It was also very well recognized at that time by the Penns that settlement within the Manor could not be held back; that indeed settlement had already become very well established, Germans making use of the land regardless of title by warrant of survey. In 1730, therefore, Manor township was organized, though it did not then encroach as much upon the original Hempfield as the present lines indicate. Hempfield township became part of the Third Election District of Lancaster county in 1785, the venue of elections being "the public-house of Captain Hugh Pedan, in Rapho township." In 1786 the polling place was changed "to the public-house of Michael Nocales, in Donegal township." In 1799, "the public-house of Alex. Boggs, near Elizabethtown," became the polling place. Columbia became a borough in 1814, and a year earlier had been included in a new election district which embraced part of Hempfield, Manor and Rapho townships. In 1818 Hempfield township was divided to form East and West Hempfield townships, the polling places continuing at Lancaster and Columbia, respectively.

Early Settlers—The Mennonites from the Palantinate early marked out sections within Conestoga Manor and the Hempfields as desirable, and did not hesitate to settle. In some cases they did so regularly, e. g., by securing warrants for survey from the Penn officials. Some of the German emigrants fared better in this respect than others, having the guidance of earlier settlers of their sect. The letter here quoted needs no further explanation:

Philada, 27th 7th 1717.

To Ffrd Is Taylor

John ffunk & Christian Herr applyed yesterday on behalf of their Countrymen that are lately arrived for several parcels of land near their settlements but before I could have the consent of the Commissioners the time is so far spent that I cannot get the Warrants ready being just taking horse to Duck Creek, however thy design of being upon surveying thereabouts in so little time as thou mentioned when here. Thou may lay out for the following persons the several parcels of land undermentioned (viz)

	Acres
For Peter Leman & Henry ffunk	5 or 600
Abram Herr	3 or 400
Hans Pupather (Brubaker)	4 or 500
Hans Pupather, Jacob Pupather & Peter Swar	1000
Christian Hershey	400
Hans Tuber	300
Woolrich Houser	200
Hans Burkholder	700
Michael Shank	700
Henry Pare (Bare)	500

The Warrts for ye above lands will be ready in the office, and it is again ordered by the Commissioners that no Return or Survey be made to any body without their Bonds taken at the same time.

J. Logan says his coming up will be very uncertain. So wishing thee health and success in the woods when there, I remain thy Loving ffriend

JAMES STEEL.

Thou need not insist on these mens bonds, because they are to pay down their money without delay.

The surveys were made in that year; and the papers later filed by the surveyor contained also the names of Melchoir Erisman, Christian Stoneman and Isaac Kauffman, who probably settled at the same time, and were of the Funk-Herr group. They evidently settled on the banks of the Little Conestoga, farther up which creek, on its west side, Hans Adam Lephart, John and Michael Niseley, John Isaac Martin and Jacob Kauffman settled a few years later. Most of those named settled upon land which lies in East Hempfield.

Hans Brubaker settled near the west bank of Little Conestoga, though his land extended on both sides of the creek. He owned 150 acres also where the Lancaster and Columbia turnpike crosses the Little Conestoga creek; and upon this tract he built a grist and saw mill at about the same time as Dr. Neff built his mill in Manheim township. In 1717 Hans Brubaker and Christian Hersey held one tract of one thousand acres in common; this they divided equally in 1718. Brubaker sold 150 acres, and also his mill to Christian Stoneman, in 1729. Brubaker's son Jacob had married Susannah Stoneman, sister of Christian. Hans Brubaker died in 1748. He divided his estate of 800 acres equally among his many children, preferring to depart from the usual custom of giving to the eldest son two shares. He also protected his second wife from being driven from the family homestead after his demise, even if she should remarry. Hans Brubaker was the father of eight children by his first wife, all born in Germany, and three or more by his second wife. The descendants of Hans Brubaker, therefore, are very many; so it is not surprising that the patronymic is frequently encountered in the records of Lancaster county.

The Hershey family is about as numerously spread, though the children of

Christian Hershey numbered only three, the two boys, Benjamin and Andrew, becoming Mennonite preachers. Benjamin lived on the patrimonial homestead, and Andrew took up 500 acres east of Big Chikis creek, in West Hempfield. Christian Hershey, son of Andrew, also became a Mennonite preacher.

Christian Stoneman came to America with the Brubakers, and in 1729 bought the mill and lower farm from Hans Brubaker. The mill was at the point on the Little Conestoga creek where a road from the Susquehanna river to Conestoga crossed. Stoneman built a bridge over the creek near his mill. He operated the mill for about twenty years. In 1750 he conveyed to Mennonite trustees one acre of land which had been used as burial ground and upon which then stood a Mennonite meeting house. Samuel Evans writes as follows regarding this early meeting house: "It adjoined the lands of Melchoir and John Miers, and stood near the Columbus turnpike, upon the Abbeyville farm, in Lancaster township. * * * There is nothing to mark the spot where this meeting house stood except a few neglected graves upon Mr. Hager's farm, near his barn, in Lancaster township. In the year 1791 the building was removed to the land of one of the Brubakers, about a mile northeast of Rohrerstown."

Christian Stoneman also purchased sixty-nine acres of the "Andrew Hamilton Manor," which adjoined his Brubaker purchase on the southwest. His children sold the mill and land in 1755 to John Stoner, who died five years later. His son John in 1767 built a new grist mill, of stone, also a large stone dwelling house.

Peter Swarr emigrated with the Brubakers, and settled in 1717 with the Mennonite party. He settled on what became the King's highway, "which led from the Paxtang Indian town (now Harrisburg) to the Conestoga (now Lancaster city)." Upon what became known as Swarr's run and later as Kauffman's run, he built a grist and saw mill; there in 1778 his son John built a brick mill, employing Hessian prisoners from Lancaster to do the work. A few of the Indians of Conestoga Indian Town were at Swarr's Mill in December, 1763, when the "Paxton Boys" destroyed their village. They escaped that massacre, only however to lose their lives a few weeks later, when the same uncontrollable white men stormed Lancaster jail, or workhouse, and massacred the Indians sheltered therein.

In 1718 warrants of survey were issued to Michael Kauffman for 530 acres of land on Chikis creek. In 1734 John Kauffman was given patent for two tracts, containing several hundred acres of this. Adjoining landholders were Henry Musselman and George Shellaberger. A mile northeast of John Kauffman's tract was Michael Kauffman's farm of 138 acres; adjoining that on the south Martin Kauffman had 242 acres; and to the east of Martin's tract were those of Isaac and Jacob Kauffman. John and Michael Niseley were to the south of Martin Kauffman. These farms embraced the land along Kauffman's run, and the valley southeast of Landisville. "They were all pioneer settlers, and located in the valley in 1718 and 1720."

A pioneer real estate operator, among the German settlers, was Michael Baughman. He comes into Land Office records frequently, from 1730; and he is referred to in one of the first attempts made to exploit the sale of Lancaster county land by means of a lottery. The following letter is upon the subject: "May 23, 1738. Frd John Taylor. I desire thee to survey to Michael Baughman the quantity of 100 acres & allowance &c. in the county of Lancaster, on the terms mentioned in the lately proposed Lottery scheme, and make return thereof to me. (Signed) Benjn. Eastburn." Michael Baughman is probably he of that name who applied to the Proprietors for a warrant and patent for the Indian lands at Conestoga Indian Town; he undertook to provide for the Indians himself. The land was not granted to him; but he acquired title to many other tracts, including one of four hundred acres along Chikis creek, in 1738. The Huber (Hoover) family was early in the Hempfields. In 1769 the Huber stone mansion house, "one of the largest and most substantial buildings in the county," was built. John Huber owned a grist mill on the Little Conestoga in provincial times. Adjoining the mill were 170 acres patented to the Huber family; part of it was in Manor and part in East Hempfield. The mill was destroyed by fire in 1797, but rebuilt by Christian Huber in 1798. Herman Long settled on land surveyed for Michael Kauffman in 1727; he obtained warrant for another one hundred acres of adjoining land ten years later.

East Hempfield was settled almost wholly by Germans; West Hempfield, where the Scotch-Irish and the Germans meet, seems to have been settled mainly by the overflow of Scotch-Irish from the Donegals and of Palatines from East Hempfield, the Scotch-Irish choosing lands along the Big Chikis creek, and the Mennonites advancing up the Little Conestoga and its tributaries. Robert Spear, a member of Donegal church, was one of the first to settle on Big Chikis creek. John Kniseley settled on the north side of the Lancaster and Marietta turnpike, about a mile east of Silver Spring, in 1718. James Moore settled on Big Chikis in 1720, Richard Mays becoming a near neighbor very soon. Christian Welty had 267 acres of land situated about a mile northeast of the Lancaster and Marietta turnpike; he received patent for that tract in 1746, but probably had settled upon it many years earlier. John Forry settled between the Blunston and Garber tracts along the southern base of Chestnut Hill, in about 1727 or 1728. His son John inherited the homestead in 1753, and his son Daniel moved to Big Chikis, there erecting a grist and saw mill. Other sons of John Forry were David, Jacob, Abraham and Henry. Josiah Scott, one of the early settlers on the east side of Chikis creek, died in 1765. His children were: Robert, Alexander, Ann, Esther and Jean. Josiah Scott was a surveyor, and during his life time acquired several tracts. Just before he died, he completed the erection of a large stone dwelling house and office on his land near the Lancaster and Mount Joy turnpike. Several brothers and sister of Josiah Scott also came into Lancaster county. One of his sisters married James Moore; another became the wife of William Carr; another, Grisel, married John Pedan, who settled on the east side of Big Chikis creek; and another sister, Ann, married Arthur Patterson. All were Presbyterians, members of Donegal church. Josiah Scott's brothers were Samuel, Abraham and Alexander. The last-named was a captain in the French and Indian War, and also a veteran of the Revolution. He died in 1787 without issue, bequeathing his land, including several hundred acres "on the east side of Big Chikis creek, where the Lancaster and Mount Joy turnpike crosses it," to his relatives, his will naming: "Hugh Pedan, son of my sister

Grisel;" "my brother, Samuel Scott;" "Samuel Patterson, son of my sister Ann;" "William Carr, my brother-in-law;" "William Carr, my brother-in-law;" "and to Abraham Lowry, my sister's son in Cumberland County."

Hugh Pedan received a farm in Rapho township, his uncle, Alexander Scott, also directing that a mill be erected at that point for him. Hugh was a captain during the Revlution, and in later governmental commissions acquired the title of colonel. He also was an innkeeper, his stone tavern being near his residence near Big Chikis creek. The tavern was not demolished until about twenty-five years ago, its site being now occupied by a brick residence built by Mr. A. M. Gerber. John Pedan, brother of Hugh, settled on his father's farm in West Hempfield, on the east side of Big Chikis. The names of George and David Mumma appear on the assessment lists for Hempfield township in 1758. George died in 1786, leaving ten children. James Moor was a settler near Big Chikis creek in 1718. James Rhoddy erected a grist mill on the Chikis creek, two and a half miles from the river, in 1720. Jacob Strickler was a pioneer, and in 1740 purchased the farm adjoining that of Robert Barber. He opened up valuable limestone beds in his land, and established limekilns. He was a Revolutionary officer. His son Jacob continued the limeburning enterprise, and also at one time leased Anderson's Ferry, at what became Marietta, later returning to the Strickler homestead, and entering more extensively into limeburning. He built a large two-story stone dwelling house in about 1803. During the War of 1812 he captained a company of militia. Later he was a member of the Legislature for several terms. His son Jacob became wealthy, mainly by his own superior aptitude for business, however. The families resident in Hempfield township in 1758, and included in the "List of Taxables" for that year were:

Acker, Allison, Albert, Alman, Arfort, Albright, Bower, Bear, Bowman, Baker, Barwick, Bethel, Bearer, Bowman, Burns, Bruhman, Burk, Buffmire, Brown, Barber, Beaver, Beam, Brubaker, Charles, Ciple, Coughanour, Coffman, Carver, Dowenbark, Deyeman, Davis, Forry, Fry, Good, Gotshall, Grubb, Grosh, Greider, Hertzler, Huffman, Hershey, Hoover, Hoffman, Hines, Hiestand, Haines, Hartman, Hutcheson, Holey, Harman, Hutts, Henry, Keeth, Killian, King, Kitz, Long, Lightner, Latta, Lutz, Ledge, Lephart, Mumma, Musselman, Miller, Moor, Mays, Marsdel, Michael, Myers, Musser, Moore, May, Minich, Nult, Nisely, Newcomer, Newswanger, Ney, Oberholtzer, Paltzly, Pershinger, Patton, Paden, Plow, Peters, Peoples, Ross, Reiff, Reiley, Rudysel, Reiger, Stoner, Sohn, Segrist, Smith, Stout, Stepgan, Shellaberger, Swarr, Simpson, Shirk, Snyder, Straus, Strickler, Shirk, Stultz, Schott, Spear, Speck, Stonebreter, Till, Voghan, Weller, Whitman, Welty, Walter, Whitmore, Willis, Wagoner, Wright, Wolf, Weaver, Yenawine, Yaxly.

These were the landowning families of Hempfield township, including the present East and West Hempfield. Hempfield township was divided into East and West Hempfield in August, 1818.

Industries—The mineral deposits of the Hempfields have had important part in industrial enterprises in the Hempfield townships. The early discovery of iron ore on Chestnut Hill brought into establishment several important plants, including smelting plants and rolling mills. The discovery of lead and zinc ores near Landisville seemed more than once to be likely to bring into operation important plants. The silica-sand deposits of East Hempfield have been profitably exploited, and so also has the river-sand in West Hempfield; and the ochre banks near Silver Spring, in West Hempfield, were to be worked extensively forty years ago.

The Hempfield Manor, to which reference has earlier in this chapter been made, contained a deposit of hematite ore "which has produced millions of tons of iron." The presence of iron in the ridge between Chikis Hill and Chestnut Hill was known, though perhaps vaguely, for a century before it was exploited. Drawing conclusions from other reservations made by the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, one might be inclined to believe that William Penn and his heirs had some other than settlement and town-planning projects in mind when they decided to reserve for themselves a manor on the Susquehanna river; and when the larger manorial estate became a financial impossibility to the Penns, the smaller hunting preserve known as Hempfield Manor was retained, perhaps not so much for its potentialities in game and wild life as for its mineral possibilities. But even that had finally to be split into small tracts and sold. Some of the large landowners in the valley—the Bethels, Barbers, Wrights, Sticklers, Garbers, Bachmans and Kauffmans—purchased small tracts in this manor, more for its value to them in fence-timber than for any other purpose; they were wont to use their spare time in cutting fence-rails in their tracts for use on their cultivated farms. But there were some small holders, men who preferred to purchase only a few acres near a spring or rivulet, and cultivate an acre or two for their own use. They built log dwelling houses or cabins, and lived a primitive life. Generally the head of the family was a tradesman or a farm laborer in the employ of the more prosperous farmers in the valley; in the summer they would work, in the winter they would hunt and trap, and often their women folk would put in much time in splitting fence-rails. Gradually, however, the acreage was cleared of timber, and brought into cultivation; but these small holders clung to their few acre tracts, and with the beginning of iron mining and iron working found employment at hand, without difficulty. Samuel Evans wrote in 1883:

> Along the backbone of this manor now runs a road which affords one of the most delightful drives in the country. The population is so dense that it forms what seems to be a conglomeration of half a dozen villages, the most pretentious of which is Ironville, which came into existence about thirty years ago. Levi K. Myers established a store in the place, and from one to two houses the place grew to be a hamlet, and gradually attained the proportions of a village. It was named by Myers Ironville * * * from the fact that there was a blast furnace close by on the southwest, and upon the northeast side an immense bank of iron ore from which several million tons have been taken. The village itself was made up entirely of miners or employees at the furnace. Its prosperity ebbed and flowed with the fluctuations of the iron business. When the furnace was out of blast the place lost its vitality. The villagers were compelled by circumstances to give some attention to the cultivation of their lots and they gradually began to grow tobacco, which brought them remunerative prices and afforded them a comfortable living from its proceeds.

According to Mr. D. B. Landis, who is authority for much of the history of the mineral development of the Hempfields referred to in the Mining, Smelting and Ironmaking chapter and for the general history of Landisville and vicinity, a fine quality of silica sand was discovered on Chestnut Hill, in West Hempfield township, near the township line, in 1870, by Jacob S. Trout, who for many year shipped an average of 1,500 tons annually to iron and steel works in Pennsylvania. The sand was hauled by teams to Landisville Station, and in some years as much as 10,000 tons were shipped. Mr. Trout died in 1893, but his son, J. M. Trout, continued the business, and increased it, shipping west as far as Chicago and east as far as Massachusetts. Several other Lancastrians entered the business. Henry Hall owned a deposit near that of Mr. Trout, and operated it for many years. In about 1897 or 1898, Mr. C. N. Nolt took up an adjoining tract, and shipped annually about 4,000 tons to ironworks in this country and in Canada. Jacob Spangler owned another tract; it was near Ironville, and its operation was in the hands of the Detwiler Company. The Longenecker brothers worked a bed at Florinel, near the Brick Tavern. The river sand industry was at one time the mainstay of many Columbia residents. And in the river-sand at times a quantity of fine anthracite coal has been present. Such "river coal" has even quite recently been salvaged, and local furnaces have been adapted to its use in times of coal scarcity.

The ochre banks in the iron-bearing region of the Hempfields have produced much of that kind of clay. On January 1, 1882, John and Ferdinand Weber leased some machinery and land from the Chickies Iron Company, with right to take the ochre from the mines for a period of ten years. They erected buildings, vats and tanks, and installed iron ore washers at Silver Springs, in West Hempfield. Their capital was exhausted before the end of 1883, and the operations were taken over by the Conestoga Dry Color and Paint Company, the principals of which were W. F. Beyer, John M. Davidson and Samuel Davidson. Considerable shipments of the ochre were made to Philadelphia, where it was utilized mainly by oilcloth manufacturers, for coloring purposes; but the cost of production of the ochre was greater than the sale price, and in 1885 the Conestoga Ochre Company, of Lancaster, succeeded the 1883 company. Much more regarding the iron mining and ironmaking industries of Hempfield township is written into the special chapter on "Mining, Smelting and Ironmaking."

The early taverns of the Hempfields included a two-storied stone tavern erected by Christian Stoneman, at Little Conestoga, on the right side of the road from Lancaster to Wright's Ferry, in 1729, the tavern a century later being well-known as Livergood's; the Black Horse Tavern, built in provincial times by Benjamin Bear, on the great road leading from Anderson's Ferry to Lancaster, about three and one-half miles west from Lancaster; Hornberger's Tavern, built by Stephen Hornberger in 1770," on the north side of the great road which led from Wright's Ferry to Lancaster, at the intersection of a road which ran north and intersected with the Anderson's Ferry and Lancaster road;" the White Horse Tavern, situated about one and a half miles west of the Black Horse Tavern, on the Lancaster and Marietta turnpike, and built by Amos Mouse "after the turnpike was made (which was in 1826-30);" a brick tavern built by John Forry, Jr., on the south side of the Lancaster and Susquehanna turnpike, a mile and a half east of Columbia, in about 1810; Riegel's Tavern, two and a half miles from Columbia, on the Columbia and Manheim road, owned by Christian Riegel in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and probably built by him; a tavern built by Philip Snyder in 1808, about two miles east from Marietta, on the Marietta and Lancaster turnpike, later known as Boyd's Tavern, one of the largest of the old wagon taverns in the county; Gamber's Tavern, at Silver Springs, built by Jacob Gamber in 1810; the Black Bear Tavern, four and one-quarter miles east from Columbia, on the Columbia and Lancaster turnpike, owned by Jacob Klugh for fifty years after the turnpike was built, the scene of many fights between Columbia and Lancaster parties; the Half-way House, built in 1820 on the Susquehanna river front, about midway between Columbia and Marietta, to accommodate rivermen. Other taverns will be referred to in village sketches.

Centers of Population—The history of Columbia will be reviewed in a special chapter. The other places include the borough of Mountville, a banking town of 757 inhabitants; Landisville, also a banking town and a community of six hundred people; East Petersburg, a place of 700 population; and smaller villages.

Mountville had its inception in a lottery projection in 1811. Isaac Rohrer, of Lampeter township, laid out a townsite of 130 building lots on the Lancaster and Susquehanna turnpike, four miles east from the Susquehanna river. He announced his intention to dispose of these lots, in the place he named "Mount Pleasant," on January 11, 1812, by lottery, at $140 each. Two lots were reserved for public use, one for a schoolhouse and public hall, the other for a meeting house of undenominational status. Only the meeting house was built, but it served religious and secular purposes in the young village. Isaac Rohrer erected the first building raised on the townsite. "It stood upon lot No. 1, at a point where the old road leading from Columbia to Christian Huber's mill diverged to the northeast." Isaac Rohrer himself moved into it when completed, and therein conducted the business of innkeeping for many years. Later landlords were Adam Baer, Cyrus Schaffer, Jacob Bletz, who owned it in 1831, and the Yahn family, who owned the hotel in 1883. The Swan Hotel, at Mountville, was built by a Mr. Bender not long after the town was laid out. In 1835 it was bought by Mr. Fridy, who was landlord for thirty years. Jacob Witmer owned it for twenty or more years after 1865. Mrs. Sue Rees has owned one of the Mountville hotels for many years. Two of the principal industrial companies of Mountville for many years have been the Mountville Brick Company, and the Mountville Manufacturing Company, the specialty of the latter being agricultural implements. There have been many cigar factories in the borough also, and there is no lack of retail establishments covering most commodities. The Pennypacker general store is one of the old ones; the Witmer family and the Myers family have also been long identified with merchandising service in Mountville.

The Mountville National Bank was organized in 1887, with a capital of $50,000. The first officers were: I. H. Kauffman, president; M. G. Musser, vice-president; George Crane, cashier. The present officers are: John H. Gamber, president; C. C. Seitz, vice-president; C. H. Gable, cashier. These and the following constitute the present directorate: B. S. Stauffer, John P. Gable, Jonas G. Stehman, Aaron Weaver, Daniel S. Neff, Christian F. Charles. On June 30, 1922, the capital stock was $50,000; surplus was $50,000; and undivided profits were $27,739.28.

The present churches of Mountville are: St. Paul's United Brethren, the pastor of which is Rev. D. E. Long; Trinity Reformed, pastor of which is Rev. J. W. Zehring; Mountville Church Brethren, Rev. P. N. Musser, pastor; Mountville Mennonite, Rev. J. C. Habecker, pastor. St. Paul's United Brethren Church is by far the strongest in membership, that probably exceeding three hundred. The other churches probably each reach one hundred in membership. The United Brethren and Mennonite congregations are of long standing.

Landisville, in East Hempfield township, developed in the vicinity of a Mennonite meeting house erected of logs in 1790, or earlier, perhaps, as early as 1742, states Mr. D. B. Landis, on the authority of Mr. H. W. Kreibel, of Lititz. The log church stands directly in the rear of the brick meeting house erected in 1855. The first house erected in the eastern part of Landisville was that built as a residence by Jacob Minnich, in 1798. In 1808 he also erected a large hotel of two stories on the north side of the Lancaster and Mount Joy turnpike, about seven miles west from Lancaster. In the next year his brother-in-law, Jacob Charles, purchased a small plot of land from him, and upon it built a dwelling house and a smithy. In that year also, Jacob Minnich built a distillery. A few other dwelling houses were erected during the next fifteen years or so, but in 1825 the place could hardly be considered even a hamlet. John Landis then owned the farm half a mile southwest from Minnich's Tavern, and it occurred to him that he might engage in merchandising to advantage, as traffic along the roads was considerable. In 1825, or in 1829, Landis purchased the house of Jacob Charles, and in it established a store. In the spring of 1829 John Landis and his son, John C., laid out a townsite and named it "Centreville," because of its geographical position, equi-distant between Mount Joy and Lancaster. He apparently sold some lots, and upon them houses were built. In 1832 Mr. Landis thought himself justified in applying for post-office privileges for the village. When it was known that it would be made a post-town, the villagers met to decide upon a name. Centreville was not possible, as there was already another post-office of that name in Pennsylvania; so the villagers finally decided on Landisville. That part of Landisville which is between the original village and the railway stations, was originally owned by the Heistand family; and in the 'seventies, after the death of Christian Heistand, the land was laid out in building lots, and part of it then sold.

The old log meeting house was used also for day school purposes for many years, but after the adoption of the common school law a public schoolhouse was built. Its location was between the brick meeting house of the Old Mennonites and the Bethel church on the hill. "The old public school building was torn down in the early 'seventies. Evidences of the stone foundations are yet to be seen on the hill, in what is now the north side of the Old Mennonite churchyard. Since the schoolhouse was removed, two graded brick buildings on the opposite side of the street were erected and used for school purposes," wrote Mr. D. B. Landis in 1906; and indications were even then present that a larger and more modern schoolhouse would soon replace the others. L. M. Hobbs was one of the ablest early teachers in the first public school of Landisville.

The Bethel congregation of the Church of God was organized in about 1840, by John Winebrenner, founder of that sect. He was wont to ride over from Harrisburg on horseback and conduct services in the home of John C. Landis during the period 1830-40. Among the early members were: Jacob R. Minnich, John Landis, Jacob H. Hershey, George Dingler, Henry Eshleman, Jacob H. Smaling and S. D. Duchenbrod. In 1843 a frame church edifice was erected. It was remodeled during the winter of 1877-78, and somewhat enlarged. Rev. Jonas Martin is present pastor. It is a large congregation and has the largest Sunday school membership of any Landisville church.

The Reformed Mennonites of Landisville used the old Bethel church until 1869, when they erected their brick church east of the village. The Old Mennonites built their brick church in 1833, according to one account, and in 1855 by another version. It was remodeled in about 1880. The Mennonite pastor at Landisville is Rev. Hiram G. Kauffman, who also has charge of the Salunga church. The Landisville Lutheran Church congregation was founded in about 1909 or 1910, and has now about one hundred members; Rev. H. E. Wieand, of Lancaster city, is pastor.

The Landisville Camp Meeting Association, a Methodist organization, was formed in 1870, and a tract of virgin woodland near the village to the southward was purchased from Dr. Andrew Kauffman. Suitable cottages and places for spiritual worship were erected in the grove, and soon the annual meetings at Landisville were widely known and largely attended. For some years the Church of God also held camp meetings in the same grove, eventually moving the venue of their gatherings to Central Manor.

Of Landisville organizations, mention must be made of the "Mechanicks' Band of Landisville," which was organized in 1858, with the following officers: W. D. Reitzel, president and leader; E. D. Golden, vice-president. It passed out of existence in 1863, its members having almost all entered the Union army. The Mountville Band was then organized, and bought some of the instruments of the Landisville Band. The Union Temperance Society was organized at the Landisville Bethel Church in 1882; and the Landisville Literary Society in 1881. The Landisville and Salunga Library Association was formed in 1884, after which the earlier literary society was disbanded. The Landisville Cornet Band was organized in 1889, and a bandhall erected in 1899. Village rivalry was responsible for the organization of several other bands in the Hempfields, the Rohrerstown Band being organized in 1894, and the Salunga Band in 1896.

Among the present-day business establishments of Landisville, the following are of comparatively long establishment: John W. Hershey, general store; Levi H. Hershey, creamery; C. H. Koser, coach builder; Lord & Taylor, leaf tobacco, a branch of Lancaster; the Minnich Machine Works; F. H. Shenck, general store; Amos Strickler, carpenter; J. Harry Summy, agricultural implements; Jacob M. Trout, silica sand. The specialty of the Minnich Machine Works is power presses, and of the Keystone Boiler and Foundry Company coil-heating boilers, water and gasoline tanks, and steam water heaters. The Landisville First National Bank is in its second decade, but has been well managed and patronized. It began with capital of $25,000.

East Petersburg is a growing village of 700 inhabitants. Its history covers more than a century and a quarter, if one accept as its beginning the wayside store kept before 1800 by Daniel Wolfe, on the road leading from Columbia to Huber's mill, on the Little Conestoga creek. Wolfe was tavernkeeper also. It was the age of lotteries; and, with the improvement in roads, the lottery was used to carry through many town-planning projects that would have been otherwise unattractive. Many of them had no more basis for the assumption of town status than a store and tavern such as Wolfe had. Hence it is not surprising that Wolfe also ventured into a town-planning scheme, on part of twenty-five acres of land he had bought from his brother, John, in 1806. Daniel Wolfe laid out fourteen acres into seventy-nine building lots, and on December 12, 1812, offered them for sale by lottery, at $150 each. His land was absolutely level, so his platting was simple; he checkerboarded it, marking the principal streets North, South, East and West. He had no difficulty in selling the lots. The list of lot-holders in 1814 is a long one, including the names of Beard, Berger, Brawnsberger, Carpenter, Conrad, Bostig, Darney, Deweas, Danner, Denham, Glass, Graff, Good, Grosh, Gotshall, Genter, Hambright, Heft, Hall, Heitshue, Kauffman, Kreamer, Kneisley, Kinch, Lutz, Long, Lichty, Michael, Myers, Miller, Mourer, Metzgar, Neff, Oberholdtzer, Rider, Shenck, String, Swarr, Steigelman, Wolfe, Wentz, Weldy, Young, Yerbe, Ziegler. It is doubtful whether all of these lot-holders improved their lots; some probably did not improve them at all, buying the lottery tickets for speculative reasons, and in the hope of drawing the grand prize. It is recorded that for fifty years after the sale by lottery, "there was but little improvement made in the place." In the 'sixties, however, the Reading & Columbia railroad was constructed, its route passing near the southern boundary of the village. The village was thus given new life, and building began again, in the direction of the railroad. It appears that one or more additions to the original townsite had earlier been made by Peter Gotshall upon his land which adjoined the townsite on the west. When he did so is not recorded, but there is reason to believe that it must have been made soon after Wolfe laid out the village, in the second decade of last century. It is recorded that Wolfe gave no name to the village, and that it was named Petersburg after Peter Gotshall had platted his addition to it; the place was evidently known as Petersburg in 1822, for then it was named as the polling place of the Twenty-third Election District. Had Petersburg not then been so named, the polling place would probably have been designated as "at the public house of Daniel Wolfe, in East Hempfield township." The tavern built by Daniel Wolfe remained in the Wolfe family for several generations. Another hotel was established in Petersburg in about 1820 by Henry Inhoff; it was a frame building, one square eastward of Wolfe's. Recent hotelkeepers in East Petersburg have been Andrew H. Snavely and A. Frank Eberly.

East Petersburg is now a banking town of seven hundred people. It has four grocery, one general and one hardware stores, four automobile service and repair shops, one bank, five churches, good schools and substantial homes. Among the businesses long established are those of Samuel F. Andes, wheelwright, now continued by P. A. Kauffman, specializing in automobile parts; Paris M. Gerfin, smithy; Levi H. Gochenauer, general store; Emanuel H. Gochenauer, implements; Herman W. Graybill, coal and lumber; Harry W. Hottenstein, wholesale confectioner; Harry H. Landis, leaf tobacco; Martzell's Restaurant; Root's Nursery, near East Petersburg; David F. Royer, tinning; A. C. Scheetz, builder and undertaker; Adam Zerphey, confectioner; Hiram Zerphey, contractor; Hadyn W. Zug, general store and leaf tobacco factory. The bank is the East Petersburg State Bank, which is still in its first decade of operation, but has begun well. E. E. Wright has an up-to-date garage business. East Petersburg developed a flourishing literary society in about 1879-81, among those prominent in its meeting being Hon. D. W. Graybill, Herman Graybill, the Gochenauers, Hersheys and others. The present churches of East Petersburg are: The East Petersburg Mennonite, Rev. Frank M. Kreider pastor, a congregation of probably three hundred; East Petersburg Church Brethren, Rev. A. S. Hottenstein pastor, and membership probably near one hundred and fifty; Trinity Reformed, Rev. W. S. Gerhard pastor, probably one hundred members; Zion Lutheran, about one hundred and fifty members, under Rev. C. E. Rice; and East Petersburg United Evangelical, a small congregation served by Rev. J. H. Ginter, of Columbia, pastor of Reich's Church in East Donegal township. The Lutheran and Reformed congregations united in building a church in the northwestern part of the town in 1847. The Dunkards and Mennonites early had meeting houses, to which reference is made elsewhere.

Rohrerstown, now a village of six hundred inhabitants, was laid out in 1812 by Christian Rohrer, in irregular shape, on a small tract of land he owned about three miles from Lancaster city, on the Lancaster and Waterford (Marietta) turnpike. He offered eighty-nine building lots for sale by lottery, and named the place Hempfield town. That was its official name, and it was later continued in the Hempfield post-office; but the name was soon discarded, the villagers preferring Rohrerstown. The lot holders in the town of Hempfield in 1814 were Bower, Berger, Bruner, Bletz, Brubaker, Brenner, Bullman, Baughman, Cassel, Conrad, Daebler, Duffy, Evans, Fisher, Ferree, Forry, Fondersmith, Fahnestock, Frantz, Gamber, Getz, Gall, Glenn, Grimler, Gamber, Hershey, Hambright, Herr, Hatz, Haverstick, Heiney, Heistand, Hertzler, Huffnagle, Hoffman, Hoyt, Kauffman, Kline, Kneiss, King, Lintner, Mehaffey, Michael, Mellin, Musselman, Murray, Myer, Miller, McDonald, Neff, Neuhuff, Opperman, Ober, Philips, Reed, Reigart, Reigart, Ross, Ruth, Rohrer, Riddle, Rohrer Burk and Epley, Snyder, Smith, Scott, Scherk. Not all of them settled in Hempfield; many bought the lots for speculative reasons. The first tavern was known as the "Plow Tavern." Later, a brick hotel was erected by Mr. Heistand in the western end of the town; it was known as the "Cross-Keys," the landlord of which in 1820 was Jacob Bletz. Adam Dietrich had the hotel forty years ago. Ten years ago the hotelkeepers were C. E. Humer and Harry Walk. The latter still keeps the Rohrerstown Hotel.

The Columbia and Philadelphia railroad passed through Rohrerstown in 1834, making a deep cutting through the western part of the town, thus marring its hitherto delightful natural beauty. However, the conveniences of the day are not always to be had without sacrifice. Another marring of Rohrerstown happened when a rolling mill was built, but the increased prosperity that that enterprise brought to the village more than compensated for the disfigurement. The Rohrerstown rolling mill was known as the Lancaster Rolling Mill. It was erected in about 1858, was not very successfully operated in the early years, and, in consequence, there were many changes of ownership. It was enlarged in 1872 by McShane & Company. One of the owners in the 'seventies was Anthony J. Hindermyer; he suffered a serious accident at Rohrerstown mill, losing an arm and the sight of one eye. Earlier, during an anxious exciting time in the period of the Civil War, Mr. Hindermyer came into distinctive notice, for it was he who saturated the woodwork of the Columbia bridge with oil and set it on fire, to prevent the crossing of the Confederate army. In the 'eighties, the Rohrerstown rolling mills were bought at sheriff's sale by the Colemans.

Rohrerstown has suffered many vicissitudes, its state being affected very appreciably by that of the rolling mills, which generally brought disaster to those who ventured to operate them. Nevertheless the town has slowly progressed, and some of its business people have found their livelihood in the village for many years. The firm of Ringwalt and Davis, dry goods, groceries and such like commodities, was in existence fifty years ago; it is still operating. And the following are among those who have been long in the place: Amos C. Brown, blacksmith; J. W. Hollinger, butcher; Miller and Bushong, grain, coal; and others. Jacob Gibble was a fencemaker near Rohrerstown; Abner E. Livergood a carriagemaker; J. F. Rein a storekeeper; William B. Kauffman a baker; Bowers and Sanders, coal dealers; H. B. Nissley a blacksmith in Rohrerstown. The Harmony Literary Society was organized in 1884, at Rohrerstown, by H. M. Mayer, John H. Shenck, Sarah Mauk, Miss Devore, and others. Rohrerstown Brass Band was organized in 1894, and ran for four or five years. The Lutheran and Reformed congregations were in existence in the village ninety or more years ago; in 1832 they joined means to erect a church, for their joint use. The Winebrennarians, of the Church of God denomination, in the 'forties, probably, erected a frame church; and the Mennonites followed. Rohrerstown Lutheran church is now only a small congregation, but is still active; the first Lutheran minister was Rev. J. J. Strine, of Lancaster; the present pastor is Rev. F. R. LeFevre. The Salem Reformed Church of Rohrerstown is quite strong, having nearly two hundred members; its pastor is Rev. Daniel Gish, of Millersville. The Rohrerstown Church of God, a small congregation, is in charge of Rev. T. W. McGuire; and the Rohrerstown Mennonite, strongest of all Rohrerstown congregations, is served by Rev. Daniel Lehman, of Millersville.

Salunga is a place of about three hundred inhabitants, about eight miles west from Lancaster, on the Lancaster and Mount Joy road. Colonel Hostetter in 1847 laid out some of his land into building lots. An addition was made by Christian Stoner. In 1863 the Reading & Columbia railroad passed within a mile of Salunga, but nearer Landisville, a mile and a half east of Salunga. The rapid growth of the former place detracted from the growth of Salunga, and the condition still applies. Among the business interests of Salunga have been the Garber and Bender mills nearby; Edward G. Myers, drilling contractor; Kendigs, leaf tobacco; Frank S. Strickler, wire fence manufacturer; Heistand and Company, coal, feed, cement; Heistand's general store; Eby's general store; A. B. Kreider's cigar factory; Eshelman's stone quarry, and others. Salunga's churches are the Methodist Episcopal, a congregation of about one hundred; a Mennonite congregation, about as strong; and the Salunga Church Brethren, a congregation of almost two hundred.

Mechanicsville, two miles west of East Petersburg, is a small decadent village, which grew around a tavern and smithy. Midway is another small place, on the Columbia and Lancaster turnpike, a quiet little hamlet established by John Doner seventy or more years ago.

Silver Spring, about five and a half miles from Marietta, is one of the old villages of the Hempfields. Gamber's Tavern at that place was erected in 1810; and other service establishments, a smithy and wagonmaker's shop, of the old busy days of horse-drawn traffic, were added to the tavern. A dwelling house or two made up the hamlet, but with the completion of the Reading & Columbia railroad in 1863, the place became of more importance. It now has about 300 population. Ten years ago the hotel was in the possession of Joseph B. Mumma; the present landlord is William B. Witmer. G. R. Shellenberger was the storekeeper at Silver Spring for many years; the present owner of the store is E. C. Robinson. John Hauck was blacksmith. The Silver Spring United Brethren Church is a congregation of about seventy or eighty, in charge of Rev. Albert Dombach, of Columbia.

Bamford, or Bamfordville, had its inception, and its only period of importance, in the 'seventies, when Charles Bamford was mining in the vicinity for zinc, and smelting it in Bamfordville. It is not altogether one of the "dead cities," but it has remained the quiet little hamlet it was after the Bamford operations had closed finally. It is in the heart of the tobacco district. The general store at Bamford is kept by Charles L. Burr, and Earl R. Myers has a repair shop in the village.

The population of East Hempfield township in 1860 was 2,613; in 1900 it was 3,168; in 1920 it was 3,408. West Hempfield had a population of 3,108 in 1860; of 3,602 in 1900, and of 2,511 in 1920. The decrease, however, is explained by the fact that Mountville became a borough between the 1900 and 1910 census takings, and showed a population of 803 in 1910 and 757 in 1920.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ORIGINAL WARWICK TOWNSHIP AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS.

The first settler in Warwick township was, it is believed, Richard Carter, who settled near the mouth of the Conestoga creek in about 1716. Robert Wilkins settled on adjoining land. The situation did not, however, suit either of them evidently, for in 1717 or 1718 Wilkins moved westward and took up a tract on the east bank of the Susquehanna river at the spot which later became part of the site of Marietta; and Richard Carter moved farther up Conestoga creek at about the same time, settling about four miles southeast of where Lititz developed. Carter's creek rises in the Lititz springs, and has latterly been known as Lititz creek; upon it Richard Carter is supposed to have settled. One version states that Carter, a bachelor and a wheelwright by trade, was merely a squatter; but such an irresponsible state could hardly have been his, for he comes into the assessment lists of 1718, for Conestoga township, among the landowners and heads of families instead of among the "freemen," which would have been his place had he been a bachelor without property. Robert Wilkins had a tract of 300 acres, but his assessment was only about one-half of the amount set opposite Carter's name, and Carter's valuation was £15 0s. 0d., whereas "freemen" were all "valued at 9 shillings each." Therefore, Richard Carter may be considered to have held a somewhat better status than that of a squatter.

Carter does not appear to have taken out patents for land upon which he settled, but there is no good reason for supposing that one tract at least was not warranted and surveyed for him. Part of the land Richard Carter located was patented in 1741 and part in 1745 to John Wister, of Philadelphia, who does not, however, seem to have ever lived on either part. A large part of the Carter tract ultimately came into the possession of the Reist family. A reasonable inference as to Richard Carter's status is that at the time of the erection of Lancaster county he was one of the leading men of that part of the county which became Warwick township. The township is said to have been so named because Richard Carter was born in Warwickshire, in England, and Carter's creek was so named in his honor. He was also honored by appointment as the first magistrate of Warwick township in 1729, and he was a member of the jury inpanelled to consider the first case that came before the first court of Lancaster county. Another of the leading pioneers of Warwick township was John Huber. It is recorded that there was some contention as to the name of the township when the magistrates and leading inhabitants met at Postlethwait's, on June 9, 1729, to agree upon township names and bounds; and the man who objected most strongly to the name Warwick was John Huber. However, the weight of Carter's recommendation was sufficient to decide the matter.

Warwick township was the eleventh of the seventeen or more townships set off to form Lancaster county in 1729. Its boundaries were defined as follows: "Warwick township, beginning by Conestoga creek at a corner of Manheim township by Peter's road, thence up the west side of Conestoga to Hans Graff's mill, thence up the northerly branch to David Priest's mill, thence westerly along the hills by Lebanon township to Derry, thence southerly by Donegal to the aforesaid road, thence along the said road easterly to the place of beginning." The name and boundaries of Warwick township were confirmed by the Court of Quarter Sessions on August 5, 1729. And the boundaries thus described comprised the territory now within the townships of Warwick, Elizabeth, Clay and Penn. Elizabeth township was detached from Warwick in 1757, a later subdivision of Elizabeth forming Clay; and Penn township was detached from Warwick in 1845. This left the present Warwick township with only 11,670 acres of its original 62,533 acres.

Elizabeth township was organized in 1757 with the following boundaries: "Beginning at the land of Joseph Cratzer, bounding upon Heidelberg township, Lebanon county; thence by the same to Cocalico township; thence by Cocalico to Warwick; thence by the same to the place of beginning." The line between Warwick and Elizabeth was not clearly defined, and for twelve years there was confusion in taxes and disputes as to liability for road maintenance. In 1766 the inhabitants of the two townships endeavored to end the chaos by petitioning the court. A commission appointed to run the line so changed it that fifty farms formerly considered as within Warwick township were declared to be in Elizabeth township. The farmers within this strip, however, were dissatisfied with the finding of the commissioners, and petitioned the court to restore the original line, which was done in 1769. Changes occurred in the boundaries of Elizabeth township in 1813, when Lebanon county annexed part of Lancaster county; and again in 1815, when Elizabeth was compensated for such loss by being given parts of Warwick and Cocalico townships.

The Act of Assembly passed February 13, 1813, permitting Lebanon county to annex part of Lancaster county, defined the new line thus: "Beginning in the Berks county line; thence through Lancaster county to a sandstone house on the road leading from Shaefferstown to Elizabeth Furnace, leaving said house in Lebanon county; thence to a house of one Shroyer, deceased, including said house in Lebanon county, on the road leading from Lebanon to Manheim; thence to Snyder's mill, on the Conestoga creek."

In April, 1815, the Lancaster County Court appointed C. Carpenter, Abraham Forney and Samuel Geeher "commissioners to annex a part of Warwick and Cocalico townships to Elizabeth township," describing the new boundaries as follows:

> Beginning at a black oak tree in the Lebanon and Lancaster County line; thence a southwest course through Warwick Township to John Beidler's tavern, occupied by George Plasterer (now Pennsville), leaving said tavern in Elizabeth Township; thence along a public road leading from Mount Hope Furnace to Lititz, to a public road leading from Manheim to John Eby's mill; thence along said road to Hammer Creek; thence down Hammer Creek to a public road leading from Lititz to a tavern on the Downingtown, Ephrata and Harrisburg turnpike; owned by Philip Krig (now the village of Lincoln), leaving said tavern in Cocalico Township; thence a straight line to where the Indian Run empties thereof, on lands of Robert Coleman, Esq., near the residence of Adam Wampole; thence a north course to Lancaster and Lebanon County line; thence along said line to place of beginning.

The commissioners reported to August court, and their report was approved at the November session of court, in same year.

Clay township was set apart from Elizabeth township in 1853, being given practically all of Elizabeth that lies east of Middle creek. The boundary reaches to Hammer creek, but is too complicated for general description; therefore, the official definition is given. It is as follows:

> Commencing on the bridge over Hammer creek (below mill dam) in the public road leading to Lancaster; thence in said road 644 perches to the bridge over Middle creek; thence up Middle creek 116 perches to Furnace run; thence up Furnace run 427 perches to Seglock run; thence up Seglock run 929 perches to Lebanon county, 226 perches west from a marked stone on the west side of a public road in said Lebanon county line; thence along the Lebanon county line to West Cocalico township line; southerly along said West Cocalico township line and Indian run to Ephrata township line; thence southwesterly along Ephrata township line to Hammer creek and Warwick township; thence up Hammer creek to place of beginning.

Penn township was formed in 1846 of land detached from the western part of Warwick township. The commissioners, Henry Shriener, David May and John Forney, met at Shober's Hotel, about a mile south from Lititz, on February 22, 1845, "viewed the proposed division line, and reported in favor of a new and separate district to be called West Warwick." Their report was not confirmed until January 22, 1846, and then it was decided that the new township should bear the name of the first proprietor of Pennsylvania; hence it came into the records as Penn township. Chikis creek divides it from Rapho township on the west; on the east is Elizabeth and Warwick townships, and on the south is East Hempfield township. Penn stretches the whole length of the original Warwick township northward to the Lebanon county border.

The main watercourses of the original Warwick township include the Chiquesalunga, or Chikis creek, which formed the extreme western boundary, now the Penn township western border; Hammer creek, which rises in the Lebanon hills, passes through Elizabeth township in a southeasterly direction, to become, with Cocalico creek, the eastern boundaries of Warwick township; Middle creek, which divides Elizabeth and Clay townships, and passes into Ehprata township. The principal watercourses of the present Warwick township are Hammer and Cocalico creeks, the former separating a small part of Clay township, a little farther on converging with Middle creek, to form with Cocalico creek the division line between Warwick and Ephrata and West Earl townships. New Haven creek rises in the central southern part of Warwick township. The natural features of the original Warwick region are in some parts rugged, but in most parts favorable to tillage. Penn township has South Mountain on the northern border, and from that elevation the land slopes gently southward; slightly undulating in the central part. The soil is sandy at the foot of South Mountain, and the elevated portions are gravelly, but limestone forms the bed-rock of most of the land, which is consequently good agricultural acreage. Elizabeth township is hilly, the soil being shaly in parts, though there is much limestone loam. The northern part of Clay township is gravelly, but some of the best farming land in the county is in the southern part of Clay. In the hilly northern part much red sandstone has been quarried; and in the southern end considerable limestone quarrying has been done during the last century. The present Warwick township is slightly undulating, with the Pine Hills in the north and Rabbit Hill and Kissel Hill in the south. The soil in parts is calcareous, and in some parts limestone of good quality has been quarried. The origin of names of townships is not hard to determine. Warwick township was named after Warwickshire in England; Elizabeth was named in honor of the great English queen, Elizabeth, it has been asserted; but it is far more probable that the township was so named because the Christian name of the wife of Ironmaster Steigel, who established Elizabeth furnace in 1757, was Elizabeth. The furnace and the township began to function in the same year, 1757. Honoring the memory of the great Henry Clay, then recently deceased, was the purpose of the naming of Clay township, and a like motive influenced the court in naming Penn township after William Penn.

Prior to 1784 all county and State elections were held at the county seat, Lancaster. By an Act of Assembly passed September 13, 1785, Lancaster county for political purposes was divided into four election districts, Elizabeth and Warwick townships being in the Third Election District, the public house of Captain Hugh Pedan, in Rapho township, being designated as the polling place. In 1786 Elizabeth and Warwick were detached from the third and attached to the First Election District, the polling place of which was at the court house in Lancaster borough. In 1795 Cocalico and Elizabeth townships became the Fifth District, the public house of Henry Miller in Cocalico township, midway between Lincoln and Ephrata, being the polling place. The Seventh District was erected in 1799, composed of Warwick and Rapho townships, with the polling place in the village of Manheim. In 1803 a change in the Fifth Election District detached part of Cocalico township and attached part of Warwick township, the polling place changing from Henry Miller's hotel to that of Nathaniel Lightner, situated in the present village of Clay.

The historic Clay Hotel has been a polling place ever since that year. Lititz was made a separate district in 1813. In 1815 Elizabeth township district was changed somewhat, with the alteration of township line. In 1843 all parts of Warwick in Fifth and Seventh districts were transferred to the Warwick Township District, with polling place at Lititz. When Penn township was organized in 1846, it was divided into two election districts, but neither polling place was within its own territory. One was in Manheim borough, and the other in Lititz, constituting the Forty-third and Forty-fourth districts, respectively. These were abolished in 1848, and Penn township became the Forty-third District, with polling place within its boundaries. Elizabeth township was divided into two election districts in 1852, the Forty-fifth District being established at Pennsville, and the Fifth District continuing at Clay Hotel. The Pennsville District was abolished in 1854, and added to Fifth District. A new Clay township district was formed, and designated the Forty-fifth, with polling place at Brickersville, in Elizabeth township. Lititz was made a borough and a separate district in 1888, as was East Warwick also. Penn township became two districts in 1891, a new district centering in Unionville, and the old one being called South Penn. In 1899 Penn township was given the third district, which was established at Junction.

Early Settlers—Richard Carter, the first settler, has already been referred to. Christian Bombarger, or Bambarger, settled in Warwick in 1722, part of the original land being still held by his descendants. He was from Eshelbrun, in Baden. Patent was delivered to him in 1734, and another later. The first was for 548¾ acres, acquired for a consideration of £58 1s. 0d., and an annual ground rental of one halfpenny an acre. The other was in 1735, for 583¾ acres, "near Chikis creek, adjoining lands of John Gingrich, and vacant lands." George Kline settled in the vicinity of Lititz prior to 1740; he comes prominently into the Lititz narrative. Other Germans settled between 1720 and 1735, probably, in the central part of the present Penn township. The Keaths, Kreiners, Beckers, Hagys, Meyers, Hostetters, Hersheys, Snavelys, Bambergers, Gibbles, Reists, Kauffmans, Gingriches and Erbs were among the early settlers who located along the foot of the South Mountain and extended their holdings southward. It is not possible to state the actual time of settlement, as there was so often a long lapse of time between the warranting of land and the execution of patent. In some cases there was a long lapse of time between that of settling and that of surveying. George Eby had a tract, in the present Warwick township, surveyed in 1733, but patent was not issued until 1760, in the name of Christian Eby (or Ebi). Dates of settlement, or of receiving patent, are shown as follows: Jacob Huber, 1743; John Wister, 1741; Christian Hershey, 1739; Jacob Hershey, 1742; John and Daniel Brubaker, in the 'forties. Most of this land was what is now Elizabeth township, and much of it perhaps was entered by these families in the 'twenties. The names Brubaker, Hostetter, Hershey, Kauffman, Eby, and many others that come into the pioneer records of Warwick, Elizabeth, Penn and Clay townships, appear in the tax-lists of Conestoga township for 1718 and later years prior to the erection of Lancaster county. (Conestoga township in 1718 embraced most of that part of Chester county which in 1729 became Lancaster county).

Clay township pioneers began to settle in about 1740. From that time on to about 1770, there was a steady influx of German settlers, the pioneer families including the Weidman, Weachter, Miller, Elser, Householder, Brubacker, Hackman, Wissler, Appeal, Bentz, Bollinger, Deardorf, Weaver, Herchelroth, Stover, Erb, Eberly, Laber, Oberlin, Heacker, Wealand and other families. The family names listed as "taxable" and affirmed as "a true return of Elizabeth township" in 1758, by Henry W. Steigel, included those of Buch, Barr, Rohrer, Bollinger, Burkener, Baughman, Bauman, Benninger, Barringer, Blucher, Caffman, Conrad, Cawlswell, Custer, Carpenter, Clark, Dowell, Doma, Day, Eberly, Engeland, Fox, Fetting, Gartener, Glass, Graybill, Grall, Getz, Hetzler, Heil, Hag, Horming, Halser, Hogh, Hegg, Holdeman, Flyenfrith, Joder, Klenfelder, Kritzinger, Keller, Klein, Levenwichte, Latueon, Leyeig, Ludwig, Mates, Markle, Michael, Martin, Opperman, Palmer, Phaefenberger, Pugh, Reinhardt, Roland, Royer, Shigg, Smit, Staley, Seltzer, Shaid, Shaaed, Stelly, Shes, Smidt, Shoatler, Smith, Showers, Snurring, Weyman, Weaver, Wagoner, Wissener, Willing, Witmoyer, Walder, Wolf, Zowalley, Zimmerman, Hess, Ledman, Leydig, Millinger, Simon, Shiner, Spencer, Thornton. Peculiarities of spelling may be attributed to the poorness of the scrivener who compiled the list for Mr. Steigel. In the next year (1759) the tax-list for Warwick township showed the following family names, the names given below being only of those who held tracts of land ranging from twenty-five acres to seven hundred acres:

Bender, Barr, Blenkindorffer, Bugar, Bamberger, Brendel, Bausman, Bets, Bam, Bullmer, Bruner, Bale, Brumback, Burchart, Burkart, Backer, Blets, Baylor, Brubacher, Blatlenberg, Boyer, Borgholder, Caldwell, Camrer, Dussing, Dehaff, Deerdorff, Doyer, Erb, Ernst, Enck, Ehrman, Eberhard, Forting, Falts, Ferling, Fetter, Grasse, Geyer, Gyngery, Garber, Graybill, Good, Geiger, Grosse, Giles, Heegy, Honson, Hollinger, Hochstatter, Huber, Hoog, Herchelroth, Hackman, Hershey, Hans, Habecker, Hoock, Hess, Hoyl, Houser, Haller, Haisse, Hoffarth, Herricke, Helden, Kline, Kinzi, Keener, Koffman, Kesh, Kreiner, Kerman, Klick, Koch, Krub, Kissel, Laugnaker, Lesher, Lenherr, Leye, Layder, Lawman, Langenecker, Lecron, Miller, Meier, Marck, Mock, Marret, Musselman, Nessee, Newswonger, Oberlin, Oblinger, Pforzer, Plesterer, Pfeiffer, Pfeil, Pattly, Pfauz, Resh, Rickseeker, Rudy, Royer, Roth, Stover, Sees, Steeg, Stouffer, Scheibly, Schill, Schantz, Schits, Seinan, Shrants, Sensinich, Snyder, Spedler, Schanck, Seibe, Sherzer, Spanhauer, Trabinger, Waller, Waymar, Weaver, Wendling, Witmer, Wolff, Wegerle, Weidler, Waynland, Wuchard, Witter, Zartman, Zeiger, Zug.

Pioneer Life—The life of the pioneer families was rigorous, but food was plentiful, if lacking in variety. The meat supply of the average settler's family was pork, though the gun and traps brought much to the family larder from the forest. Usually a small patch near the cabin would supply vegetables, but little corn was grown in the first years. Neither was beef a staple food. "But the sturdy old German pioneer loved his sauerkraut und speck, snitz und knep, bastenaden, karbsen, rueben, weiskraut, bohnen, erbsen, mehl und grumberen soup, noodle soup, smaltz kuchen, apple-tumbles, pot-pie, panhusen, and other good things not always at hand." In the matter of apparel, much may almost be termed home-grown. The whole process from seed to stitch was undertaken on the home farm. Farmers raised their own flax. "When ripe it was pulled by hand, tied into small bundles, and when dried the seed was separated from the stalk by taking a bundle in the hands and beating the seed-end of the flax against a log or large stone, which would also open the boll in which the seed is grown. The flax was then spread upon greensward until the woody part was sufficiently rotted, when it was broken by means of what was then known as a hand-break, when it was hackled, separating the woody part, or inside of stalk, from the fibre. The fibre was then hatcheled by hand, and made ready for the spinning-wheel. The spinning was mostly done during the long winter evenings, and not infrequently parties of a dozen or more of the pioneers' daughters would meet of an evening and have an old-fashioned spinning bee, each carrying her wheel upon her shoulder. The thread thus spun was next placed in the hands of the weaver, who would weave the linen any desired width, usually about a yard wide. The finest of the linen was used for shirting, and the coarser dyed and made into other wearing apparel, usually breeches and jackets." Most of the farmers raised an acre or two of flax to meet the family need. Woolen garments were not often used. Sheep were hard to raise, owing to lack of fences and wild beasts, but what wool was made "was cleansed in a primitive way, carded into rolls by hand, and spun and wove by hand, the same as the linen.

In the absence of churches, weddings were often solemnized "under the branches of a large tree at some point along the principal road," the minister being notified of time and place, and often coming on horseback a long way to perform the ceremony. "Funerals were attended on foot, horseback, and in the old Conestoga wagon. There being no such thing as a fashionable hearse, the remains of the deceased were placed in one of the old Conestogas, covered with white cloth stretched over the high bows, and drawn by four horses, the driver riding the near wheel-horse" as within recent years. After the coffin had been placed in the wagon, those of the mourners who could find room in the same wagon did so; the others walked to the place of burial, where refreshments would be served, if cake and wine had not been provided before leaving the home of the bereaved.

The mill was the center of population, and the general rendezvous of settlers; generally a tavern was also kept by the miller. Carousals were few, however, because most of the farmers made whiskey for themselves.

The early school history of Warwick township centres conspicuously in the Moravian schools of Lititz, and they have been reviewed in other chapters. An early day school was conducted in the old Warwick church, and many of the old churches throughout the present four townships of the original Warwick were to some extent used for school purposes. The first school in Warwick township was that opened by Rev. Leonard Schnell, a Moravian minister, in the Warwick church, in 1748 or 1749. A parochial school was conducted in provincial times by the Brickerville congregation, in Elizabeth township. Peter Wieland's old mill on Middle creek, in Clay township, was used as a schoolhouse from about 1787. The Durlach schoolhouse was set apart for the use of Mennonite, Lutheran and Reformed children in about 1800; and the Wood Corner schoolhouse was built mainly at the expense of the Bentz and Martin families in 1813. The three schoolhouses last named were in Clay township, but there were many other schoolhouses, or buildings as such, in the other Warwick townships. Wherever there was a need, it was not an expensive matter to provide a schoolhouse, because parents were not then very critical in such matters. Most of the German settlers recognized that some elementary education was desirable, though few cared to afford their sons higher education, for that would tend to draw the sons away from the farms. Israel G. Erb, of a pioneer Warwick township family, wrote as follows regarding the early rural schools:

> Short terms of three or four months were taught by the day, at the rate of three or four cents per day per pupil. The buildings were small dingy log cabins and old meeting-houses. The school apparatus consisted of several flat tables; a large wood-stove, with a capacity of holding very near one-fourth of a cord of wood; a few books, such as Byerly's Spelling Book, Rose and Pike arithmetics, some very old German arithmetics, calculating mostly pounds, shillings and pence, English and German testaments, as in those days that sacred book was used as a class book; a slate pencil oftentimes made out of a gravelstone; a goosequill, a solution of indigo for ink, and about six sheets of paper (foolscap) sewed together for a copy book; no blackboards. A teacher suitable to the times, often a worn out day laborer, who was obliged to give from three to four lessons a day in reading, which was considered in old days absolutely necessary. Very little attention was paid to arithmetic. Grammar, geography, and mental arithmetic were unknown, and when first introduced met with a powerful opposition. * * * It was the duty of the teacher oftentimes to give the pupils double recitations, English and German, mostly in the Testament. No printed copy books (were used); the teacher had to set them, or in other words head them, some in mixed English and others in Pennsylvania Dutch, just as parents desired.

The improvement came only with the establishment of the compulsory free schools, and was not effected without great effort, the free common school system being bitterly and very generally opposed by the farmers. Lititz had good schools from about 1815, but the standard of education in the rural sections was poor. The Acts of the Legislature in 1828, 1834 and 1836 did not stir the Warwick township educators and taxpayers into action until 1843. Then the board of school directors, the first to be elected, met at Jacob Zeigler's house and organized by electing Samuel Frantz president and Jacob B. Tshudy treasurer. The other members were Christian Stehman, Daniel Rudy, Jacob Shitz, and Benjamin Pennel, the last-named being elected secretary. One of the first resolutions passed by the board was that "no child should receive at the public expense more than six months of schooling in one year." There were then 254 children of school age in Warwick township, which then included Penn township. The school tax was five cents on one hundred dollars of assessed valuation. The first schools under the new system in Warwick township were opened in June, 1843. The first teachers were Abraham B. Schiffler, Eli Pickel, Philip Thratz, Jacob Singer, Abraham Balmer, Elizabeth Whiteford, Samuel Caldren, Mordecai Davis and Samuel Zintmeyer. Most of the school directors on the original board were resident in Penn township, which was set off from Warwick township in 1845.

The common school system was not adopted in Elizabeth township until 1847; Clay township had not then yet been formed. The first directors in Elizabeth township were John Beamesderfer, Ezra Nissler, Martin Weidman, Hiram Erb, Galsel Baer and Samuel Eberly. There was difficulty in enforcing the law and establishing the free schools, as until about 1852 many of the taxpayers refused to pay the school tax. It is doubtful whether the new system came properly into operation in Elizabeth township until 1853 or 1854. The first school report filed was that made in 1854. The directors then were Galsel Baer, president; Joseph Keener, secretary; T. A. Boyd, treasurer; John Beamesderfer, Jacob R. Hess and Joseph Snyder. The teachers were George

Benjamin, G. Baer, John B. Nissler, Levi Young and John Bright; they received a monthly salary of twenty-two dollars, and they were required, without extra pay, to cut all the wood needed by the capacious school stoves. They probably acted as janitors also. As late as the 'eighties, the salaries paid to district school teachers in Elizabeth township did not exceed $40 a month. Under the new system, most of the schoolhouses were well-built brick structures, well ventilated, heated and lighted. Further information is given in the school chapter.

Villages and Other Places—The borough of Lititz is the most important place in the four townships of the original Warwick; and its interesting history is reviewed in a special chapter, as is proper. Beginning a review, therefore, of the other centers of population by sketching the history of the village of Warwick, rather because of its name than of its relative importance, it appears that it originated in the desire of people other than Moravians to settle in the vicinity of Lititz, which since 1754, when George Klein transferred his estate to the Moravian church, was held exclusively for Moravians.

The village of Warwick adjoins Lititz, and began about the same time, though it was hardly obvious until the attempt made to exploit a townsite in 1811-13. In 1811 a syndicate consisting of Charles Montelius, a Mr. Hibsman, and others, bought land immediately north of the village of Lititz, from the administrators of Nicholas Stroh, and laid out 153 building lots on the tract situated fifty perches north of Lititz boundary. In the "Lancaster Journal" of July 16, 1813, Charles Montelius announced his purpose to sell these lots "by way of lottery at $125 each, to be paid on delivery of the titles." The "Grand Prize" was a lot and "large two-story limestone house with a cellar under it," on Lititz street, the value of which was declared to be $4,000. The drawing was to be made "as soon as 2-3rds or the whole of the certificates" were sold. The same Lancaster paper on August 6 of the same year carried an announcement to "holders of certificates for lots in the town of Warwick," that the drawing would take place "in Christian Hall's Tavern in the town of Lititz," on August 21, 1813.

Evidently, the promotion was not very successful, though the promoters struggled for many years apparently to retain the tract. In 1836 the town consisted of a two-story stone house, three two-story brick houses, seven two-story frame houses and six one-story frame houses. "David Miller, sheriff of Lancaster county, seized the entire tract amounting to sixty-six acres and thirty-five perches, and sold it to Frederick Zitzman to satisfy a claim of the Stroh estate, for the sum of $6,900." The propertyholders in the village eventually combined and bought the tract from Zitzman. The two-story stone house was in all probability the homestead of Nicholas Stroh, who was an innkeeper during the Revolution. His public house was used by Tories of the neighborhood, until discovered and frightened away by the courageous wife of Innkeeper Stroh, who threatened to inform her father, Jacob Huber. Her husband apparently knew of the meetings, and was a Loyalist himself it seems. The Warwick House, another old hostelry, was built in 1814. The first name was the Kemper House, Levi Kemper being the proprietor; it became the Warwick House when H. H. Snavely bought the property in 1890. The first store in Warwick was that opened in 1814 by Peter Bricker, and conducted eventually by his son David Bricker. Charles A. Kreider, a tailor, established the second store soon afterwards. The village school was in a log house, known as "Huber's;" it was used as a school in the winter, and as a dwelling house in the summer. A brick schoolhouse was later built, probably after Warwick township adopted the free school law; and this building gave way to what was designated Warwick No. 1 in 1885. In 1892 another schoolhouse, called Warwick No. 2, was erected, to accommodate the primary grades. Among the early industries of the place were the limekilns of Christian Rauch, a coverlet factory of Leonard Markley, a scythe-snath factory of Henry Rickert, and some tobacco factories. The village retained its entity for about a century, developing into a place of about 700 inhabitants before being annexed to the larger Lititz, to which community, but for the church restriction as to settlement, it would have belonged from its early days.

Brunnerville, about two and one-half miles north of Lititz, had its beginning in the store opened at that point about a century ago by a Mr. Maelhorn. It was to some extent a public house also, and catered to the teamsters who passed in great numbers along that road between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The hamlet grew, and in 1832 a meeting of inhabitants was held to decide upon a name for the village. Abraham Eichler called the meeting, and at it Jacob Erb suggested the name of Whitehall. By that name the place was known until 1861, when it became Brunnerville, in honor of the Brunner family, which was then the principal business factor of the place. Peter Brunner had established a wagonmaking plant in the place in 1850, and the business had expanded; to the smithy and wagon shop were added machine shop and foundry. Peter Brunner died in 1865, and three years later his son Elias sold the plant to John B. Wissler, who conducted it for very many years. He also kept the general store. Aaron B. Wissler later took the foundry and machine shop; and later it passed to Frank P. Bentz. Pierce W. Flory has owned the coachworks for many years; Elmer G. Geyer kept the Brunnerville store, which is now owned by A. G. Fahnestock. The Brunnerville Hotel was owned by the Becker family for many years, and recently by Thomas Eitnier. Brunnerville is now a place of about 200 inhabitants.

Millway centered around what was probably the first mill built on Hammer creek. George Eby settled at the junction of the Hammer and Cocalico creeks in about 1733, and built the grist mill. It eventually became a railroad town, and a post-town in 1854, also an oil-distributing center. The American Transfer Company erected two large oil tanks at Millway about forty or more years ago; and to-day Millway is still a station for the Southern Pipe Line Company, and the National Transit Company. Millway seems to have been given that name at the time it became a station on the Reading & Columbia railroad. John Nissley was first postmaster. Recent millers at Millway have been Henry Zook, John Stoll, Abraham B. Snyder, Jacob Miley, Lymon Withers and S. S. Withers. Simon U. Eichenberger was general store owner for many years. Millway is a village of about 400 population.

Rothsville, three miles southeast of Lititz, was so named in honor of the Roth family, which settled at that point soon after the Revolution. Near Rothsville is the hemp and oil mill established by the Geyers in provincial days. Philip Roth about 1790 built a tavern at the junction of the Lititz and New Holland and the old Newport roads. When the place became a post-town it was named Rothsville, though Samuel B. Myers was the first postmaster. He built three brick houses soon afterwards; one became his storehouse; and from this enterprise may be dated the beginning of the village. When the Columbia & Reading railroad was constructed the route passed within a quarter of a mile of Rothsville post-office; a station was established and named Rothsville, which confirmed the village name, just as the development of the village was made definite by the railway facility afforded. Rothsville is now a place of about 600 inhabitants, has about one hundred houses, three churches, two general stores, one hardware, two automobile establishments, and an adequate number of retail establishments. It is quite a busy tobacco curing and cigar manufacturing center, having a dozen or more factories. F. S. Musser has been storekeeper in Rothsville for many years.

Kissel Hill, about two miles south of Lititz, on the Lancaster and Lititz turnpike, has reverted to its original name. Nicolaus Kissel settled at that point about 1762, and the village slowly developed, known as Kissel Hill. In 1845-50 the hamlet became New Haven. The hotel and store were kept by M. S. Groff for many years, and more recently by John H. Bausman.

Lexington, in Warwick township, two miles north of Lititz, is a place of about 250 inhabitants. It was early settled, and in about 1805 became known as Dundee. When it became a post-town the name was changed to Lexington. Snavely's mills and Boyd's cigar factory are the chief industries of the place.

Brickerville, in Elizabeth township, was the election center and also the church center. John Bricker built a tavern on the Horseshoe pike at that point before the end of the eighteenth century. He was descended from Peter Bricker, who settled on the bank of Cocalico creek in about 1741. The hotel erected by John Bricker was in use as an inn a century after he opened it as such. The first store in Brickerville was built opposite the hotel in 1813, brick for that and for the historic Brickerville church being made on the Burkholder farm. "The hotel was carried on for a time by Samuel H. Miller, and by Lewis Helshman, E. Stoben, James Donley and E. Setter. At the old stand have lived John Bricker, John Shenk, George Bentz, Samuel Engle, William Donbach, John Westenberger, Joseph Weidman, John Marks, Frank Ruth." Benjamin L. Rohrer has had the hotel for many years. At the old store, the merchants were Jacob Diehm, George F. Miller, John Seibert, Jacob Miller and Samuel H. Miller. At the new store the merchants have included I. H. Stauffer, Samuel H. Miller, Joel Weidman, Joseph S. Lauser, Captain John Bricker, John Hickernell, Henry Warters, Solomon D. Strohm, Jacob H. Mace, A. B. Reist, W. H. Delinger, E. L. Ruhl and William Ruhl, the Ruhl family now owning the business. Dr. H. A. Long is the physician of that neighborhood, and has a drug store in the village. G. C. Enck & Brother, wholesale manufacturers of confectionery and ice cream, have a plant in Brickerville; and the Weidmans have long been identified with the village.

Penn is a village about a mile east of Penryn, developing at the point where five roads converged; which fact possibly was the reason why a tavern was established there in early days; also why it was well patronized. Molly

Plasterer's tavern became well known if not famous as the headquarters of the mountaineers, and as the rendezvous of ironworkers in the old days "when the forges and furnaces were in full blast."

Penryn is between Penn and White Oak. White Oak was the name of a post-office, and Junction was a station name, coming at the intersection of the two railroad systems. Penryn is about a mile east of White Oak, and a mile west of Penn, which was also a post-name, Pennville being the favored village name. Junction also was a post-name. Lime Rock is a station on the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, a mile west of Lititz.

Junction took that name in about 1867, but the Snavely mill at that point is more than a century old. Jacob Snavely erected it in 1807, and it was operated by waterpower for about seventy-five years, steam then being added, and a large grain elevator. Henry S. Snavely was then the miller, Henry B. Snavely taking the mill property later. The mercantile business has been in the hands of the Hershey family for a century, operating cider mill, distillery, store, coal yard and tobacco curing factory, in addition to farming. Frank P. Greider was a later owner of the general store, Jacob K. Phaim owned the hotel, and the smithy was operated by Amos Enterline.

Lime Rock dates from 1880, and to the enterprise of Dr. J. C. Brobst. As the name would suggest, lime burning is an industry at that point. The rock has a very high percentage of lime on the original Gable tract. Lime Rock was made a post-town in the 'eighties.

Unionville, which is now succeeded by Penryn, was a center of population in provincial times, the famous White Oak church being nearby. The village grew appreciably in the busy days at Mount Hope furnace. Penryn is a place of about two hundred inhabitants. Ths White Oak mills are owned by Morris S. Hollinger. Joseph Hoke has been landlord of the hotel at Penryn for many years, and other business people of long standing in Penryn include Cyrus Kauffman, builder, carpenter, undertaker; W. H. Witmyer, lighting contractor; Martin B. Keller, miller; C. G. Dohner, produce; J. T. Weber, storekeeper; A. Y. Keath, storekeeper.

Mount Hope, on the Rapho-Penn and Lebanon county borders, is a place of little importance now, the population not reaching one hundred. Latterly the chief industry has been the Mount Hope Chemical Charcoal Works, and the wagon shop of Joseph Swartley. The Hull family operated the hotel, and the Rowe family the general store. Mount Hope was one of the early post-towns. Some of the earliest iron smelting done in Lancaster county was done in that vicinity.

Durlach post-office was established at the Johannes Elser farm, latterly owned by Zach. Forry. It was made a post-town in 1840, Clay, scarcely a mile away becoming a post-office also in 1873, Harrison Elser, son of Johannes, became first postmaster at Durlach. The Eberly family has long been resident in that vicinity. H. S. Eberly was postmaster forty years ago, and also storekeeper. William B. Eberly was saddler, Daniel D. Eberly a blacksmith. H. W. Messner has owned the general store at Durlach for many years, and the Kindig family operated the planing mill.

Michael Shank and Oswald Hostetter were the first settlers in the vicinity of Clay Village, though the land was earlier granted to the Shippen family. The tract was surveyed in 1733, and parts conveyed to Hostetter and Shank in 1740 and 1741. Most of Shank's land in Elizabeth township is still owned by some of his descendants in the Steinmetz and Hess families. In 1766 Michael Huber, a blacksmith, bought thirteen acres from John Hostetter for £62, and erected a building on the land in the next year. It is now known as the Clay Hotel, and is owned by Grant Steinmetz. Hiram E. Steinmetz, writing in 1916 of the Clay Hotel states: "The original building was not as large and commodious a structure as the present, three additions being added to it since. The original building, however, yet stands, and is a stone structure and able to stand the storms of another century. It embraces the bar-room and the small kitchen in the rear and two rooms above the bar-room."

Tradition has it that Michael Huber used it as a public house, though in 1774, when he sold the property to Martin Shank, he was described as a blacksmith. Huber still lived in the house, however, as tenant presumably. It is said that during the Revolution the drawing for a draft of soldiers was made in Huber's house, his daughter Christina being blindfolded and drawing the names from the box. Peter Eberly was tenant and innkeeper for some years after the Revolution. In 1789 he bought the inn from Martin Shank, though in the same year Eberly sold to Jacob Erb, who owned the mill and adjoining land, "and all the land in and around the present village of Clay, and the farm to the southwest of the village now owned by Ben. S. Risser's estate." Jacob Erb does not seem to have been innkeeper. Christian Young was landlord in 1793-96. Nathaniel Lightner was given license in November, 1796, for "Jacob Erb's house old tavern." He was tenant-landlord until 1805. In 1803 Nathaniel Lightner's hotel was designated as the polling place of the Fifth Election District of Lancaster county. The Clay Hotel, by that and other names, has been a polling place ever since. John Erb, son of Jacob, died in 1810, and his son John became the owner of the inn; he named it "The Red Lion Hotel," and conducted it almost continuously for forty years. From 1811 to 1819 he also conducted a store business in part of it. He also was miller until 1825, when his son Hiram became miller. Hiram Erb sold the mill in 1870 to Michael S. Eberly, who enlarged and modernized it in 1875. Mr. Steinmetz wrote in 1916: "Hiram Erb sold the mill in 1870 to Michael S. Eberly, who, with his son Lewis G., yet resides thereon. Mr. Eberly enlarged and remodeled it in 1875. The roller process is now installed. An older mill existed, and was converted into a schoolhouse, used from 1787 to 1800." Until 1815 the hotel was in Cocalico township, but then the Elizabeth township was set back, and the village of Lincoln became its eastern boundary in that neighborhood.

In 1854 Clay township was formed, though for some time it was feared that the new township would be named Middle Creek township. A petition was circulated protesting against the suggested name, and Jonas Lauber wrote a personal letter to Judge Henry G. Long, suggesting the name "Clay," in place of "Middel Crick," which was a long name, "hard to spell and difficult to remember." The letter was considered in court, Judge Long remarking to his colleagues: "If a citizen of the intelligence of Mr. Lauber does not know how to spell Middle Creek, we will not call the new township that way, but name it Clay, as he suggest—it meets all needs." The special township election was held in the Clay Hotel on May 12, 1854, H. S. Eberly being judge, and Adam Oberlin and Martin Romig being inspectors of election.

At that time George W. Steinmetz took over the farm and hotel. In the next year and until 1868 it was a private residence, the local prohibition law being in effect. In 1868 Mr. Steinmetz moved into a new building he had erected, and in which he continued as a merchant and cigar manufacturer until 1900. The hotel was rented in 1868 to Aaron B. Eitnier, and again opened as a public house under the name "Eagle Hotel." Later tenants were Emanuel Weidman, Daniel K. Witmyer, Martin S. Gross, John J. Faust, William K. Furlow, A. E. Lane, John L. Coldren, Isaac M. Christ, John E. Wolf, David H. Snyder, William D. Wike, Grant Steinmetz. For some time the inn was known as "The Wheelman's Rest," but when Mr. Grant Steinmetz bought the place in 1904 it became "The Clay Hotel." The Steinmetz family still own the property. The village of Clay has grown around the tavern and mill. The blacksmith's shop erected in 1863 was torn down in 1912, and a better one erected further up the road. Adam Mellinger has been blacksmith since 1893; Edwin H. Wealand has been saddler since 1884; Hiram L. Erb had a general store in Clay from 1875 until he died in 1900. Harry L. Wealand is justice of the peace; A. E. Lane is postmaster and storekeeper. The first postmaster was Emanuel Weidman, appointed in 1873.

Hopeland was once known as Newtown. The pioneer family in that vicinity is the Miller family, Christopher Miller settling on a large tract in provincial times. A school was conducted in the Newtown Union church, with which the Miller family was identified, from 1847 to 1880, when the Newtown schoolhouse was built on land acquired from John H. Miller. The name changed from Newtown to Hopeland in 1897, when the village became a post-town. Hopeland is now a place of 300 inhabitants, and three stores. William K. Keller has had a general store there for a long time. There is a good secondary school in Hopeland.

The recent census returns for the four townships of the original Warwick township are as follows: Warwick township, 3,501 in 1900; 4,011 in 1910; 2,869 in 1920. Elizabeth township, 937 in 1900; 926 in 1910; 818 in 1920. Clay township, 1,631 in 1900; 1,635 in 1910; 1,508 in 1920. Penn township, 2,128 in 1900; 2,157 in 1910; 2,222 in 1920. The substantial decrease in population of Warwick township since 1910 is explained by the annexation of part of it by the borough of Lititz, which in 1910 had a population of 2,082, and in 1920 was found to have 3,680 inhabitants.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TOWNSHIPS OF COCALICO.

Reviewing the History of East Cocalico and West Cocalico—Also the Boroughs of Adamstown and Denver.

The townships of East Cocalico and West Cocalico are in the northeastern corner of Lancaster county, bounded on the northeast by Berks county and on the northwest by Lebanon county. The southern boundary is Brecknock township line; to the southwest is Ephrata township, and to the west is Clay township. The line between East and West Cocalico runs approximately northeastward, through the center of the original Cocalico township. East Cocalico has an average length of about five and a half miles, and an average width of three and one-third miles; West Cocalico township is five miles across, at its widest point, and seven miles long. The Cocalicos are hilly in the north and northeastern parts, and some other parts are also elevated, though there are some good areas of level or only slightly undulating land. Lied's and Ephrata ridges are in the southwestern part, Bucher's Mountain is in the northwest, and Adamstown Ridge is in the northeastern part of East Cocalico, reaching into the Forest Hills of Berks county. The ironstone ridge in west Cocalico divides the limestone region from the swamp, which generally is north of the ridge. West Cocalico as a whole, however, is considered swampy, drained fortunately by the numerous affluents of Cocalico creek. Trout creek is in the south, and Indian creek forms the greater part of the western boundary. The principal highways are the Lancaster and Reading, which was a provincial road; the Shaefferstown and Churchtown road, which runs at right angles to the Lancaster and Reading highway; and another road which crossed the Lancaster and Reading at Swartzville near Adamstown. The steam railway is the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, which runs approximately along the township line between East and West Cocalico, though only one station, Reinholds, is in West Cocalico. This railway was originally the Reading & Columbia railroad, which was laid through the Cocalicos in 1863-64. Recent years have brought the electric railway, which passes through East Cocalico into Berks county from Lancaster, Ephrata and Adamstown, with power house at Reamstown.

Cocalico was not among those township divisions set apart and defined when magistrates and inhabitants met at Postlethwait's Tavern in June, 1729, to begin the organization of Lancaster county; and Cocalico was not mentioned by the court when at the August term of the Quarter Sessions the township divisions decided upon by the magistrates were considered. But evidently Cocalico township was organized at some time before the fall of 1729, because there is record that at that season of the first year of Lancaster county the magistrate appointed a constable and an overseer of the poor for Cocalico township. The original Cocalico township embraced the territory now within the bounds of East Cocalico, West Colcalico and Ephrata townships, and part of that within Elizabeth township. The township name is said to have been derived from Koch-hale-kung, an Indian name signifying a cave or den of serpents. (The anchorites or hermits, Eckerling and Beissel, who later had such conspicuous part in the monastic establishment at Ephrata, are supposed to have gone into the wilderness and settled near the bank of Cocalico creek at a point where the waters and swampy land were infested by serpents).

When the State began to function and political divisions were set, Lancaster county in 1785 had four election districts. Cocalico township was in the Fourth Election District, the polling place of which district was at the public house of Thomas Henderson, in New Holland, in Earl township. Cocalico township was added to the First District in the next year, with Lancaster borough as the place of voting. In 1795 Cocalico and Elizabeth township became a separate district, the Fifth, and the public house of Henry Miller, situated equi-distant between Lincoln and Ephrata in the original Cocalico township, being designated as the venue of elections. Changes in the Fifth Election District in 1803 detached part of Cocalico township and moved the polling place to Nathaniel Lightner's tavern at what is now the present village of Clay, then in Cocalico township. A new district, known as the Ninth, was organized to embrace the remainder of Cocalico township, and also Brecknock township, with polling place at Reamstown. Brecknock was detached from Cocalico Ninth, and made a separate district, the Twenty-first, in 1819. In 1815 Cocalico township had lost some territory to Elizabeth township, including the village of Clay, the township line being set back to the village of Lincoln. And eventually changes came in the election districts. In 1828 Cocalico township had two election districts, one centering in Reamstown, and the other at Gross's tavern in Ehprata village. In 1838 the township of Cocalico was abolished, and the townships of East Cocalico, West Cocalico and Ephrata came into existence. Schoeneck was made the polling place of West Cocalico, the Thirty-fifth District.

Early Settlers—Probably the pioneer in Cocalico township was Everhard Ream, who settled in what became known as Zoar, and eventually as Reamstown, in 1723. In Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844), this pioneer is referred to as follows:

> In the northeastern part of the county, a settlement was commenced about the year 1723 or 4, by Everhard Ream, whose descendants still reside in the village called after the first settler and proprietor. This place, like many others, was occupied solely by the Indians, at the time Mr. Ream located here. He ventured with his wagon into the woods, where he unloaded his "fixtures and furniture" under a large oak tree that spread its extended boughs over him and his family till he had put up a rude hut of logs, which he built upon what is now Lesher's farm. His nearest mill was on the brandywine, and his nearest neighbors, the Mulbachers, then living on Mill creek. After clearing a small spot, he procured a warrant and located about four hundred acres; afterwards, in 1725, received a patent for same.
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> Some of his first or early neighbors, who had been attracted by the improved spot and fine water, were Bucher, Huber, Walter, Keller, Schwarzwalder, Leader, Schneider, Killion, Dock, Forney, Rupp, Balmer, May, Mayer, Hahn, Resler, Beyer, Leet, Schlott, Graf, Wolf, Feierstein, Weidman, and others.

Tobias Ream, son of Everhard, laid out the village of Reamstown in 1760. At that time Jacob Hershberger had a sawmill on his 600-acre tract along the Cocalico, below Reamstown, and at that time the Muddy Creek Lutheran and Reformed congregation was quite a strong one; it was organized in 1730, and in 1744 the following were elders: Valentine Schneider, Jacob Fry, Casper Lutz and Philip Stober, Lutherans; Henry Haller, Christopher Shoup, George Hefft and Maneus Egly, of the Reformed church. Ulrich Shirk, with three of his sons, Ulrich, Jr., Casper and John, settled near Schoeneck in 1733, on fifteen hundred acres of land; and the Shirk family is still resident on part of the land. Peter Becker settled on a small tract west of Ulrich Shirk's in about 1737, and a century and a half later the land was still in the possession of the family. Paul Hyple settled on land which became the site of Schoeneck; he came in 1738. Christian Stetler was a settler in 1738; he sold his tract four years later to Peter Shirk, who in 1760 sold to Christian Newcomber. He was the owner in 1780, and probably held the land for some years later, but the Hagy family was in possession in 1792, and three generations of that family continued in ownership. Abraham Stauffer settled on land adjoining the

Stetler tract in 1742; he sold about 100 acres to Peter Brubaker in 1761; and subsequent owners include the Bear, Gselle, Keller and Eberly families. Israel Eberly received patent in 1741 for two tracts west of the Cocalico creek, warranted in 1733 and 1737 to Ulrich Carpenter and George Masters, respectively. Later owners include the Lichty, Schlachty and Dornbach families. Peter Bricker in 1741 received patent for a tract of more than 700 acres, east of the Cocalico creek. He prospered, and eighteen years later was able to build a fine sandstone house, which is still standing, and in good state of repair. The following inscription was carved on a large sandstone of this house, which was early used as a tavern, but whether by Peter Bricker, or in his time, is not stated:

> Gott gesegne dises haus und alles da geget ein und aus;
> Gott gesegne ale sampt und dar zu, das ganze lant;
> Gott alein die ehr, sonst keinem Manschen mehr.
> Anno 1759 Jahrs.
> Peter Bricker. Elizabeth Brickerin.

Jacob Weist bought a tract of about 200 acres in 1763 from Christian Bauchman, situated in the northern part of the township. Dr. Samuel Weist, son of Jacob, became the first physician in West Cocalico. John Cones settled in West Cocalico in the 'fifties or earlier. He built the Black Horse Hotel in 1759 or 1760; was one of the first in West Cocalico, and for a century or more very well known. The Hertzog Valley, settled by the Hertzog family in provincial times, is still represented by some of the descendants of Nicholas Hertzog. Settlers in the region of Stevens include the Hoh, Roland, Bare, Miller and Reddig families. Among the families resident in the Cocalicos in 1780 were:

Bear, Beticafer, Bucher, Brendel, Bradstone, Beringer, Binkley, Bechtold, Blumshine, Brunner, Bricker, Blanck, Brubaker, Becker, Andrews, Ackenbach, Achey, Albert, Adams, Amon, Amweg, Artz, Boneissen, Bollander, Bower, Beinhower, Bary, Borkholder, Bentz, Bollinger, Brand, Conrad, Diffenderfer, Dissler, Detweiler, Dornbach, Eberly, Ebrecht, Elick, Eigholtz, Eby, Eigenberger, Eckstein, Fether, Frantz, Furman, Feeser, Foss, Foltz, Flickinger, Gill, Griger, Geret, Gogly, Geer, Getz, Gardner, Groff, Gesner, Hyple, Harnish, Harding, Hoh, Hefly, Hertzog, Hershey, Heibel, Heft, Hershberger, Hoover, Hoffman, Hernly, Hays, Jaiser, Jung, Jones, Jackey, Knop, Knebel, Knisey, Kerper, Klein, Kneisley, Kegerise, Lesher, Ludwig, Laber, Long, Leed, Lutz, Landis, Miller, Mosser, Mondelius, Martin, Meintzer, Mast, Mader, Meyer, Muselman, Newcomer, Ober, Oberly, Pitz, Ream, Reinhold, Rock, Roland, Ruch, Reder, Rine, Roth, Rupp, Riter, Rohrbach, Reiher, Shirk, Sharp, Shoemaker, Sunday, Showalter, Solenbarger, Sherer, Swartzwalter, Shimp, Shoup, Sweigart, Sneider, Stober, Streit, Sneider, Stoffer, Speigal, Ury, Weaver, Witmer, Wolf, Wenger, Wild, Wengert, Wilson, Wiland, Westheffer, Westenberger, Wachter, Weinland, Waidman, Whitman, Walter, Weist, Zimmerman, Zinn.

These were all landholders, most of them having substantial acreages. The Amwegs (Amwake) settled near Reinholdsville before 1745. Others in that neighborhood the Blumshine, Binkley, Brunner, Flickinger, Jackey, Ober, Reinhold, Shoemaker, Walter and Zimmerman families. The Shirks settled near Schoeneck, and other neighboring families included the Becker, Conrad, Hyple, Newcomer and Oberly families. Those near Stevens then included the Bear (Bare), Hoh, Landis, Roland, Reddig and Miller families.

In 1780 Jacob Eberly was a wheelwright; John Miller a tanner; Anthony Dornbach and Peter Wieland were distillers; John Flickinger, Abram Ream, Jr., John Musleman, Mithe Kneisley, Isaac Adams and Henry Bear were millers. Jacob Hershberger's sawmill, below Reamstown, has been mentioned; it later was developed into the Wabash flouring mill by Philip Stauffer. Henry Binkley lived south of Reinholdsville and operated probably the first tannery established in West Cocalico. John Flickinger's mill was near Reinhold's Station. Another carding mill was built by John Flickinger in about 1800; it passed to his son, Benjamin, who sold to Daniel Pannebecker, who made it a boring mill. There was a tannery in Reamstown in its early days; it was rebuilt in about 1830 by William Musser, and torn down about fifty years later.

A century ago distilling was an enterprise conducted by many farmers, especially in times when crops were difficult to sell. There were probably many more stills than those of which there is record. Anthony Dornbach and Peter Wieland were comparatively large distillers in 1780. Later there were five distilleries in East Cocalico. One was erected by Andrew Bushong, three miles southeast from Reamstown; one by John Mishler, half a mile northwest from Reamstown; and Jacob Mishler had a plant three miles northwest from Reamstown. Philip Bushong had a distillery at Reamstown in 1835; he added a steam mill to it three years later, and did an extensive business until 1850. The still was abandoned in that year, but the stock of spirits, which could not be sold until the Civil War period, then brought considerable wealth to the family. In 1832 Nicholas Hertzog, in West Cocalico, distilled apple whiskey in a primitive still dug into the ground, and covered with boards to protect it from storms. There were also at that time two other similar distilleries near Cocalico post-office. In about 1820, Haverstich had a still at Reinholdsville, his plant being later bought by William Eicbach, who used part of the building for store purposes and part as a tavern. Less than a mile north of Reinholdsville, in 1830, Peter Bruner distilled peach whiskey. One mile east of Schoeneck was Mishler's, one of the largest distilleries in the Cocalicos. There were other distilleries, some important ones in Adamstown which will be referred to later in this chapter.

Boroughs—The two boroughs of the Cocalicos are Adamstown and Denver. Adamstown owes it origin probably to the fact that the land in its vicinity was considered potential in minerals. It seems that the Addams family must have been settled in the vicinity in the 'thirties of the eighteenth century. A patent was issued on August 1, 1739, to William Bird, an ironmaster, for 356 acres of land in Cocalico township, including what was then known as Addams Mill, the territory being supposed to contain workable iron-ore deposits. Apparently the land was abandoned by the Birds, possibly because there was not evidence of ore in sufficient quantities of high grade; at all events, the land passed from William Bird to Christopher Witman in 1747, the latter two years later selling 246 acres of the tract "unto the said William Addams, who lived out of the town on a portion thereof." It would seem that William Addams had industriously pursued his milling while the others had prospected for iron, and was quite prepared to buy the land from them for other purposes when they were disposed to sell. It seems quite possible that the land, in the first place, was warranted to Mr. Addams, and sold to Mr. Bird by him before patent was issued. Regarding the pioneers at Adamstown, Rupp states: "In 1736-37 settlements commenced at Adamstown—first settlers were William Adams, Abraham Kearn, John Johns, Philip Steffy, Mathias Fansler, Flickingers and others.

Adamstown was early upon a much traveled road, though whether that condition had come by 1761, when William Addams decided to lay out a townsite on part of his land, is not clear. On the old stage route laid out in 1772 his mill was situated about ten miles from Reading and twenty-one miles from Lancaster, and possibly there was much highway traffic passing his mill in earlier years. It would seem that Addams was urged to plat the town in 1761; indeed it is clear that he had entered into an agreement with thirty-nine would-be lot owners before he had finished the town planning. The general plan was to lay out a town, consisting of twenty-eight lots of one acre each and twenty-nine lots of half an acre each, and then other lots adjacent, with a street of four perches in width running nearly east and west and a number of alleys fifteen feet wide. The plan was in general carried out; and, after making a draft, Mr. Addams named the townsite "Adamsburry." He "entered into a written agreement on the 4th day of July, 1761, with the following-named persons, as purchasers and occupiers of the several lots therein designated: Frederick Fernsler, Jacob Balde, Balthazer Heining, Christopher Smith, Nicholas Fernsler, Nicholas Seltzinger, Abraham Shonauer, Mathias Abber, Mathias Farntzler, Philip Brendel, John Schwartz, Abraham Kern, John Moore, Peter Freisser, Jacob Freisser, Nicholas Yost, Thomas Kern, George Feiser, Philip Heil, Franz Hahn, Isaac and Philip Moyer, Christian Richard, John George Shoup, John Stall, Conrad Carroll, Jacob Betz, Peter Negeley, Abraham Kern, Jr., Lorentz Stehpan, Cath. Zwalley, Ludwig Herring, Henry Brendel, Ludwig Twinks, Martin Eicholts, Abraham Addams, Christian Hailing, Philip Breidenstein, Isaac Addams, William Addms, Jr., with whom he stipulated to lay out the town into sixty lots, with streets and alleys, subject to a yearly ground rent of sixteen shillings per acre, Pennsylvania currency." Each of the lot buyers undertook to erect within two years "a good substantial dwelling house, twenty by sixteen feet at least, with a good chimney of stone or brick, cemented with lime and sand."

William Addams died in 1772; and William, Jr., one of his five sons, died two years later, leaving a son, William (3), who was then a minor, but to whom he bequeathed his interest in the Adamsburry estate. By the year 1810, Richard Addams, the fourth son of the founder, possessed the whole of the Adamsburry property. He died in 1816, leaving a widow and eight children, including seven daughters. The one son, William, inherited the Addams farm, and the patrimonial mansion; but the ground rents were bequeathed to the seven daughters, six of whom had married, bringing the Heberling, Flickinger, Fisher, Bechtel and Musser families into the Addams genealogy. None of the Addams family now live in Adamstown, and most of the collateral lines have spread, some over wide areas. A distinguished descendant was General James Addams Beaver, who lost a leg in battle, later became Governor, and later a judge; his mother was a daughter of William (4), son of Richard Addams.

The town was incorporated in 1850 as Adamstown. At the time it became a borough its population numbered about three hundred, and the municipal jurisdiction extended over three hundred acres, part of which was in East

Cocalico and part in Brecknock township. However, there is much to record of the village period. Adamsburry was an important stopping place along the stage route, and with the opening of the Reading to Lancaster route in 1772 it was to be expected that public houses would be established to the extent of the need. Three old Adamstown taverns come into the record. One was early known as Schwartz' Tavern, which was perhaps the most commodious, and the most favored by travelers. Early proprietors were Schwartz, Dickinson, Clavenstein, Yerkes. It became Redcay's Tavern in 1820, and for thirty years thereafter was owned by Elias Redcay. He then sold to Jacob S. Shirk. Later owners include Henry Shirk, Benjamin Shirk, Samuel Styer, L. H. Evans, John R. Clark, Morgan H. Clark. An inn known as Rogers' for many years was opened in about 1772; early landlords included Samuel Breneiser, Jacob Regar, Henry Regar, John Sweigart, Leonard Betz and others. Forty years ago it was occupied as a private residence by Nathan S. Hartman. Rohrer's was a tavern a century ago, but had not the attractions of the earlier ones. A fourth tavern was started by Elias Redcay, Sr., who died about seventy-five years ago. Forty years ago this hotel was being kept by S. W. Miller. Adamstown in 1860 had three hotels; twenty years later it only had two. There were two in active operation until recently. The "Lancaster County House" is the present name of the Adamstown hotel. "Apple-jack," or whiskey distilled from apples, was one of the early industries of Adamstown. In 1800 Michael Kegerries began to manufacture corn and rye whiskey; he erected a large distillery in 1800 and a large stone house in 1809, with many outbuildings. Under his son-in-law, John Echtenach, from about 1830 to 1855, and under Henry Echtenach from 1855 to 1864, the product of the Adamstown distillery became widely popular. "Echtenach Rye Whiskey" was celebrated, but the distilling ended in 1864, perhaps earlier. In 1865 the plant was sold, and became a wool hat factory. Dwelling houses were built on part of the Echtenach land, also the Bollman steam hat factory, and the new brick Evangelical church in 1883.

Samuel Addams, grandson of William Addams the founder, is credited with establishing the first store business in Adamstown, commencing business in 1813, in an old log building which stood on the corner lot, and was occupied by Henry Haller. It seems doubtful whether that was the first store; fifty years would hardly pass in the life of a village before some enterprising resident would have thought of opening a general store. However, possibly the taverns catered to the mercantile requirements of the community and neighboring farmers. Samuel Addams in 1820 sold his store to Henry Flickinger, the latter erecting in that year a two-story stone dwelling house, with store adjoining. In 1845 the stock was sold to John Musser, who moved the store to his new building opposite three years later. There he continued as storekeeper until 1876, then selling his good will to A. C. Snader and D. H. Landis. They moved the stock to the Custer and Zeigler building, and conducted business for many years as Snader and Landis. Latterly the firm has been F. H. Snader and Company. Michael Kegerries was an early grocer. Rufus M. Hyman was the latest successor to that business, and conducted it for thirty years or more.

The manufacture of wool hats was at one time the principal industry of

Adamstown, Jacob Fichthorn being the pioneer hatter. His son, William Fichthorn, followed in the business. Another early hatter was Levi Hendel. The first machine hatter was Absalom Ruth, who used water power. The first to use steam were John, Jacob and William Fichthorn, who built a steam hat factory on the creek, adjoining the American Hotel. Levi Hendel later bought that equipment. The Echtenach distillery was converted into a hat factory in 1866; Henry H. Miller had a hat factory from 1875 to 1882 or 1883; Fichthorn, Redcay & Company began to manufacture hats on a large scale in 1876. Bollman's hat factory was established by George Bollman in 1875, and destroyed by fire four years later. Mr. Bollman rebuilt at once, and in his new plant found employment for fifty hatters. His was the only hat factory in Adamstown ten years ago. The Adamstown Hat Company has the place to-day. Most of the factories have been turned into hosiery mills. Mr. George W. Bollman established the Blue Cross knitting mills. The hope hosiery mill has been running for many years, and the company has another plant at Reamstown. The Stork Brothers ten years ago had two cigar factories, and now have a hosiery mill. The first cigar factory was that of the Mohn family. It was running quite recently. The cigar factory of J. B. Witman has been running a long time; another present-day plant is that of the David Sherk and Mason Cigar Company. There were two tanneries in Adamstown a century ago. The first was established by George Gensamer, early in the nineteenth century. After a few years it passed to Sebastian Miller, Sr., who in 1822 built on the premises a stone residence. It was the Miller home for many years thereafter. Sebastian died in 1844, but his sons, Sebastian and Henry, carried on the business in partnership until 1866. Sebastian, Jr., however, conducted the business for twenty or more years thereafter. The Miller plant also included a tannery established on a lot north of Kegerries' store in about 1818, by Peter Bicher. Sebastian, Sr., acquired this tannery, but abandoned it after some years of operation.

In Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" is a paragraph which reads: "A German Reformed congregation was organized, near Adamstown, called 'Modecrick Church,' in 1743." The historic Muddy Creek Lutheran and Reformed church is two miles northeast of Denver, near Swartzville, but to it went most of the pioneers of Adamstown. Later, the one-story stone schoolhouse at Adamstown was used, from about 1815 probably. In about 1840 the Evangelical Association began a special effort, and by 1845 had organized a strong congregation, then building a stone house of worship on Broad street, north of Main. In 1883 a new church edifice of brick was raised, the old church being demolished. The burial place of this church was not the first in Adamstown. As early as 1769 a burial ground was established on what became and perhaps even then was recognized as school land; the burial ground was used until 1845, and is a hallowed spot, many Revolutionary soldiers as well as Adamstown pioneers having been interred there. In 1845 the Evangelical churchyard became the place of burial. Later the Hon. Elias Billingfelt laid out a new cemetery adjoining the Evangelical church burial grounds, and not many years ago Mr. P. M. Musser, of Iowa, but formerly of Adamstown, "remembered his parental home by erecting a neat chapel in the cemetery overlooking the valley." The P. M. Musser Memorial Chapel is an artistic stone edifice. St. Paul's Lutheran and Reformed congregation at Adamstown has probably the strongest Sunday school of any in the township; its enrollment is in excess of three hundred; Rev. J. V. George, of Reading, is pastor. Emanuel Mennonite congregation at Adamstown is also very strong, having a Sunday school membership of 238; pastor is Rev. E. F. Brown, of Adamstown.

The pioneer schools of Adamstown are referred to in another chapter; also much information as to the Adamstown schools of the period since the enactment of the public schools law will be found in the special chapter devoted to that subject. The following is merely to supplement what is there written.

In 1855 a two-story stone schoolhouse was built near the one-story stone schoolhouse built by voluntary subscription about forty years earlier. In 1878 the older building was demolished, and a two-story brick schoolhouse was raised, only however to be destroyed by fire three years later. It stood a few rods east of the earlier school, and is the site of the even finer school building erected in 1881, two stories high, with four classrooms. The schoolhouse crowns the town, which is charmingly situated on the hillside.

Adamstown became a borough in 1850, empowered to appoint three school directors; but the first directors of whom there is record are the three for the year 1852—Henry Miller, Henry Stauffer and Benjamin E. Shirk. By the Act of 1871 municipal government powers were changed somewhat. They were applied to Adamstown borough in 1875, bringing in a borough council of six members and a school board of six. William A. Neibel was burgess; the town council consisted of Jacob Fichthorne, Benjamin Steffy, Isaac Sowers, Henry Hallers, Sr., and the school directors were Abraham Lutz, Ludwig T. Custer, George Bollman, Richard Regar, Edward H. Coldren and Henry G. Mohn. The first teachers in the borough school after the adoption of the free school law were Christian Lichty, E. Billingfelt and Abraham Lutz.

The population of Adamstown in 1850, when incorporated, was about 300. In 1860 it had 432 inhabitants; in 1880 the population was 801; in 1900 the census showed only 597 residents; but in 1920 Adamstown was credited with 800 inhabitants.

The borough of Denver now leads in the Cocalicos. It was laid out as the village of Union, soon after railway connection was established in the 'sixties, the name being soon changed to Denver. It was incorporated as the fifteenth borough of Lancaster county in 1900, and then became the Eighty-fifth Election District. In 1880 the population of Reamstown was about fifty per cent. more than that of Denver, but in 1920 the position was reversed, Denver being credited with 1,125 inhabitants and Reamstown with 823.

The territory in the vicinity of Denver was settled in the fourth and succeeding decades of the eighteenth century, among the early families being those of Baer, Keller and Brubaker. In course of time and by intelligent attention to drainage, some very rich farms were developed, but there were no evidences of a communal center at the mouth of Swamp Run. However, when the survey was made for the Columbia & Reading railroad, it was perhaps recognized that the logical center for a railway station in that vicinity was at that point. Other people, residents, thought so also perhaps, but until 1869 there was no other evidence of communal development on the later site of Denver than the little station built in 1863, the old grist mill erected in provincial times, probably by the Bare family, and owned by Christian Keller in 1860, and the tannery established by S. H. Gring in 1860. In 1869 the first building raised on the townsite was erected by S. H. Miller, and opened by him as a tavern, the Union Hotel. When the name of the village was changed to Denver, the hotel name was changed to the Miller House. The station was opened December 26, 1863, the first passenger train passing over the road that day. The first station agent at Denver was A. R. Royer, who was succeeded on January 1, 1870, by A. J. Ream. He in turn was succeeded by J. B. Brubaker in 1877.

Denver lies on both sides of the railway. The land on the west side belonged to the Brubakers, and that on the east side to the Kellers. Jacob Brubaker carried out the town-planning project with the station agent, A. R. Royer. The latter secured post-office status for his railway station in 1868, and appointment of himself as the first postmaster. In the next year (1869) H. H. Miller built his hotel, and set apart space in it for a store. He thus became the first storekeeper in Denver. The next storekeeper was S. M. Brubaker, who built a brick house for the purpose in 1872. He conducted a general store business in it until 1877, when he converted the house into a tavern under the name of the Merchants' House. He was an innkeeper until about 1882, when he sold to E. S. Fasnacht. The latter in that year built on the opposite side of the street, and to it transferred the hotel business, the former place then again becoming a store, W. M. Marberger having purchased the building. The Merchants' House is still one of the hostelries of Denver, the other being the Denver House, Joseph Mohn proprietor. H. E. Gockley is owner of the Merchants' House, and the Marbergers still have the store.

Isaac H. Miller opened a store in 1869 or 1870, conducting a hardware business in it, as well as a druggist's. Irwin Lutz has had the drug store for many years, but Isaac H. Miller & Son still conduct the hardware store.

The first resident physician at Denver was Dr. Sinesmach. The resident physicians in 1922 were Drs. H. S. Dissler, L. R. Rothermal and H. S. Smith. John Walter, a blacksmith, settled in Denver in 1872, and for many years was the only blacksmith in the village. Raymond H. Busser and Joel B. Eberly were later Denver smiths. The Denver Tannery was built in 1860 by S. H. Gring, and later purchased by Christian Keller. George Gensemer operated it for him twenty years later. Christian Keller was then one of Denver's leading men, having the grist mill and also a brickyard. He began to manufacture bricks at that point in about 1875. The first cigar factory operated at Denver was that of J. M. Brubaker, who began to manufacture cigars in appreciable volume in 1878; and for many years his was the largest factory in the village. John S. Nolde opened a factory in 1879, and A. H. Hornberger in 1881. Later cigar manufacturers include S. G. Dornbach & Son, Henry F. & H. R. Eberly, C. S. Garman, who owns the present Garman Cigar Company; Harry Imhoff, the A. Landmark Company, Ephraim Renninger, I. J. Rupp, Halpern & Walter. H. L. Heiser has been manufacturing cigar boxes at Denver for many years. The first to follow that industry in Denver was John B. Ranck, who began the manufacture in 1880, two years later selling to J. B. Hacker. The planing mill on Front street was built by E. B. Wolfe in 1882. But for many years the Denver planing mill has been owned and operated by John K. Messner. The Denver newspaper, "Denver Press," has been owned by Silas E. Bard, its editor, for many years. The original Denver Job Printing Office was established by J. G. Garman in 1878. H. M. Mellinger has been undertaker at Denver for many years.

The coal and lumber business in the early years of the village seems to have been in the hands of the station agents. A. R. Royer, the first station agent, began to sell coal and lumber from his point of vantage in 1864; he was succeeded in the business by the next station agent, Adam J. Ream; and the latter by J. B. Brubaker, who became station agent and coal merchant in 1877. Jacob B. Brubaker still has a large coal and lumber business, and Levi M. Mellinger has handled coal and slate for many years. The Westerhoff Brothers Company, silk manufacturers, of Paterson, New Jersey, has had a branch plant in Denver for a long time; it formerly was the Westerhoff Brothers and Napier Company. Another industry is that represented in the plant of the Klein Brothers Milk Chocolate Company, which is developing.

Forty years ago Denver had two schoolhouses and two church buildings. One of the church buildings was of undenominational status, the other belonged to the Reformed and Lutheran societies jointly. Many of the pioneers undoubtedly attended the Muddy Creek church, two miles distant. There are several strong churches in Denver to-day. Trinity United Brethren church, the pastor of which is Rev. B. M. Breneman, has a congregation in excess of 150 probably; St. John's Lutheran and St. John's Reformed congregations are of about equal strength, both in excess of 200, served by Pastors W. R. Knerr and W. Scott Brendle, respectively; and the Denver Church of Brethren is about as strong as Trinity; its pastor is Rev. I. W. Taylor. All the churches have resident pastors; formerly all the Denver congregations were only able to afford "supplies." Each church has a vigorous Sunday school. Denver has been a banking town for a generation, the Denver National Bank having long been a well-established institution, with capital of $50,000 and surplus and profits of $225,000. Denver's retail service is represented by two grocery, one drug, three hardware, four general stores and other establishments. The village only had 200 inhabitants in 1880; in 1920 it had gone far ahead of all other centers of population in the Cocalicos, having 1,125 inhabitants.

Villages—Reamstown is probably the oldest village in the Cocalicos, and is so named in honor of Everhard Ream, the first settler in Cocalico township. His son Tobias laid out Reamstown in 1760, the father conveying to the son fifty-four acres of his original holding for the purpose. Tobias laid out a portion fronting on the old Lancaster and Reading highway. In all he laid out ninety-five lots of seventy-two perches each, the lots having a frontage of four perches on the highway, and a depth of eighteen perches. Sixty-five of these were sold as lots; the remaining seven were sold to one person, Michael Kumler. All were leaseholders, subject to a ground rental, which however was destined to remain uncollected. Upon the seven lots sold to Kumler there had been earlier built a dwelling house of standstone and one story high. The builder was Tobias Ream, from whom it passed to Michael Kumler, when the latter acquired the seven lots. Mr. Kumler later sold it to Jacob Showalter. Forty years ago it was owned by Henry Lesher. Another old house, in fact, the first erected in Reamstown, was the log building in which Frederick Ream lived his whole life. It was torn down only about forty-five years ago, and it is thought that this may have been the first tavern in the vicinity.

Reamstown is rich in tavern history. Cyrus Ream, writing in 1883 on the subject, stated that a tavern was kept in the present hotel of Christian Messner, known as the Eagle Hotel, by a Mr. Keller. Jacob Stahley afterwards kept in this building a tavern and store. It has always been kept as a hotel and has had many landlords. Another hotel was kept at a very early date by Adam Musser, in the stone building now known as the Cross Keys Hotel, and owned by Henry R. Rhoads; this was a tavern prior to the Revolution, as were all the others; it has since been kept by very many parties. The present Reamstown Hotel was first kept by Charles Montelius, and it had on its signboard the figure of a buck, hence was known as the Buck Hotel. It is now owned and kept by Levi Koch. The house now owned and occupied by A. D. Carpenter was formerly kept as a hotel by John Ream. Another hotel was very early kept under the name of the Continental House. The names of the early landlords of this house are lost. Of later landlords the names remembered are Peter Stipe, Peter Ruth and a Bauman, the last who entertained travelers there. The building stood on the site now occupied by Odd Fellows' Hall. It was torn down about thirty years since (about 1853), but traces of its foundations may still be found. It was used as a hospital after the battle of Brandywine, and the names of some of the patriots who died here are still traceable in the Lutheran and Reformed Church Cemetery. Mrs. Harner keeps the Reamstown Hotel, otherwise known as the Cross Keys.

The pioneer merchant was probably Jacob Stahley, if one excepts the earlier innkeepers, who were all storekeepers to some extent. Stahley himself was an innkeeper, and kept a store at his tavern probably in the first decade of the nineteenth century. John Lutz was earlier a blacksmith; Adam Musser was a saddler as well as innkeeper. As the nineteenth century opened John Graft was the village shoemaker and Michael Raezer the village tailor. Andrew Ream was a tinsmith and manufacturer of hatchets soon after the Revolution; Elias Weitzel was a maker of spinning wheels and reels in the days when these were rural household necessities. George Ream was a wagonmaker, John Tamaney a cabinetmaker, and John Gunder a chairmaker. A tannery was torn down about fifty years ago after having stood for perhaps fifty years on the site of an older one established possibly in provincial times, or at latest in early republican days; it was rebuilt by William Musser in about 1830.

Since its early decades Reamstown has been a well-balanced center of population, well able to cater to the needs of inhabitants within its sphere of trading influence. When first established the village was known as Zoar, but did not long hold that name, for it was the general desire to pass on to posterity the connection of Everhard Ream, first settler in Cocalico township, with that part of it. The year in which the name was changed is not known, but it may have been Reamstown in earliest State years; certainly it was

Reamstown before 1844, for Rupp refers to it then as such. It was Reamstown, indeed, in 1803; in that year it was named as the polling place of the Ninth Election District of Lancaster county; but the village was Zoar in 1773, when Tobias Ream set aside a lot for school and church purposes.

Its growth has been gradual but substantial; it has been steadily making headway. In 1880 its population was 336; in 1900 it had about 600 inhabitants; and in 1920 its population was returned as 820.

Reamstown is a banking town, and although the Reamstown Exchange Bank is a comparatively young institution, it has good standing. Latterly Reamstown has become a cigar manufacturing center of some importance; in 1880 it had seven cigar factories; in 1910 it had more than a dozen. Among the important present-day plants are the factories of the Root family, the Martin Kinport Estate and the Walters Cigar Company. The Lesher and Swartz general stores are still operated by Hoyer Lesher and Curtis W. Swartz, respectively; Harry H. Good is still the Reamstown undertaker; Cloyd Rhoads is still baker, and Dr. J. D. Mast is physician at Reamstown.

The present churches of Reamstown are St. Paul's United Evangelical, the Reamstown Lutheran, and Salem Reformed congregations. Each has a strength of about one hundred or more. The Lutheran church is in charge of Rev. A. W. Leibensberger, of Ephrata, and the Reformed church is supplied by Rev. W. S. Brendle, of St. John's at Denver. A day school was probably instituted in Reamstown at or before the time of the establishment of a church. The record shows that a school was conducted by the early pastors. It may be taken as definite, however, that little academic instruction was imparted, at least by comparison with present-day standards. When the free school law was enacted there was considerable opposition to the measure in the vicinity of Reamstown, and more in the outlying parts of Cocalico townships. Though the new system was in effect in some townships of Lancaster county in 1835 and 1836, the voters in East Cocalico time after time defeated the attempts to introduce it into that section. It was not until 1849 that a small majority in favor of adoption was shown at the polls. There were then nine schools in East Cocalico township, and about the same number in West Cocalico. By the way, Cocalico township was divided in 1838, and in that year West Cocalico managed to elect school directors under the new system; but it is doubtful whether they were able to bring the new system into effect in West Cocalico while East Cocalico held out.

Stevens is partly in East Cocalico and partly in West Cocalico. The pioneers in that neighborhood were the Bare, Hoh, Landis, Roland, Reddig, Miller and other families. Apart from farming homesteads, the first house upon what became the site of Stevens was the frame dwelling house built in 1827 by Samuel Burkholder, a short distance east of where Eberly's hotel stood later. In 1855 Samuel Slabach built a large storehouse; he was storekeeper there until about 1870, when it passed to Reuben Leisey and became an inn as well as a store. Elias R. Brown conducted a store and hotel business from 1875. Railroad connection was established in 1863, and Michael S. Shirk in that year succeeded in having a post-office established through the influence of Thaddeus Stevens, whose name was given to it, and was taken as the station name. A small combined station and freight house had been erected in the fall of 1863, and I. W. Mentzer had been appointed station agent; his son succeeded him in 1883. Mr. I. W. Mentzer was prominently identified with the first two decades of the existence and development of Stevens. The townsite was upon land formerly owned by Jacob Reddig, who in 1864 sold five acres to the railroad company. It contained the land between the east side of the station building and the wagon road, forming the western boundary line of the township. This land was sold by the railroad company to I. W. Mentzer, M. H. Shirk and Abram Base. They laid it out in town lots, and Messrs. Shirk and Mentzer built the Stevens' "Station House," a tavern. Mr. I. W. Mentzer built the second house erected west of the railroad; it was a brick dwelling house, and was his place of abode until he died in 1883. He soon became the sole owner of the land purchased from the railroad company; also of the hotel, which after his death passed to his son, Henry K. The Eberly House, a three-storied frame hotel adjoining Stevens station, was built in 1882 by H. R. Eberly; he also was a cigar manufacturer. Mr. A. E. Yetter has been a cigar manufacturer for many years. Henry K. Mentzer carried on the coal and lumber business, and Milton E. Shirk later entered similar business. William S. Plum had a general store and hotel, and William J. Storg was the other innkeeper. J. Frank Lutz has been in the hardware, implements and fertilizer businesses for many years, and latterly has added automobile supplies, repairs and garage service. Milton Showalter is general store owner at Stevens. Stevens is now a place of about 350 inhabitants.

Schoeneck was laid out by Henry Hyple soon after the Revolution; between 1780 and 1790. In 1792 Jacob Hagy erected a house, and in it conducted a tavern service. Later owners include Jacob Shirk, Samuel Shower, Henry Apple, John W. Mentzer, Daniel Mishler, Henry Wechter, Frank Wechter, Jacob E. Lutz, W. F. Stuber, David H. Snyder. The Weist family conducted a store in Schoeneck for many decades from 1847. Daniel Brunner erected a store house in 1858. It eventually passed to Elias Stober. Present storekeepers are W. E. Crouse and D. M. Royer. The latter has a Denver store also, and Mr. Crouse has long had the general store in Schoeneck. Jesse Reinhold was a coachmaker in the village seventy-five years ago, continuing until 1865. In 1868 D. M. Leisey entered the same business in another shop, which he conducted for many years. Jacob Shirk had a smithy near Schoeneck in about 1825, also a machine shop. They were in operation until 1854. He was the first to open a butcher shop in the township, doing so in about 1830. Becker Brothers and S. G. Usner have latterly been cigar manufacturers in Schoeneck.

Reinholdsville and Reinholds Station must be referred to briefly. Rupp has a passage which reads: "The neighborhood of Reinholdsville was settled between the years of 1735-40 by Germans, by Hans Beelman, Hans Zimmerman, Peter Shoemaker, large landholders, and others." Other pioneers of the settlement of that region in provincial times have been earlier named in this chapter. The village history of Reinholdsville begins in about 1840, when a townsite was platted by John Ober. For some time the hamlet was known as Whitehall, or White Hall. However, during Buchanan's administration the name was changed to Reinholdsville. Store and hotel were built in about 1840; forty years later Joseph Lutz was the landlord; and forty years afterwards (1920) Harry Gockley owned the hotel. John Showalter erected a store building in 1856; Levi W. Mentzer and Son later owned it. George Schlappig and Martin Wolfskill latterly have been general store owners at Blainsport, which is the name by which Reinholdsville now goes, to prevent confusion with Reinholds Station. Isaac K. Harting has been a recent miller at Blainsport, and A. I. Noll has been blacksmith and wheelwright. Blainsport has about one hundred inhabitants.

Reinholds Station came into existence with the establishment of railway connection and a station at that point, in 1863 or 1864. The village was founded by Colonel Jesse Reinhold, who built a large hotel near the railroad in 1864. As a matter of fact, the hotel served as station, and Mr. Reinhold undertook all the public services, installing telegraph office, post-office, ticket office and waiting room in his hotel. He was station agent and postmaster. His house was developed into a summer hotel, and well patronized by Philadelphians. He died in 1875, soon after which event the railway company built a station, the hotel passing into the possession of Abs. Hartman. Ezra Hassler became station agent. Owen Bruner opened a general store at Reinholds Station in about 1880; John K. Bucher opened a hardware store in 1883; Henry Bruner became coal and lumber merchant; the Reinholds Station Creamery was erected in 1881, Schaffer and Erb, owners, and M. P. Keith manager. Latterly, the business at Reinholds Station has been represented by Mrs. C. K. Bowman, general store and hotel; James M. Brunner, general store and printer; George W. Crouse, manufacturer of combs; Amos W. Eberly, hardware and grocery; Garman Cigar Company, branch of Denver; Daniel G. Gring, grist mill; Hershey Brothers, coal and lumber; Stephen Hornberger, hotel; Reinholds Knitting Mills; Walter Jerome Company Creamery; J. F. Winter, bakery. Reinholds Station is a place of about 500 inhabitants.

It may be as well here to insert a description of part of West Cocalico, as seen by the Hon. W. U. Hensel in 1904. He then wrote:

> West Cocalico is the northernmost township of Lancaster county. On the map it appears to be the peak of the roof; and at its apex Berks, Lancaster and Lebanon corner. A wooded elevation shelters the valley through which a road leads across the upper end of it, from the county line-stone to Cocalico P. O., once known as Flickinger's store, in the extreme northwest corner of the township, where two highways cross and the fingerboards point to Richland and Schaefferstown, Schoeneck and Reading. This is a remote part of Lancaster county. Even the telephone has not invaded it. But its roads, on a red sandstone base, with a gravel surface, will shame many of the richer and more pretentious districts. There are no more brilliant red barns; and their fine cutstone foundations, walls, and gables are a sight to see.
>
> Here is the district long known as the "Swamp," now well reclaimed and teeming with verdure and sparkling waters; here are visions of game not wholly extinct and fish that may yet be lured with a fly; here are the legends of Indian canoes that came dashing down from the hills in the swift headwaters of the Cocalico and sped onward unchecked until they floated into the Susquehanna; * * * here the Pennsylvania German is yet almost entirely Lutheran and Reformed, rather than Mennonite, Dunker, or Amish; here, at a country crossroads, with an open door between bar-room and store-room, is a landlord and merchant, a man of intelligence, education, and force of character.

Mr. Hensel refers to Fred Arzbacher, who was an enthusiastic amateur archælogist, but who in his business typified many of the men of the Cocalicos who steadily pursued a general mercantile business in conjunction with innkeeping. Most of them took an intelligent interest in public affairs and exercised much influence in their respective communities. Their houses were looked upon more as public houses than as inns. Often the innkeepers were the leading men of the church.

Steinmetz' meeting house, half a mile east of Schoeneck, was built in 1853, as an undenominational meeting house. The first trustees were Jacob Shirk, Peter Shirk, Christian Weist, Charles Steinmetz, and Rudolph Shirk. One of the conditions governing the use of the building, as stated when subscriptions were generally asked, was that no denomination could use the house oftener than once in eight weeks. Mellinger's meeting house, three-quarters of a mile east of Schoeneck, was built in 1861, on somewhat like conditions, all denominations having equal right to use it. The trustees were Samuel Mellinger, William Stober and John Gockley. Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite and Dunker societies used the church. The first Lutheran pastor was Rev. Michael M. Haerpel, in 1861; the first Reformed minister was Rev. Stephen Sweitzer, in 1871; the Dunker preacher was Elder Samuel Harley; and the Mennonite pastor was Christian Bomberger. In 1870 Methodists erected what became known as the Sand Hill meeting house, one and one-half miles north of Schoeneck; the society passed out of existence after a decade or so. Near Cocalico post-office, in the northwestern corner of West Cocalico township, a building was erected in 1865 to serve as school house and undenominational church. For five years it served as school house, another being then built. As a meeting house the building was used from 1865 by Reformed, Mennonite and Dunker congregations. Dunkards built a meeting house at Reinholdsville in 1865. The United Brethren congregation in that village erected one in 1848, and it later became union in use. Near Reinhold's Station, in 1874, the Children of Sion built a church edifice for their exclusive use. The first preacher was Rev. Grumbine, the founder of that sect.

In 1872 a Sunday school was organized at Stevens, and used the school house for some years. It was reorganized in 1883 as Stevens Union Sunday School. A Sunday school was organized at Schoeneck in 1872. Some of the present Union Sunday schools in East and West Cocalico townships are: Shimp's Union, White Oak, Stevens, in East Cocalico; and Reinholds, Schoeneck, Greenville, in West Cocalico. The three former are under the superintendence of Paul L. Sharp, Phares Ochs and E. S. Gockley, respectively, with respective total enrollments of 71, 104 and 92; the three in West Cocalico are in charge of Lillian Brunner, Norman Y. Leisey and Earl Brubaker, respectively, with 176, 166 and 58 members, respectively. Heinecke's Sandstone meeting house was built in 1860, by general supscription, and intended to be used by all denominations, or as a union church. The Mount Airy Union Church in 1922 was a well-attended church, and had a Sunday school of almost two hundred members, under Superintendent H. M. Drybread.

Cocalico Lodge, No. 408, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was chartered July 18, 1850, with William Tobias, Stephen Seigfried, John Bard, Henry Stauffer, Charles H. Rhoads, Gideon Kinsey, Jeremiah M. Sallada, Esaias Billingfeldt, Isaac Mishler, Abraham Kegerice, Isaac Bucher, Abraham Lavan, Samuel Lutz, John Raezer, Samuel Shower, charter members. Lodge room and records were destroyed by fire in 1878. Adamstown Council, No. 60, O. U. A. M., was instituted November 4, 1865. The first officers were: A. S. Raudenbaugh, councilor; John Fichthorn, vice-councilor; Henry B. Hendel, recording secretary; Henry Echtenach, treasurer.

The population of East Cocalico township in 1860 was 1,893; in 1880 it was 2,226; in 1900 it was 2,921; and twenty years later the census return was only 2,293. The decrease is explained by the incorporation of Denver as a borough; it population in 1920 was 1,125. West Cocalico township had 2,057 inhabitants in 1860; 2,480 in 1880; 2,255 in 1900; and 2,169 in 1920.

CHAPTER XX.

EPHRATA—TOWNSHIPS AND BOROUGHS—GENERAL HISTORY.

Ephrata township and borough are both of comparatively recent establishment; but the history of Ephrata spans almost two centuries, and constitutes one of the most interesting parts of the early history of Lancaster county. The township was erected in 1838, and the borough in 1891, but Ephrata was far-famed even in colonial times. As those who are at all acquainted with Lancaster county history know this wide fame was Ephrata's because of the peculiar monastic institution that was "at its gates." To keep the religious and civic history of Ephrata separate, the unique Ephrata religious community of colonial days is allotted another chapter, and interested Ephratans might well study that, as well as this chapter, for necessarily much of the background of Ephrata history will be found to have been embodied in the extensive review of the Ephrata Society of the Solitary, and its succeeding orders, the Brotherly Society in Bethania, the Sisterhood of the Order of Spiritual Virgins and the Roses of Sharon.

Ephrata may be considered to have been founded by Conrad Beissel (Johann Conrad Beissel), or at least by the monastic society of which he was the head. The conventual body had little part in civic affairs and in the development of the municipality, excepting through its missions of charity; but it owned or controlled most of the land contiguous to the Cloister, and its "secular concerns," paper making, milling, printing, carpentering, farming, brought it somewhat into commercial contact with the "outside world." Indeed, the village of Ephrata was mainly peopled by those of the followers of Conrad Beissel who were heads of families and so were unable to enter upon monastic life. To some extent Ephrata was peopled by monks and nuns who had left the Cloister to marry, or to resume the marital vows they had renounced when they entered the monastic houses, wherein only celibates were permitted to make their abode. Those of the former monks and nuns, or "brothers" and "sisters" as they were called, who settled as ordinary colonists in the village of Ephrata upon resumpton or assumption of marital state may have maintained themselves independently, or may have been employed in some of the "secular concerns" of the Ephrata Community; but the civil authorities probably classed them as ordinary colonists, for purposes of taxation. The inmates of the Cloister, however, claimed exemption. An attempt to tax the single men of the Ephrata Cloister was made; and resistance led to the imprisonment of some of the monks; but finally they were exempted, and for fifty years there after were tax-immune.

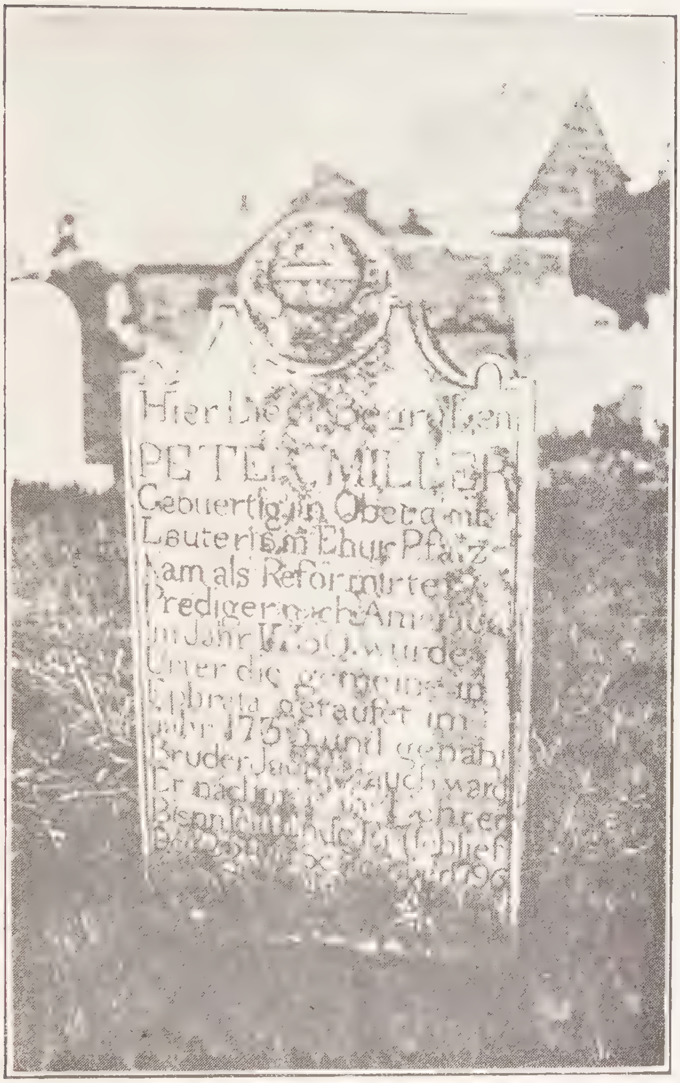
The original settlers within what is now Ephrata township did not all belong to the Seventh-day Baptist denomination, though some became prosperous and influential members. Among the pioneer families still represented in the township and borough are those of Mohler, Keller, Royer, Fry and Kemper. There are many branches of some of the pioneer families.

The Ephrata Community records make reference to one Elimelich who had lived the life of a hermit "in a cabin along the Cocalico creek," at Ephrata, before Beissel took up his abode in the same log hut between the years 1732 and 1735. But the first to possess a patent from the Proprietary for land in what is now Ephrata township seems to have been John White, of Philadelphia. He, however, seems to have been a speculator in land, not a legitimate settler, for he obtained a land grant for 1,647 acres in 1735, and in the same year or the next sold part of the tract to an Ephrata settler, Henry Mohler. Mohler bought one hundred and forty acres situated about one mile eastward of the village of Ephrata. And the Mohler family has been represented in Ephrata township ever since. Indeed, in its direct and collateral lines the Mohler family is to-day numerously spread over Lancaster county. The American progenitor, Ludwig Mohler, came from Switzerland with his three sons, George, Jacob and Henry, in 1730, and settled in Ephrata township, which at that time, however, was part of Cocalico township.

Cocalico township was not one of the original townships named when Lancaster county was formed in 1729, but there is evidence that it was organized in the fall of 1729, for in that year the magistrate appointed a constable and overseer for Cocalico township, and also for other townships not included in the seventeen named at time of organization of the county. Out of Cocalico township were formed in 1838 the townships of Ephrata, East Cocalico and West Cocalico.

Jacob Keller also settled in what is now Ephrata townshihp in 1730, the Keller family still holding the original tract, which is at Springville. The Mellinger, Landis, Mayle, or Maybe, Lichty, Bowman and other families were early in the township. Most of the pioneers located in or near that part of the township known as "Old Ephrata," on the southeast side of the Cocalico creek, and at that point between 1750 and 1780 quite an important village had grown. Some of the houses then built were still occupied a century later, and some are still standing. At least two of the hotels still in use were built in colonial or early republican times, the Eagle Hotel and Ye Village Inn; but probably the oldest buildings now standing in or near Ephrata are those that belong to the German Seventh-day Baptist Society of Ephrata, the "Saal" and the "Sharon," or "Saron," houses of the Ephrata Cloister, and some smaller habitations within the Cloister. One of the oldest is that still used as a parsonage by the Rev. S. G. Zerfess, pastor of the Ephrata congregation.

By the testimony of Peter Miller, then Prior of the Ephrata Cloister (see the Chronicon Ephratense, p. 203), it is seen that the Ephrata monastic houses were used in times of national stress for other than religious refugees. During the French and Indian trouble, following the disaster to the Braddock forces, which brought massacres of settlers by Indians, the doors of the Ephrata mon-



TOMBSTONE OF PETER MILLER

astery were opened to the refugees. Rupp writes, quoting from Peter Miller's entries in the "Ephrata Chronicle:"

> During the time of these hostilities, the doors of the Sieben Taeger at Ephrata were open for the reception of the inhabitants of Tulpehocken and Paxton settlements. They did not even consider their cloisters, chapels, and meeting rooms too sacred; these they gave for the accommodation of those who were driven from their homes by the incursions of the hostile Indians. To give both the inhabitants and those who fled thither protection against the infuriated savage, a company of infantry was despatched by the Government from Philadelphia to Ephrata, and on representation of the character of the society, by the commissioners who were sent to visit the place, the Government made them offers of large presents, which they respectfully declined to receive, except two large communion goblets, which was the only recompense they would receive.

Ephrata was then practically on the frontier, and even in the town of Lancaster plans were going forward to build a blockhouse there for protection. It was a period of extreme tension for the settlers, and there is record that even eight years later, in 1763, "the reapers of Lancaster county took their guns and ammunition with them into the harvest fields to defend themselves from the Indians." The buildings of the Cloister were once again, in a national emergency, used for State purposes. After the battle of Brandywine, wounded Republican soldiers were sent to Ephrata to be cared for; and the religious sisters became nursing sisters.

The oath of allegiance to the Republican government taken by residents in Ephrata township in 1778, brings into record a valuable list of names of Ephratans of colonial times. It is recorded in Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County" (1884), and, therefore, need not be set down here. The list contained almost three hundred names.

Another list of Ephrata townsmen of that period is on record, the list of "Taxables" for the year 1780; and the few names shown thereon would seem to indicate that many of those who took the oath of allegiance, and appear on the paper of 1778, were monks and as such exempt from taxation. The "List of Taxables" for the year 1780 is quoted below; it comprises freemen resident in that part of Cocalico township now within the limits of Ephrata township. It reads:

> Achenbach, Matthias, 50 acres; Brenisen, Conrad, Bowman, Benjamin, 50 acres; Beck, Philip, 150 acres; Bricker, John, 200 acres; Bowman, Daniel, 73 acres; Bowman, Samuel, 73 acres; Duck, Jacob, 21 acres; Duck, Nicholas, 8 acres; Ditto, Widow, 200 acres; Drish, Leonard, 50 acres; Erb, Jacob, 150 acres; Funk, John, 130 acres; Fanestock, Caspar, 4 acres; Fanestock, Detrich, 100 acres; Fanestock, John, 40 acres; Fanestock, Peter, 100 acres; Frey, Martin, 200 acres; Flotz, Jacob; Geer, John, 50 acres; Getz, Leonard, 95 acres; Gorgus, Jacob, 25 acres; Heater, John, 50 acres; Houck, George, 130 acres; Harlacher, George, 200 acres; Hersberger, John, 100 acres; Haushalter, Lorentz, 100 acres; Hershberger, Henry, 140 acres; Jones, John, 30 acres; Kuntz, John, 200 acres; Kellar, John, 60 acres; Kingmaker, Adam, 1 acre; Kafroth, Jacob, 186 acres; Kafroth, Henry, 80 acres; Landis, Benjamin, 78 acres; Landis, David, 66 acres; Landis, Jacob, 118 acres; Landis, John, 150 acres; Miller, Joas, 250 acres; Merckel, George, 50 acres; Mohler, Martin, 50 acres; Mohler, John, 100 acres; Mohler, John, Jr., 130 acres; Mohler, Henry, 130 acres; Mohler, Jacob, 150 acres; Nees, Adam, 200 acres; Nees, John, 50 acres; Negley, Jacob, 50 acres; Rimmel, George, 50 acres; Senseman, John, 200 acres; Wolf, Ely, 100 acres.

The list was above the signature of Martin Kisinger, attested by Jacob Landis and Jacob Gorgus. [If the student will compare this list with the first assessment list drafted in 1718, upon the formation of Conestogue—Conestoga

—township, he will see that many of the families were then resident within what became Lancaster county].

The battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and the defeat Washington's forces then sustained, caused the general to order a number of the wounded to Ephrata, there to be cared for in the buildings of the Ephrata monastery. The American forces lost 1,000 men in that battle, and wounded and sick soldiers were sent to the Moravian settlement at Lititz, as well as to Ephrata. The number sent to the latter place was "rising of five hundred," and of these about 150 died, states Rupp. It was a terrible winter for the soldiers of the Revolution. General Anthony Wayne took winter quarters in Mountjoy, which, however, was not the Mountjoy of Lancaster county, and the sufferings of his men may be imagined by letters he wrote to Thomas Wharton, "President of Pennsylvania," during that winter. One of his letters, addressed from Mountjoy (Valley Forge), December 28, 1777, ends thus: "At this inclement season, one-third of our troops are totally destitute of either shoes, stockings, shirts or blankets." In another letter he conveys the information that: "Although some hundreds of our poor worthy fellows have not a single rag of a shirt (but are obliged to wear their waistcoats next their skins, and to sleep in them at night), I have not been able to draw a single shirt from the store; for the want of which our men are falling sick in numbers every day—contracting vermin, and dying in hospitals, in a condition shocking to humanity, and horrid in idea."

It is not surprising, therefore, that notwithstanding devoted care of the wounded and sick soldiers entrusted to them, the Sisters of the Ephrata Cloister could not prevent the spreading of typhus fever. Some of the soldiers died of their wounds; more probably died of disease. And it would seem that the dreaded disease would have spread to the nursing sisters also, though "how many of the Sisters lost their lives by their devotion is not known, as the records of the society from 1773 to 1782 are missing." One of the attending physicians was an early victim of "camp fever," as was also a brave monk, who ministered to the sick without heed of personal danger. Mr. Yeager writes of this important period in the history of Ephrata as follows:

> In the battle of Brandywine, Washington lost about 1,200 soldiers in killed and wounded; besides these, he had many sick. He was indeed perplexed, as winter was drawing near. * * * Washington, then, in this emergency, turned towards the pious brethren and sisters on the banks of the Cocalico, at Ephrata. * * * Toward Ephrata, therefore, he started about 500 of these soldiers. The march to Ephrata, about 70 miles, was indeed a pitiable one. The words of an eyewitness (Peter Shindel of Lancaster City, in affidavit sworn to by him on Oct. 20, 1845), are as follows: "Some were in wagons, some were in carts, and those who were able to walk did so. As they passed in the night, we could hear the wounded cry as the wagons passed over the stones." At length they arrived, and the large Cloister buildings were given up for the use of the sick and wounded soldiers, as hospitals, and the Sisterhood of Sharon devoted their time to the care of these soldiers. Doctors Yerkel, Scott and Harrison were the attending physicians and surgeons. The wounds and camp fever baffled these faithful surgeons, but * * * the majority of their patients recovered and again joined the army. But for about 200, the exact number being unknown, even these kind hearts (Sisters) could do no more than ease their pain and smooth and soften the dark passage through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. For many of them the trying fatigue of the long and rough journey from Brandywine to Ephrata had doubtless been too great a strain, and they died soon after their arrival here. Of these was Capt. John McMyer McDonald, a brave soldier from Virginia, who, it is said, died the very morning after their arrival at Ephrata. He was buried with military honors on Mt. Zion, his own solders who

had borne him from the field of battle, after being wounded, lowering him into the grave. For some time afterward, the dead were given separate and military burials, but the deaths became too numerous to permit of a military burial for each one, and they were deposited * * * together, in trenches, without formal ceremony. With the exception of Captain McDonald, it is not known the name of a single one of those who died here, neither whence they came, nor the day of their deaths. All records, if there were any, seem to have been lost or destroyed. The place where they rest was enclosed by a fence for a long time, and only a board marked the burial place of these heroes.

The board bore the inscription: "Hier ruhen die Gebeine von viel Soldaten," which in English is: "Here rest the remains of many soldiers." It was not until 1843 that a movement to monumentalize the spot was begun. On Independence Day of that year a meeting of Ephratans was called to consider ways and means of honoring the memory of these patriots. Joseph Konigmacher, of Ephrata, was elected president of the society then formed to erect a monument, and two years later, on the anniversary of the battle of Brandywine, cornerstone ceremonies were held, attended by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by several who were in Ephrata in 1777. The Ephrata Monument Association had been incorporated in February, 1845, and some subscriptions toward the estimated cost ($2,000) had been collected, but not sufficient to do much more than lay the cornerstone, and to some extent grade. Joseph Konigmacher died in 1861, and Jeremiah Mohler succeeded him as president, Adam Konigmacher being secretary and treasurer. Upon their deaths they were succeeded, respectively, by Dr. J. F. Mentzer and Jacob Konigmacher. The last-named died in 1912, and Charles S. Yeager then became secretary and treasurer. However, the monument was destined to remain in an uncompleted state for many decades. No meetings of trustees even were held between 1863 and 1893. In the latter year public interest was again aroused by the decision to make the anniversary of the battle of Brandywine a day of patriotic demonstration in Ephrata. It was to be known as "Patriots' Day," and to be observed each year thereafter in memory of the two hundred Revolutionary soldiers "who were brought to the Old Cloister, nursed, died, and were buried at Mt. Zion's Cemetery." Each year until 1901 the day was observed in Ephrata, and the exercises held on the monument site were "most creditable patriotic demonstrations;" but the means wherewith to complete the proposed monument could not be obtained from private sources. Several attempts were made to obtain State appropriation, without success, however, until the spring of 1901, when the State Legislature appropriated the sum of $5,000 for the purpose. On May 1, 1902, the monument, which was of polished granite weighing in all about fifty-three tons, was unveiled and dedicated by Governor Stone, in the presence of 10,000 to 15,000 visitors, as well as of townsmen. "All roads led to Ephrata" on that day, and "at last the anxious anticipation of those interested was gratified."

The inscriptions on the monument convey its history and purpose briefly. On the south face of the shaft is inscribed: "Sacred to the memory of the patriotic soldiers of the American Revolution, who fought in the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, A. D. About 500 of the sick and wounded were brought to Ephrata for treatment. Several hundred died and were buried in this consecrated ground. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" On the west face is the following: "More than a century the remains of these patriots rested in this hallowed spot, without any commemoration except the following words on a plain board: 'Hier ruhen die Gebeine von viel Soldaten.'" On the north face has been chiselled: "Erected under the auspices of the Ephrata Monument Association, which was duly chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Unveiled and dedicated May 1, 1902." And on the east face is: "A grateful acknowledgment to the religious Society of the Seventh Day Baptists for its unselfish devotion in administering to the wants and comfort of these heroes." The monument is of Quincy (Mass.) granite, thirty-eight and one-half feet high, and consists of five sections.

One other event of the Revolutionary War should be briefly referred to. Colonel Bartram Galbraith, the county lieutenant, sent men in 1777 to the Ephrata Paper Mill, with a requisition for paper needed for the making of cartridges. "Finding none at the mill (the men) searched the printing office, and discovering there a great number of printed sheets of the "Book of Martyrs," seized three wagon loads of them, and the sacred ammunition was soon afterwards fired into the lines of the British foe, at Brandywine and Germantown." The historic mill is now the underwear factory of Walter W. Moyer.

Ephrata's part in the later wars will be dealt with in other chapters; and probably the most important event not yet reviewed is that of 1891, which changed the status of Ephrata from village to borough. An application for the incorporation of Ephrata as a borough was presented to Quarter Sessions Court on April 20, 1891. The movement was begun two months earlier when the petition was first circulated. It received the support of the majority of the property holders, 170 out of 298 signing the paper. There was good reason for the prosecuting of the matter, the village having "during the ten years prior to this move * * * had a growth of about 300 per cent." The population in 1891 was about 2,200, and government under the old system was considered inadequate; a police system was needed, the school facilities were poor, and many residents thought that much grading and paving of streets should be undertaken. A meeting was held in Mentzer's Hall on Saturday afternoon, February 14, 1891. It was largely attended by property holders, "and the sentiment in favor of the advance movement was almost unanimous." Messrs. George Wise, John R. Messner, J. B. Kellar, J. J. Baer and J. B. Eshleman were constituted a committee "to make a draft of the proposed lines." And, in due course, the petition was presented to the court, which on August 22, 1891, granted the request of petitioners, Judge Patterson signing the decree which made Ephrata a borough. The first borough election was held September 15, 1891, the polling place being in the public house of L. E. Royer in Ephrata. Four hundred and forty-three votes out of a possible 536 were cast, and resulted in the election of the following men to constitute the first borough administration: G. S. Wise, burgess; J. B. Brugger, G. F. Groff, J. J. Baer, J. S. Spangler, Joseph Cooper and A. W. Mentzer, councilmen; C. B. Keller, J. M. Shaeffer, J. Frank Eckert, Samuel R. Hess, Levi S. Landes and William Heilig, school directors; Samuel R. Nagel, assessor; Levi B. Sander, tax collector; J. J. Yeager, auditor; H. W. Gier, constable. The oath of office was administered to the borough officers by S. L. Sharp, J. P., September 18, and first council meeting followed.

Improvements were quickly carried out. A new school house was built at a cost of about $15,000, and in 1893-94 the first class graduated from Ephrata High School. In 1894, Ephrata was described as having "nicely graded streets, fine pavements, elegant homes, good water, excellent schools, plenty of churches and societies," and hospitable townspeople. (See also "Public Schools" chapter).

The editors of the "Ephrata Review," in summing up "Ephrata of To-day" (1920), in their "Brief Story of Ephrata" then published, wrote, in part, as follows:

> Ephrata * * * is a thriving borough of more than usual business activity for a place of similar size, having a population of over 4,000 inhabitants. (Federal census taking, 1920, credited Ephrata borough with 3,735 inhabitants, and Ephrata township with 2,456). The town is laid out with nice wide streets, adorned at many places with beautiful shade trees, well-kept homes and prosperous business places.
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> The town or borough owns its own light plant and water works, its water being considered the purest in the State; has nine churches; public schools, second to none in the county, occupying two large buildings and employing an efficient corps of teachers; is a centre for the manufacture of cigars; is a great trolley centre, has trolley connections with Lancaster, Reading, and Lebanon; also steam railway connection with Reading and Lancaster. Among the other industries of which Ephrata may boast are: a large silk mill, shoe factory, shirt factory, hosiery mills, planing mill, sawmill, brick works, knitting mill, tobacco packing establishments, foundry, marble and granite works, grain warehouses, coal and lumber yard, blacksmith, saddlery, bakeries, butcher shops and slaughter houses, quarries and other labor employing industries, and business places that go to make up a busy growing town, including department stores, grocery, hardware and general merchandise stores. * * * Ephrata has also three hotels and several restaurants * * * and a large summer resort, which enjoys a very large patronage. * * * A park has recently been inaugurated and many improvements have and are being placed therein. * * * Ephrata can also boast of an efficient fire department * * * there are two theatres in the town. * * * Ephrata has long been known * * * as a great horse market. * * * Two weekly newspapers supply the citizens * * * with the current local news. * * * There are several well equipped automobile garages. * * *
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> The borough of Ephrata is divided into four wards, by the intersection of what is called "The Square," of the two old wagon routes, namely, the roads between Downingtown and Harrisburg, and between Reading and Lancaster.
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> At the eastern end of the town, on the edge of the Ephrata Ridge, and along the turnpike leading to Downingtown, is located the "Ephrata Mountain Springs," a celebrated * * * summer resort, which was built and established in the year 1848 by the Hon. Joseph Konigmacher, who at that time was the State Senator from this section. Under his administration the place became a popular and fashionable resort for residents of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, the place having been patronized by many prominent men, such as ex-President Buchanan, Thaddeus Stevens, and others. * * * The Mountain Springs had, at the time of its establishment, an observatory 60 ft. high and 1,250 ft. above tidewater. * * * This observatory has, however, been torn away, and is only a recollection in the minds of the oldest citizens of Ephrata. After the death of Joseph Konigmacher, the Mountain Springs was closed for a time. For the past thirty years, the place has been in the hands, as sole owner, of Mr. D. S. Von Nieda. * * *
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> The borough of Ephrata stretches along a broad road, formerly known as the Clay and Hinkletown turnpike, or Main street, from the Ephrata Mountain Springs down to the old stone bridge spanning the Cocalico creek, a distance of about a mile. Side streets radiate from this main street, and these in turn subdivide others. * * * In 1854, along this main thoroughfare, from the Summer Resort to the Cocalico creek, it is claimed, there were only eleven houses. In this way, one may get an idea of the growth of this prosperous town, with over 4,000 inhabitants. * * * Although its growth has not been nearly as rapid as many of the great cities * * * yet it has grown steadily and substantially. * * *
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> As one passes down Main street, to the center of the town, passing the large Hotel Cocalico, a number of business places and the Mt. Vernon Inn, the Eagle Hotel is seen on the Square. * * * This hotel occupies the site of a hotel built a long time before the Revolution, and for a time was known as Gross Corner. Several squares further down the street is located what is known as "Ye Village Inn," erected in 1777, but modernized by the

late Thomas A. Wilson, in 1901. About a quarter of a mile to the north * * * is located what was known * * * as Clare Point Stock Farm, a farm at one time equipped for raising * * * race horses. This land was formerly owned by the Bowman families, but was bought and improved for the purpose by Mr. T. A. Wilson, a wealthy spectacle manufacturer, of Reading. * * * After the death of Mr. Wilson * * * the place was sold, in 1914, to the Catholic Church. The place is now known as St. Clement's.

The place is in the charge of the Redemptorist Fathers, and from St. Clement's at Ephrata the priests undertake mission work in the vicinity. The Rev. James J. Lynch has the Ephrata pastorate, and Rev. W. E. White, of St. Clements, conducts a mission at New Holland.

Because so much space has been devoted to the reviewing of the history of Ephrata's monastic institution, it must not be inferred that the Seventh-day Baptist sect predominates in Ephrata borough and township. As a matter of fact, it does not; indeed, few of the other Protestant denominations have so small a membership in Ephrata township. The justification for the prominence given to the Seventh-day Baptist records is that the Cloister comes uniquely into colonial and national as well as Ephrata history.

Among the churches of Ephrata borough to-day are the Trinity Lutheran, the First Reformed, Bethany Reformed, First United Brethren, Church of Brethren, Mennonite, United Evangelical, Hope Evangelical. Some of the churches of the township are quite historic. The Bergstrass church, which had is beginning in "Erlen Town," May 18, 1752, is referred to in the Earl township sketch.

The German Baptists, or Dunkers, from which denomination the Seventh-Day Baptsist Society of Ephrata separated in 1728, have been represented in the township almost from the beginning of its settlement. In 1883 there were five Dunkard churches in Ephrata township. They were: Mohler's, the largest of the five, situated about one mile east of Ephrata village. A stone church was built in 1861, after the earlier edifice, which had been used for school as well as church, had been destroyed by fire. At that time the Ephrata congregation was formed, and in 1872 a larger stone church was built. It was immediately designated as the church at which the annual love feasts for the East Conestoga District were to be held. Royer's Middle Creek meeting house is in Ephrata township, but in the West Conestoga District, and used also for the annual love feasts of that district. The original church and school house was built of logs in 1824, a frame addition being subsequently put to it. In 1874 a large stone and frame edifice was raised. Steinmetz meeting house, west of Ephrata, is another building occupied originally for school as well as church purposes. The other two congregations were Mumma's and Springville.

Ephrata Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized at Dening Hall, which was the meeting house until the sandstone church edifice was built in 1869; first pastor was Rev. George Trabert. The United Brethren in Christ organized in Ephrata in 1871, meeting in the home of Burton Keaner. In 1872 a brick church was built. It was dedicated on the first Sunday in December. The first members were Levi Hoover, John R. Boyer and William G. Sprecher, and the first pastor was Rev. M. J. Mumma. A Union chapel was erected in Ephrata in 1882 by voluntary contributions; and in the next year the society was incorporated with the following trustees: A. Konigmacher, president; D. R. Hertz, secretary; S. R. Hess, J. B. Keller and J. S. Sharp. The Lincoln

Lutherans joined with the Reformed church in building an edifice in Lincoln in 1852. The first Lutheran congregation was organized in February, 1852. The first church officers were: William K. Stober and George Bentz, elders; Peter Hacker and Andrew Enck, trustees; John Striner and Jacob Hacker, deacons; Levi S. Hacker, treasurer. The Reformed Church of Lincoln was also organized in 1852. The church edifice, built by joint effort with the Lutherans, was dedicated May 29, 1853. First church officers were Hy. Appel and Jacob Hoffman, elders; Francis Witmyer and John Wolf, trustees; John Appel and Isaac Beck, deacons. The first pastor of the Lutheran congregation was Rev. Harpel, who came in June, 1853; the first Reformed pastor at Lincoln was Rev. Daniel Hertz, who served from 1852 to 1862. Lincoln Congregational Church was organized February 16, 1869, by the following, who were the original members: R. W. Bard, Daniel Wingenroth, M. D. Hoover, Levi Heck and H. G. Cooper. Church building, of brick, was dedicated October 13, 1872. First pastor was Rev. D. Lentz. More church history will be found to have been covered in the general county chapters.

The National banks of Ephrata are both strong and of long establishment. The Ephrata National Bank was organized in 1881, with capital of $75,000; thirty years later its capital and surplus totaled to $200,000. Its present capital is $125,000 and its surplus and undivided profits total $250,000; first president was W. Z. Sener. Present president is M. L. Weidman, with W. W. Moyer as vice-president. The Farmer's National Bank of Ephrata was organized about twenty-five years ago, and has capital of $100,000 and surplus of $120,000. Mr. J. F. Mentzer is president, and H. Westerhoff is vice-president.

Akron is an enterprising borough, and has shown steady growth during the last few decades. In 1884 it was described as a small hamlet, with a population of 325, and a post-office, store, etc. It, however, had the advantage of railway facilities, being a station on the Reading & Columbia railroad, and when the electric trolley from Mechanicsburg to Ephrata and beyond was put into operation, passing within about half a mile of Akron, that borough showed its enterprise by constructing a substantial walk from the town to the trolley-stop. Akron was incorporated as a borough in the 'nineties, and the population at the last three Federal census takings has been recorded as follows: 1900, 653 inhabitants; 1910, 719; and 1920, 723.

It is a banking town, the Akron National Bank, which was organized about twelve years ago, providing the service. Its capital in 1912 was $35,000, and it then had a surplus of $5,000. The officers were: W. P. Albright, president; P. W. Weidman, vice-president; and M. H. Dean, cashier. Akron industries include several cigar and leaf tobacco factories, some shirt factories, and Miller, Hess & Co.'s shoe plant. There are two general stores, one grocery, one hardware store, three garages and automobile repairs shops, a mill, saddlery, three carpenter shops, lumber yard, smithy, wheelwright, drug store and other service establishments of a well-balanced community. The Akron mills carry the Akron record back to colonial times. They were built in 1762, and have since been twice rebuilt. The mill site is upon land that was patented to Charles Hallocker (Harlacher) in 1762. The Royer family settled in the Akron district in 1762, and members of that family have farmed the Hallocker tract. Amos Royer, however, himself received a patent in 1762, the old Royer homestead being near the Middle Creek meeting house.

The churches of Akron include Grace United Evangelical, Mt. Zion Evangelical, Zion Lutheran, the Church of Brethren. The Akron Congregational Church was organized in 1875, and erected a frame edifice in the next year, at a cost of about $1,500. Some of the churches are comparatively strong; the first three named have Sunday school enrollments averaging more than 125 members each.

The village of Lincoln, situated about two miles westward of "Old Ephrata," on the old Downingtown, Ephrata and Harrisburg turnpike, is more than a century old. It was laid out in 1813 as "New Ephrata," by John Reist, who purchased twenty-five acres of land for the purpose in that year from Philip and Elizabeth Kraig. The village name was changed to Lincoln during the Civil War, in honor of the great President. Lincoln had a population of about 500 in 1883, it is stated, and was then described as a thriving little town. Its population in 1920 is not given separately from the township total, but probably did not reach 400. Its present industries include three or four cigar factories, a shirt factory and a millstone manufacturing plant. Lincoln has long been a banking town, the Lincoln National Bank having been organized about forty years ago, its certificate as a National bank being No. 3198. Its capital and surplus exceed $100,000; and Benjamin Wissler was long its president.

Hahnstown has grown around Fry's Mill. When the original mill was built is not known, but it was referred to in a deed dated in 1762. John Martin Fry bought it at a sheriff's sale. The mill was rebuilt in 1798, and again in 1848. It is operated now by John Fry's Sons Company as a mill and creamery. Hahnstown was originally known as Fry's Mills post-office; it is still a hamlet of less than one hundred inhabitants. Murrell was originally known as Greenville. There were twenty properties in the village in 1883, and the population then was about 100. It is now about 150. There are a couple of cigar and leaf tobacco plants in the village, a good general store, owned by the Widder family, and a hostelry. New Berlin had its beginning about one hundred years ago, and gradually drifted into the village class. "When the place began to assume the dignity of a village, a few of the inhabitants met at the village tavern to fix upon a name, and finally selected that of New Berlin."

CHAPTER XXI

BRECKNOCK TOWNSHIP.

Brecknock township does not come into the original records of Lancaster county; and, strange as it may seem, there is no record of subsequent action of court to form the township. The name comes into the assessment lists of the county commissioners in 1740 for the first time, the total levy of taxes for Brecknock then being only two guineas, approximately eleven dollars. Leonard Prideston (or Pridenstow) was the collector. In 1752, when Berks county was erected, the northern part of Brecknock township was taken from Lancaster county; since that time, however, Brecknock boundaries have remained unchanged. The township is now bounded by Berks county on the northeast;

by Caernarvon, East Earl and Earl townships on the south; by Ephrata on the west; and by East Cocalico township on the northwest. The principal village is Bowmansville. The township is hilly and rugged.

The first settlements were along the banks of Black Muddy creek. The first warrant issued by the Land Office bears date of January 9, 1737. The warrant was obtained by Robert Warburton for 177 acres extending across Black Muddy creek into Earl township; title was vested in William Morris in 1768. Another warrant, dated December 21, 1737, resulted in the surveying of 232 acres of adjoining land on May 13, 1738, and in the patenting to the said William Morris on October 12, 1742. William Morris, a Welshman, thus became the first land owner in Brecknock township. At about the same time certain Mennonite emigrants came into the township and settled near where Bowmansville now is. They were Jacob and Christian Good (or Guth), brothers, and John Musselman (or Moseman), their brother-in-law. They were from the Palatinate, but seem to have come into Brecknock from Earl township. A deed was issued to Jacob Good in 1738 for 628 acres. Half a mile higher up, on the south fork of that branch of Muddy creek, Christian Good settled, and there erected the first grist mill established in Brecknock township. Later a stone grist mill and separate stone dwelling houses were built; in one of the latter religious services were held. Christian Good raised a family of seventeen children, six sons and eleven daughters. His will, dated August 11, 1757, appointed his eldest son Jacob as one of the executors. Him he exhorted "to be a proper example" to his younger brothers and sisters, and they in turn were admonished "to be obedient and subject to him."

John Musselman settled about a mile north of Christian Good's mill. About a mile north of Musselman's farm, Francis Diller, a Swiss, erected the first distillery in Brecknock. South of the Goods, Francis Eckert settled; east of the Goods lived Hermann Deis. Eckert's land eventually passed to the Messners, and the Deis tract to the Kern family. Casper Messner (or Mason) had a warrant issued in 1748, but prior to this he may have lived there and built the two-story stone house which still stands. Jacob Schneder purchased part of the William Morris tract, and died on his homestead near Centre Church on July 9, 1829, at the age of ninety-four years. For his son he purchased the Messner home referred to above. Just before the Revolution, John Boehm began to erect another large two-story stone mansion. It could not be completed until after the war. It stands in good condition about one mile south of Bowmansville. Another very large stone mansion was built in the valley of the Black Muddy creek in 1795 by Christian Schneder. Another even larger was erected by Peter Boehm in 1802. These houses are landmarks.

A list of principal landowners in Brecknock township at the close of the Revolutionary War indicates that it was then peopled almost wholly by Germans, or Swiss. Six mills are shown on the list. Hans Good owned a grist mill, Peter Good a saw and hemp mill, Rudy Frey a sawmill, Jacob Foneida (Von Neida) a grist and saw mill, and Dr. Samuel Martin, a grist and saw mill. The Von Neida mill was erected by Peter Sharp on the township line, near Adamstown; he died in 1764. In 1780 the mill passed to John Shaup, and Jacob Von Neida became owner in 1785; it remained in that family for almost a century, passing eventually to Andrew Emmett. About two miles lower down the same stream is the Martin Frey grist and saw mill; it passed to the Shober family in 1830. On Muddy creek also was Dr. Samuel Martin's mill; it was later at different periods known as Lupold's, Overholzer's, Sensenig's mill. Another Muddy creek mill stod near the Dry Tavern. It was a saw mill only until after the death of Abraham Bixler, in 1847. George Martin acquired the property and added the grist, both later passing to Peter B. Good. The hemp mill of the latter was for preparing the fibre of hemp for spinning. "A large stone, in the shape of the frustrum of a cone was made to roll by machinery propelled by waterpower on the hemp spread out on a circular floor prepared for the purpose."

It seems that about a hundred years ago some parties of Menonites left Brecknock for western parts; others went north into Canada, and were very much worried that in their first year in Canada (1816) they had frost in every month. But they were relieved when they heard that in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, a similar state of frigidity prevailed in that abnormal year. However, Brecknock township was looked upon as "worn out" at about that time. It was not until some years later, when limestone could be brought in from the neighboring townships of Earl and Cocalico, that the impoverished soil was improved. The early settlers had been improvident in their tilling.

Politics did not reach far into this secluded township. Farming was the main pursuit, and public affairs were left to others. The first Brecknock citizen who held county or State office was, it is said, Philip Von Neida, who was elected to the Legislature in 1838. German was almost the universal tongue, and all local journals were in that language. The common school system came into effect in 1834, but that being optional, the voters of Brecknock township continued to "vote down" all public school measures until 1848, when the common school system became compulsory throughout Pennsylvania. There was considerable strife, even armed conflict, between the progressive citizens, headed by Daniel Sensenig, and those who opposed these "Zwing schulen" (forced schools) and who seemed to believe that their children were bettered only by education from Holy Writ. Not for some years after, indeed, was it possible to enforce the school tax in Brecknock township. But it was the "law of the land," and the stubborn farmers had to give way, eventually. The school situation in 1850 was that there were five or six school houses, for a population of 1,366. "These buildings were mostly log cabins, rudely constructed, without furniture and without ventilation," and situated at crossroads in the woods, or "at out-of-the-way places along the wayside." The best school was at Bowmansville. Improvement came slowly, but in 1858 Brecknock township had seven school houses, and the school levy was $1,452.95. During the next twenty years all the school houses were replaced by substantial structures of sandstone. And the benefits that follow good schools became so obvious during that generation that no strenuous opposition has arisen to any reasonable school proposition put before the voters.

Bowmansville was founded by Samuel Bowman, who was born at Bowman's Mill, Berks county, Pennsylvania, in 1789. He was a descendant of Wendall Bowman, a Swiss Mennonite who came to America in 1707, was in Germantown for some time, and later settled in Lancaster county. Samuel was educated in Churchtown Academy. He studied surveying, did scrivening, and from 1815 to 1820 was a school teacher. The remainder of his life is well stated in a paper entitled "Samuel Bowman and the Village he Founded," read before the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1896, by A. G. Seyfert. The paper reads in part as follows:

> In 1820 Mr. Bowman built a house on the southeast corner where the road leading from Reamstown to the Plow Tavern crossed the State road. The house was arranged for keeping a country store. Here he commenced the mercantile business immediately after the building was finished, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Jonas Musselman, and he in turn by his son, J. B. Musselman, who does a flourishing business at the old stand to-day. This was the first house of the now thriving village and from whence the name of the place was derived. Martin Bowman erected the second house, Daniel Bowman the third, and John B. Good and Peter B. Good followed with substantial stone buildings. The latter built upon the northwest corner of the cross roads and opened a hotel, the only public house the place ever had. Now the village contains over a hundred houses, many of beautiful, modern design, four churches—two Mennonite, a Lutheran and Reformed, an Evangelical Methodist, and a handsome, substantial two-story school house. In 1840, just twenty years after the first house was erected, a post office was established at Bowman's store and named Bowmansville. Mr. Bowman was appointed postmaster, the only office outside of justice of the peace he would accept, the latter only for the convenience of acknowledging his official papers. The establishing of a post office and naming it after the founder, with the attachment of ville to it, was a fortunate occurrence, for by it the place received its baptism by the authority of the Department at Washington, or else more than likely the village would be known to-day by the inelegant title of Buckstown.
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> About a mile southeast of the then hamlet lived an old bachelor, Samuel Good. He was an eccentric old hermit, whose chief delight was in a flock of sheep, but he had a singular hatred for any sheep which was so unfortunate as to have black wool. In other words, he had more contempt for a black sheep than for his satanic majesty. This the villagers knew, and one morning as Good viewed his flock he was amazed to find a black buck among them. He accused certain ones from the town of having perpetrated the joke, and from that morning on he called it Buckstown, or, in Pennsylvania German, Buckstettle. The name stuck to it like wax and is now and then heard yet when one wants to refer to the place in a contemptuous way.
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> One of the "eyesores" to many of the village people was the Mennonite meeting house that stood on the square for many years. From 1870 to 1880 the village enjoyed quite a building boom and the real estate became too valuable for hitching posts and was sold, the old stone building or meeting house removed and a new one erected by members of the Mennonite Church near Von Neida's mill, about a mile south of the village. In one end of the old church lived for many years an old woman, whose name I have forgotten. She was the sexton of the meeting house and a terror to the boys who played upon the village green. In this quaint old house of worship preached for many years, every fourth Sounday, Jacob Moseman, a learned Prussian Lutheran, who foresook that church and joined the Mennonites, and was undoubtedly the ablest minister that church ever had in the eastern end of the county. The hitching posts and the old shed upon the village green were never sufficient to accommodate all the teams when Moseman's turn came to preach. In 1854 a new Mennonite meeting house was erected several hundred yards south of the village on the edge of a grove of magnificent pines. But three partly decayed trees remain, standing as sentinels of the many giants that stood there half a century ago. The new church has had but few members since its organization forty-five years ago. It was originally supplied by ministers from Montgomery and Bucks counties, but in 1860 Rev. Solomon Ott was ordained and has proclaimed the gospel for thirty-six years in the little church beside the pine grove. On the same road north of the town stood the little stone school house, now the site of the handsome school building of the town. Here Brecknock's fight for the free school system was repeated. What occurred in every other of the little temples of learning, the story of which when told is as interesting as Eggleston's "Hoosier Schoolmaster." From 1820, when Bowman built the first house, up to 1860, a period of forty years, the village made but very little improvement. Bowman's store and dwelling, the hotel, the residence erected by John B. Good on the northeast corner of the cross roads and now occupied by 'Squire Stover, a brick dwelling a little north of Good's house and then occupied by Joseph Musselman, another brick house west of the hotel erected by Jonas Musselman and occupied by his son, Israel, the dwelling, shoemaker shop and tin shop that stood on the edge of the hitching post ground

of the Mennonite Church, and occupied by Benjamin Lausch, the village shoemaker, and his son, Reuben, the tinsmith of the hamlet, the farm buildings of Daniel Bowman, another most substantial and large dwelling house then occupied by Jacob Hoover and now by Michael Witmer, and a brick dwelling now owned by G. L. Bowman, of Reading, and occupied by John M. Weaver, were all the houses the village contained when the civil war broke out in 1861. Reuben Lausch, who hammered tin in the second story of his father's house and later in a commodious shop erected near his residence, was a man of far more than ordinary ability. He not only illuminated the homes of the neighborhood with the first coal oil lamps, but his genial, well-informed mind was a source of delight to the young men who gathered in his shop to listen to his interesting talks. In 1861 the war excitement created a stir in the village that was not surpassed by any other in the county. An immense pole was erected and a large flag flung to the breeze. This suggested the idea to some one that the village ought to have a large bell. A tall pole with a frame was put up on the corner of the tin shop, a bell hung in the frame, and for many years the shoemaker or the tinsmith rang the bell morning, noon and night, and also at the death of any one in the entire neighborhood. At the tolling of the bell for some one's funeral it broke; the second was bought but when put in place; the third was purchased and put upon a new frame erected in the rear of the old Bowman store stand, where the custom of ringing the meal time hour three times a day to all the inhabitants for miles around is still observed. This quaint observance is part of the daily life of the village, to which everyone has become so used that to do without it would be like omitting an event of the day. No township in the county witnessed such exciting times as Brecknock did during the war. The district was strongly slavery, and contained many outspoken disloyal men who would defiantly at any public gathering yell for the Confederacy. Many of them were densely illiterate and had no more conception of the principle at stake than they had of the French revolution. The inhabitants of the capital of Brecknock, to their lasting honor and credit, were all loyal and stood by the flag that floated from the village flag staff. The Silver Hill rebels, as they were called by the villagers, were a terror to all law-abiding people. Philip Huber, the Berks county chief and organizer of the Knights of the Golden Circle, or Enemies in the Rear, came to Bowmansville and held a public meeting at the hotel then kept by Samuel Eshleman. The Saturday afternoon was a memorable event for the loyal people of the town. Huber, surrounded by several hundred of disloyal, cowardly Enemies in the Rear, many of whom came across the line from Berks county, was in his glory, and made the most treasonable speech that was ever publicly delivered in Lancaster county. The excitement was intense.

Bowmansville still has as residents members of the Bowman family. Its present population is about 400, and it is a well-balanced self-contined town, though not a banking town. It has a number of small industries, cigar, shirt and broom factories, and the usual retail service establishments. Brecknock township, however, must be put into the decadent class, for its population is dwindling. In 1920 it had scarcely more inhabitants than in 1850. In 1920 the census showed only 1,559 persons as then resident in Brecknock township.

CHAPTER XXII.

UPPER LEACOCK TOWNSHIP.

The early history of that part of Leacock township which became Upper Leacock township in 1843, is reviewed in the sketch of the original Leacock, and to some extent in the chapters on Conestoga and Pequea townships. Upper Leacock was set apart from Leacock by decree of the court at Lancaster on June 19, 1843. Its situation is between Mill creek and the Conestoga; and its township line is also that of West Earl on the north, Earl on the east, Leacock on the southeast, East Lampeter on the south and southwest, and Manheim on the northwest. The township is generally level, the elevations being Snake (or Bard's) Hill in the western part, and the foothills of the Welsh mountains in the southeast. The dividing line set between Leacock and

Upper Leacock townships in 1843 were stated in the petition as "to commence at a point near Hoover's mill, on Mill creek, and to follow that stream in its winding course to the Stumptown bridge, and from thence the line was to extend directly north to East Lampeter township."

The pioneer settlers in Upper Leacock included members of the Carpenter, Weidler, Buckwalter, Groff, Mixel and Bushong families. Other colonial families represented in the provincial settlement of Upper Leacock were the Good, Yonder, Lightner, Johns, Lyne, Hamilton, Owen, Lyon, Glenn, Morgan, Miller, Stump, Eby, Stewart, Herbert, Whitehill, Wallace, McClung and Bard families. John Bushong a French Huguenot, settled on land near what is now Heller's church in 1731. He had six sons, and his descendants are numerous in that part of Lancaster county. Philip Bushong succeeded to the estate. Emanuel Carpenter was probably the pioneer in the northwestern part of the township. He was the son of Henry Carpenter (Zimmerman) who settled near Lampeter Square in about 1715, Emanuel being then about five years old. Five other sons were born—Gabriel, Henry, Christian, Daniel and Jacob. The first three named sons were located by the father on land he owned near and along Conestoga, and in what is now Upper Leacock and West Earl townships; and the other three on his land near his residence in Lampeter. It is thought that Emanuel Carpenter settled in Upper Leacock in about 1723, but this seems hardly probable, for he would then be only thirteen years old. However, he may have settled on an independent holding in Upper Leacock in very early manhood, or in late nonage perhaps. He became one of the leading citizens of the township, and was a member of the Provincial Assembly for sixteen years from 1756. He died in 1780, and was buried in Carpenter's or Ferree's graveyard (see Strasburg chapter). It is asserted that the first court session held in Lancaster county, presumably in 1729, was convened in the little log house of Emanuel Carpenter. The Ellis and Evans "History of Lancaster County," p. 924, has the following upon the subject:

> On a part of the estate, formerly owned by Emanuel Carpenter, but now by Jacob Kurtz, near Mechanicsburg, it is said by tradition that the first court ever convened in Lancaster county was organized in the year 1729, in a little log house. There seems to be sufficient evidence to support the oft-repeated statement, for immediately after the election of Lancaster county a violent discussion arose as to the most suitable place for a seat of justice. Wright's Ferry (now Columbia), Lancaster and Postlethwaite's (about seven miles south of Lancaster) were the three most strongly recommended. It was held that the court met first on the Carpenter place, and was in session for some time, until a dispute arose as to the location. Finally it was agreed to remove the court to Postlethwaite's farm in Conestoga township. * * *
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> The old log house, in which the court met on the Carpenter place, is now (1883) standing in Mechanicsburg, opposite the Lutheran parsonage, and is occupied as a woodshed. The logs in this building are very large and heavy, being about two feet in width. The wood is well preserved and shows few signs of decay. The building was erected by Emanuel Carpenter about one hundred and sixty years ago (1723?). It is surely one of the most ancient landmarks in the township. Mr. Kurtz points out the place on his farm where the court house stood—the foundation of it is yet in the ground. He also has in his possession an old bench which was used by the court.

It would hardly seem possible that a session of court could properly and legally have been held in Lancaster county earlier than the first held at Postlethwaite's, which was in August of 1729. Lancaster county was erected by the Act of May 10, 1729, of the "Freemen" of the Province of Pennsylvania, "in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same;" and by the fifth section of that Act it was provided: "That the several courts of general quarter sessions of the peace and gaol delivery and the courts of common pleas for the said county of Lancaster shall be holden and be kept on the first Tuesday in the months of February, May, August and November in every year." The first Tuesday in May had passed before the Act became law; therefore, the first session of court would be that which opened in August, at Postlethwaite's. Also, it seems that Postlethwaite was in attendance upon those appointed to bring the new county into organized state long before the first session of court held at his tavern. It is recorded that his bill for attendance on the commissioners appointed by the governor to run the boundary line between Chester county and the proposed Lancaster county was, on February 4, 1729, ordered to be allowed; and the first meeting of magistrates and inhabitants, to agree upon township boundaries, was held in June, also at Postlethwaite's. It would, therefore, seem that his tavern would be the logical temporary headquarters for all county business. And the court records begin in such a way that there can scarcely be doubt as to where the first session of court was held. No. 1 docket of the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster county opens as follows: "At a Court of Common Pleas held at John Postlethwaite's in Conestoga the first Tuesday in August in the Third year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c, 1729." It was hardly necessary to try to surmise what important meeting of county or Provincial officials can have been held in the log house of Emanuel Carpenter of Upper Leacock, in 1729.

Continuing brief mention of the pioneers of Upper Leacock, it appears that Jacob Heller received a grant of one hundred acres "south of what is now Heller's church," in 1729. The property was held by his direct descendants until 1865, when Peter Heller sold to Kinzer W. Bender. Martin Mixel was a land owner in the township in 1735, and is believed to have been in residence earlier. His plantation extended from Mechanicsburg to Bareville, and "tradition has it that Mixel built his first house near a spring on a farm now owned by Adam Miller, but occupied (1883) by his son Sheaffer." Jacob Mixel, son of Martin, built the Midway Hotel, between Mechanicsburg and Bareville. Martin's brother, who came with him to America, disappeared, and is supposed to have been captured by Indians. The Good family settled early, evidently before 1729, for Hans Good was appointed constable of Leacock in 1729. In 1734 Hans Good received title to a tract of about three hundred acres lying between Bareville and Mill creek. About ten years later he sold it to Andrew Bare. It later passed to the Hershey family, and still later to the Groffs. The Groff (Graaf) family was one of the first to settle. Hans Graaf owned land which was part of that, or adjoining that of the original Pequea Colony of 1710. He sold his land in 1716 to Abraham Dubois, and was settled in Earl township in 1717; there he died about thirty years later. His sons were many, however, and they—Peter, David, John, Daniel, Marcus and Samuel—eventually had separate establishments, and the family eventually became numerously spread throughout the Earls and Leacocks. "Perhaps there is no family in the county more numerous, especially in Upper Leacock, more respectable and more useful * * * than the Groffs." The Yonder family, the head of which was Jacob Yonder, bought three hundred acres from Graaf in 1734. The farm eventually came into possession of the Grabill family. The Lightners were of the Huguenot migration of the first decade of the eighteenth century, and originally settled in the Huguenot colony on the Hudson river, New York. Nathaniel Lightner was born while the parents were encamped in London, in 1709. The Lightners were among those Huguenot refugees who were transported, most of them at the expense of the King, to New York in 1709. In 1723 they came to the Pequea Valley, and settled on the northern boundary of Leacock township, about a mile northeast of the village of Intercourse. Nathaniel Lightner eventually married Margaret LeRue, and they had nineteen children. John Johns is said to have accompanied Hans Graaf to America, and settled with him at Groff's Dale. Eventually he bought 230 acres of land from Emanuel Carpenter. John Lyne was the first settler west of Heller's church; his grandson was a soldier in the War of 1812. The Hamilton family was one of the leading houses of provincial Leacock; a famous son of William Hamilton was Major or Colonel James Hamilton, the "hero of Yorktown." Benjamin Owen, a Quaker, probably of Welsh descent, owned a tract north of Monteroy, and was for a number of years a justice of the peace in Leacock township, later serving in the House of Representatives; he died in 1786. John Glenn, a Leacock pioneer, died in 1740; John Morgan died in 1748; James Miller and John Stump in 1749. These were early pioneers of Upper Leacock. Stewart Herbert received patent for 93 acres in Upper Leacock in 1755; in 1778 he died, and his estate passed to James Clemson. Some of the pioneers left many children. Peter Eby, who died in 1794, left eight children; George Philip Bard died in 1793, leaving seven children; William Wallace died in 1793, leaving eight children. Other pioneers had larger families, for instance, that of Nathaniel Lightner and his wife, Margaret, who bore nineteen children to him. And very many of the pioneer families remained in the township. The first assessment list of Upper Leacock, as distinct from Leacock, was made in the fall of 1843; and among the names of persons assessed are seen the patronymics of the pioneers multiplied. There are three Bushongs, six Bards, eight Bares (Bairs), five Buckwalters, five Ebys, seven Goods, three Hellers, nine Johns, seven Stultzfuses, and four Wengers.

The first township officers of Upper Leacock were: William Weidman and Joseph Wenger, justices, 1844; Lewis Sheaffer and Christian Ebersole, supervisors, 1845; C. R. Landis, auditor, 1844; Isaac Hoover, assessor, 1843, and George Heller, 1844; Emanuel Swope, clerk, 1844; John Murvine, constable, 1857; Adam Bare, Reuben Weidler and Kinzer Bender, judges and inspectors of election, 1844; Emanuel Swope and John Musser, school directors, 1844.

Villages—Mechanicsburg and Bareville are the principal places in Upper Leacock. Monterey, Leola and Groff's Store are smaller places. Mechanicsburg, or Leacock, appears to be larger than it really is, for it extends along the New Holland turnpike for a long way. It, however, has no depth, the village having never been restricted to a regular townsite, and the builders of houses preferring to take sites along the pike. The village is of clean, pleasing and prosperous appearance, the houses being substantial and in many cases artistic. The first house erected in what is now looked upon as the village was probably the hotel building erected in 1788, but not licensed until 1823, when Jacob Rudy was innkeeper. It became known as the Mechanicsburg Hotel, when the place took that name, which by the way is said to have been given to the village in about 1850, "on account of the mechanics its machine shops drew to the place." Another building, which became the Spread Eagle Hotel eventually, was erected as a residence in the eastern end of the village in 1800, by Samuel Garber. The first innkeeper was a Mr. Temple, and the inn accrued historic importance in being the place at which the first Upper Leacock township election was held. Frederick Swope made an addition to the Spread Eagle Hotel in 1830, and in that annex opened a grocery store. George Bard's agricultural implement store has been conducted for more than forty years; and among the early merchants were Jacob Holl, Martin Bender, Hiram Dissinger, Emanuel Swope, G. G. Wenger, in whose store, which was opened by Jacob Holl in 1841, opposite the Mechanicsburg Hotel, the Leacock post-office was first established. The village of Mechanicsburg now is known also as Leacock, because of the post-office which continues in that name. It seems to be a more appropriate name for the chief village of the township.

Among the old families of Mechanicsburg is that of Weidler. Henry Weidler was blacksmith in Leacock for probably fifty years; the Weidler family kept the hotel for some years; Dr. Isaac Weidler was the first physician of Mechanicsburg, beginning to practice in about 1825, and being still in practice fifty years later. Nicholas Nassinger was a tailor in the village for very many years; he built a brick dwelling house in Mechanicsburg in about 1790. And the first house in the village was once the residence of the Rev. Trumbauer, who was pastor of Heller's Reformed and Zion's Lutheran churches from 1818 until about 1830.

The foundry and agricultural implement works of V. Andes & Son was for several decades the largest manufacturing establishment in Upper Leacock. Peter Vandersaal erected a machine shop in Mechanicsburg in 1849, and there began to make agricultural implements; he sold his business two years later to Valentine Andes for $2,000. Andes, a German of mechanical aptitude, soon expanded the business, adding a large foundry and other buildings, and finding employment for twenty or more men. The threshing machine with double windmill was invented in his shop, and for many years the firm had a large output of threshing machinery of their manufacture. However, the local plant could not compete with the large national corporations, and its market was restricted almost to the counties contiguous to Lancaster. The Mechanicsburg Pottery was conducted by the Swope family for more than fifty years, probably. It was the enterprise originally of Frederick Swope, who passed the business over to his son Henry in 1850. The pottery was situated on a triangle formed by the pike and the Newport road. Mechanicsburg, or Leacock, had a population of 423 in 1920, according to the census of that year. It is a well-balanced township centre, has three general stores, one drug store, and four automobile service establishments.

The village of Bareville is a place of about 250 inhabitants, about one and one-half miles east of Mechanicsburg, or Leacock. The first settlers were of the Bare family, Andrew and Martin Bare. Andrew Bare was innkeeper at that point, and there was no other dwelling house there until 1808, when John Mery, Jr., built a large house of brick. Adam Bare, son of Andrew, was the first licensed innkeeper, and probably the first storekeeper, and was sheriff of Lancaster county, 1831-33. The next to conduct a mercantile business in Bareville was Mr. Oberholtzer, whose store was in the large brick dwelling house, later he built a storehouse; he was succeeded by Jacob Swarr. S. R. Myer was the local merchant in 1855, and for several decades thereafter the Myers family had part in the business. W. G. Eaby was a later storekeeper, and at present the Bareville store is conducted by Harry E. Harsh. Levi Dunwoody was village tailor for many years, and Jacob Dunwoody has had a tinning and plumbing establishment in Bareville for many years. The tobacco warehouse erected in 1881 by Solomon C. Groff passed to Shaeffer & Company eventually; the Bareville Concrete Block Company has established a new and noticeable industry in the place, many fine residences being erected of that material along the New Holland pike. Also at Bareville is the National Store Specialty Company, manufacturers of the Pennsylvania Line Computing Scales. There is one garage and machine shop, and one or two hotels. The pioneer physician was Dr. A. S. Bare, who commenced to practice in Bareville in 1845, and continued in Bareville practice until 1883, when he died. Dr. J. Winfield Good began to practice in Bareville in 1873. Dr. L. K. Leslie is now in practice in the village.

Bareville has had an unique communal body almost from the beginning. The Bareville Trustee Association was formed in 1823 by Adam Bare, William Carpenter, Abraham Gerhart, John Deblin, William Michael, Martin Bare, Isaac Myer and David Oberholtzer, at a meeting held "in an old schoolhouse." Its purpose was educational, religious and literary, and it has probably done more to shape and mould the character of many young men in this vicinity than any other influence. With the exception of two years during the Civil War, the organization held sessions every year. In 1849, during certain "anti-society" sentiment, the association thought it advisable to obtain corporate protection, and in that year the State Legislature granted the society a charter as the Bareville Trustee Association. The society had considerable part in school government prior to the adoption of the common school law, and later, when their house was rebuilt by the township school directors, the society still held "their chartered rights by granting the house for all educational and religious purposes which have a tendency to promote the general welfare of Bareville." Ultimately the association became known as the Bareville Literary Society.

The Bareville Primary School was built in 1854, and the Bareville Secondary School in 1859. The common school law was not adopted in Upper Leacock township until 1847, and though directors were then elected, it was found impossible to collect the school tax, most of the taxpayers being opposed to the change. The dispute was carried into the courts, and eventually to the Supreme Court which, of course, upheld the law. In 1849 another election was held and the school directors when elected "performed the first effectual educational work in the township." They organized the districts, laid and collected the tax, and successfully completed the school session set for that year. These first school directors were M. G. Wenger, John Bard, Reuben Weidler, Benjamin Rohrer, Samuel Seldomridge and Wilson Brubaker. Teachers were then paid only twenty dollars a month for a school term of six months. The Mechanicsburg school house was erected in 1850; Mill Creek in the same year; Bard's in 1853; Stormtown in 1853; Stumptown in 1858; Locust Grove in 1860; Gibbon's in 1862; Mussers' and Myers' in 1863; and Wenger's in 1869. It was necessary to proceed slowly and be extremely conservative in all measures, as for many years the prejudice against the school system was strong in Upper Leacock.

Groff's store was erected near Groff's mill, which was the first established on that part of Mill creek which is in Upper Leacock. Groff's store became a post-office, Mr. R. R. Plean writing as follows regarding it in 1883:

> Groff's store and mill have been operated together for more than half a century. * * * In 1815 the stone house for the first time was occupied as a store by Mr. Sharp, followed by Isaac Becker in 1817, who occupied it for four years, when Samuel G. Groff, a brother of Daniel Groff, rented the store. Daniel Groff was at that time the miller, and erected the large brick building on the top of the hill which is the present store. Samuel G. Groff removed his stock into the new store, and was engaged in the mercantile business until 1854, * * * Samuel Groff, Daniel's son, then carried on the store business until 1870, when C. B. Buckwalter became the proprietor, and was succeeded by Jacob Denlinger in 1880. Through the influence of the Groffs, Groff's Store post office was established in or about the year 1827, with Samuel G. Groff as the first postmaster. The post office was kept in the store building until 1881, when the citizens of Monterey presented a petition to the Post Office Department, and caused the removal of the office to Hershey's store, Monterey, with Benjamin Hershey as postmaster, but still the office retains its original name. The store business at the original Groff's Store is now conducted by L. S. Lichty.

Monterey is a place of about 150 inhabitants. George Heller kept a tavern at that place eighty years ago, and in 1850 George Murr erected another hotel. The first store was known as Anderson's. In about 1880 the Hersheys, of Gordonville, erected a store building in Monterey, and Benjamin Hershey took charge, securing the post-office also, as stated above. Benjamin T. Seldomridge was a saddler in Monterey for very many years; and at one time the Monterey Coach Works, established by David Overley in 1877, was an appreciable industry. A tannery was established near Monterey, by Daniel Aspenshade in about 1800. He was the tanner until 1810, Mr. Boyd succeeding him. The tannery was operated until 1838, for the last eight years by John Myer. Much distilling of spirits was done in Upper Leacock in pioneer days, when the industry was not the illegal one it now is. There were at least six distilleries in the township in 1810; forty years later not one was in operation.

The following are the figures for the last three decadal census takings: 1900 showed 2,130 residents in Upper Leacock township, including all villages; 1910 showed 2,233; and 1920 showed that the steady increase was being maintained, there being then 2,428 residents.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PARADISE TOWNSHIP.

Much of the early history of Paradise township is given in that of Strasburg township, part of which Paradise township was until 1843, when it was separated. It lies in the Pequea Valley, and is drained by Pequea creek and tributaries. Paradise was organized in 1843, and at first named Pequea: but that name did not meet with general approval, and Tanawa, much to the regret of some of the residents, was not thought of. Paradise village received its name in 1804. One record reads: "In 1804 the village now called Paradise was made a post-town, and, needing a name, it was called Paradise from an expression of Joshua Scott (publisher of Scott's map of Lancaster county) who, while standing in the middle of the turnpike with others, and looking over the country, remarked that this should be called Paradise, which name the post-office has retained from that time. When the township was laid out, in 1843, and passed by the Legislature, it was named Pequea, but some not liking the name, applied to their representative and had it changed to Paradise township." Mr. A. E. Witmer, however, in his "Reminiscences of Paradise Township," a paper read before the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1896, asserts that "the village was given its name in 1796 by David Witmer." He almost felt inclined to "censure our worthy ancestor for giving it that name when he had so much a better one at command, and should have christened it Tanawa."

The compiler will not attempt in this chapter to restate the early history of that part of Strasburg township which now is Paradise township, but will confine himself in this respect to the reminiscences of Mr. Witmer, who wrote, in 1896, as follows:

> The village dates its first advent of a citizen, other than Indian who roamed the wilds of that part of Pennsylvania, in no less a personage than Madame Ferree, a French Huguenot * * * and her appearance soon followed her landing in this country, where she came bearing letters to the agent of William Penn, and who advised her to seek a point in the valley now known as Pequea, and also instructed her to see the King of the tribe of Pequea Indians * * * and who was then located in a grove on the banks of the Pequea, about one-fourth of a mile northeast of where the village now stands, and I think I can do no better than give you a short extract from a speech delivered by Redmond Conyngham in the year 1842, and who was an authority on the Indians and early settlers of Eastern Pennsylvania, which address was delivered before * * * the Philadelphia Lyceum, Mechanic's Institute of Lancaster, and the Lyceum and Literary Institutes of Lancaster County * * * and it was in this grove where this meeting was held and Madame Ferree first met King Tanawa. I quote his speech as follows:
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> > In the evening of a summer day, when the Huguenots reached the verge of a hill commanding a view of the valley of Pequea * * * scattered along the Pequea amidst the dark green hazel, could be discerned the Indian wigwams, the smoke issuing therefrom in its spiral form. No sound was heard but the songs of the birds, and in silence they contemplated the beautiful prospect which nature presented to their view. Suddenly a number of Indians advanced and in broken English said to Madame Ferree: "Indian no harm White; White good to Indian. Go to Beaver, our chief. Come to Beaver."
>
> Few were the words of the Indian. They went to Beaver's cabin, and Beaver, with the humanity that distinguished the Indian of that period, gave up to the emigrants his wigwam, and the next day he introduced them to Tanawa, who lived on the great flats of Pequea. And who was Tanawa? The friend of William Penn, who had not only been present but had signed the great treaty, and was buried on Lafayette Hill, located * * * in the west end of the village and on which stands an Episcopal church, and where his ashes rested in peace until the Literary Society of Paradise, filling the part of resurrectionists, had them disinterred, placing what remained, namely, beads, tomahawk, and a number of other Indian relics, including teeth and a part of the skull of the Indian monarch * * * in the archives of the Society. * * *
>
> There passes down through the village a little brook crossing the old Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike near the centre of the village, having its source about one-half mile to the south of the same and where was located the home of Isaac Lefevre, who was married

to a daughter of Madame Ferree, and whose parents had perished in the religious wars which had desolated France. * * * Their son, Daniel Lefevre, was the first child born in the valley of Pequea. To verify the fact in connection with this little brook that near this point King Tanawa's remains were put to rest, I again quote from Conyngham, as follows:

> A number of Indian chiefs were on their way to Philadelphia to visit the Great Father (George Washington) from Ohio. Ten miles east of Lancaster, where a little brook crosses the road, they suddenly left the road, to the great surprise of the interpreter and government agent; and, being asked by the agent their intention, they informed him many of their tribe had been buried there and their king and chief warrior, whose grave they wished to visit.

The point designated by them is that distance from Lancaster and must have been the spot where rested Tanawa, the king of the Pequea Indians, and whose grave they wished to visit.

Paradise township was not settled only by Huguenots, and the Ferree family. Hans Graaf (Groff), whose name Anglicized it perpetuated in Earl township, owned one thousand acres in the western part of Paradise township; and Matthias Slaymaker settled in the eastern part of the township in 1710, with his five sons—Matthias, Henry, John, Daniel and Lawrence. Others will be found to have been named in the Strasburg chapter. Continuing Mr. Witmer's reminiscences:

> We now come to a later period in the history of the village, and there appears no record of its having taken an active part in the War of the Revolution. * * * Nor have we anything connecting it with the stirring events of that time. But that it was visited by the Father of His Country, George Washington, later there is the following tradition:
>
> Stopping on his way to or from the West, and having dined at the stage hotel, he expressed a desire to see a hemp mill, which was at that time a novelty and in full operation a short distance from where he was stopping. * * * It was also said he had in view the erection of one on his plantation in Virginia. But unfortunately the person operating the machine, desirous of giving his distinguished visitor the full opportunity of inspecting it, removed some of the bracing, a planking of which, coming in contact with the rapidly moving machinery, created quite an excitement for a time, seriously injuring the operator and startling his guest. * * * The two large conical stones which constituted the principal part of the machine can to-day be seen in the bed of the stream during seasons of low water, just below the mill, weighing, I suppose, about five hundred pounds.

In the days of the turnpikes and of the Conestoga wagons, Paradise became a place of much importance. Mr. Witmer writes:

> During that time it filled a very important position * * * as it was the headquarters of the (turnpike) section which comprised Downington on the east and Lancaster on the west; and there was located the post office and store, in addition to the hotel. Here was made the change of horses and sorting of the mail; and another tradition, as told the writer by the postmaster of that time was that while Mrs. Dixon was postmistress of Lancaster, in the hurry and confusion of getting the mail ready for the stage, in the early hours of the morning, her night-cap, which was an indispensable article at that time of wood fires and cold houses, got mixed with the mail, and, much to the chagrin of the postmaster, rolled out with the mail for resorting. It was promptly returned by the next mail going west. There are five buildings now standing in the village which were used as taverns at that time.

During the War of 1812, a party of Pennsylvania cavalry and artillery passed through Paradise, on the way to the Canadian border. They were commanded by Colonel George Ross. Mr. Witmer refers to the tour of Lafayette in 1825, writing:

> The next event of interest was the visit of General Lafayette, and I will quote from the "Lancaster Intelligencer," of Tuesday morning, August 2, 1825: "The cavalry having formed as an escort the whole moved on to Paradise from Slaymaker's Hotel in Salisbury, where they halted a few minutes at David Witmer's; and the General having alighted, was introduced to the crowd of ladies and gentlement of Paradise, who were awaiting his arrival."

* * * The marble house-block can to-day be seen in passing through the village, on which the distinguished visitor alighted from his barouche. * * * The hill known as Lafayette Hill * * * received its name at that time from the fact that it was there a company of cavalry encamped awaiting the arrival of the General to escort him to Lancaster.

The next interesting period in Paradise records was that of railroads; and it is evident that Paradise figured in one of the earliest Pennsylvania State experiments in this means of transportation. In the 'twenties and early 'thirties, states Samuel Wright, in Volume XVIII, No. 2, of Lancaster County Historical Papers: "A company of young practical scientists engaged in the then novel enterprise of surveying, locating and constructing a railroad across country for a distance of some eighty miles. Railroads of less importance were already in operation in different localities of the country, but this was the first work of like extent undertaken in the State of Pennsylvania." The proposed route was through the garden of the State, the counties of Philadelphia, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester and Lancaster, and in course of time the road was completed connecting Philadelphia on the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, with Columbia on the Susquehanna. It was known as the Columbia & Philadelphia railroad, and was a State experiment in railway pioneering and ownership. As such one could look for unusual conditions. One was that the State would furnish the motive power, but users would have to provide the other rolling stock. Horsepower was at first used, and it was surprising how quickly and to what an extent private enterprise brought onto that road passenger and freight lines. There were cars marked "Red Line," others marked "Eagle," "Blue," "Pioneer," and many other lines. Mr. Wright says: "This operation of the road was almost a go-as-you-please; any man or company able and willing to provide the cars and pay the tolls was free to 'run the road.'" Further, he wrote:

> The opening of this route stirred to enterprise the hitherto sleepy community, and the village on its course which didn't have a line, or at least individual freight cars, was exceptional. The inscriptions: "Leech's Line," "Union Line," "Pioneer Line," and the like, indicating the various ownership of the passing cars became as familiar to the dwellers along the railroad as the natural features of the landscape, or as their houses and barns.
>
> In the final location and construction of the road, our hospitable Paradise had been left some half-mile to the south, and a spur track had been built by the private enterprise of a "live" citizen, connecting his warehouse with the mainline. Up and down the railway, with hundreds of others, ran his freight cars, on which was blazoned: "Witmer—Paradise."

Mr. Witmer writes about this enterprise of Paradise in 1834, the days when railway operation was young:

> The railroad, as all doubtless know, was built by the State and completed in the year 1834. Steam was not then used, the motive power being horses, and the seventh car which turned a wheel on what is now known as the Pennsylvania railroad came from a siding in that village bearing on its side the legend, "Witmer, Paradise," and so continued until a year or two after the Pennsylvania railroad purchased the road from the State. The number of cars had by that time increased to forty, were very much larger, painted a light buff, bearing the same name, and were known along the road as the "Paradise Line." Of course long prior to this horses had been superceded by steam, the State furnishing the motive power, and the individual furnishing the cars and paying a toll for the use of the road.

The Pennsylvania station is at Leaman Place, to which point Mr. Witmer seems to have run his spur from Paradise with less difficulty and better results than was experienced by the Strasburg citizens who sought to connect Strasburg with the same station.

Paradise was made a post-town in 1804, and then was a place of some importance. Eighty years later its population was about 400, and its industries included two carriage factories, one tannery, a smithy, four tobacco factories, and many service establishments, including hotel, drug store, grocery, coal and lumber yard, livery stable. Paradise is now a place of about 500 inhabitants, seeming to have held its own better than Strasburg. Paradise at one time had a newspaper of its own, the "Paradise Hornet," which paper had a large circulation in the 'twenties of last century. And several distinguished Americans have at some time been resident in Paradise. The Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, brother of the President, was rector of the Episcopal church; his wife was a sister of Stephen J. Foster, composer of many nationally-known songs, including "My Old Kentucky Home." That song was heard by people of Paradise long before it was published, for she used to get the manuscript from her brother to "try out" on her melodeon at Paradise, before it went to the publishers. Dr. Carl Merz, a celebrated writer and composer, lived in Paradise for some time; and Mr. J. Hays Linville, a civil engineer of note, was a teacher in the village for a time.

Paradise has recently become a banking town, the State Bank of Paradise having been established under good responsible management.

The early school history is that of Strasburg township. The common school law was in effect before the erection of Paradise township, and it may be taken for granted that Strasburg township, of all township divisions, would be one of the first to adopt the measure which met with such obstruction in some rural districts. The first board of school directors elected for Paradise township was that of 1843-44. Among the six directors were Daniel Esbenshade and Benjamin Herr. There were seven school districts at that time, the school houses being of logs or of native stone. Forty years later there were ten school houses, three of wood, three of stone, and four of brick. Further information is given in the Public Schools and Private Schools chapters.

Paradise churches are of comparatively recent establishment, the earliest not going back more than eighty years; but there were undoubtedly church societies from the earliest pioneer days. Episcopalians used to attend the Leacock township church, and a nearby Methodist church before All Saints' Church at Paradise was built. The Mennonites were not dependent for their devotional exercises upon church edifices and the Presbyterians attended the Leacock church. The church history is extensively surveyed in the several religious chapters.

Villages and Hamlets—Williamstown, a flourishing village in the eastern part of the township, was so named in honor of Amos Williams, who kept the pioneer store at that point. The second building erected was a public house, the third was the residence of the Slaymaker family.

Kinzer Place is so named from the fact that at that point Harry Kinzer erected an inn in 1834 for the accommodation of the railroad workmen. Ten years later the building was destroyed by fire, and in its place he built one of stone, that he afterwards demolished to make way for one of brick. This building was eventually to serve as hotel, as railway station and waiting room; and so Kinzer Place was appropriately named. Kinzer post-office was in the same building. The place comes into official records as Kinzers, and is credited with a population of about 325 persons. There is a general store, a hotel, a planing mill, a smithy, a coal and lumber yard, a grain and flour house, a cigar factory, and an implement house.

Leaman Place came into existence in much the same way as Kinzer Place, though the Leaman family had long been in residence at that point. To Henry Leaman's solitary homestead was added a hotel in 1835, and soon afterwards the railway station was established at that point, becoming known as Leaman Place, in at least one early record as Lemon's Place. In course of time a dozen houses clustered around the hotel and railway station. John Leaman, son of Henry Leaman, became a Presbyterian minister, and for many years was minister to Leacock and Paradise churches. Leaman Place is stated to be a village of 300 population; it has a general store, a hotel, a smithy, a grain and lumber yard, and a mill. Harristown is a place of about one hundred inhabitants; Thomas Harris was one of the first settlers at that point.

Much industrial history of Paradise township is reserved for the industrial chapters of this work. The Paradise Tannery was established by Daniel Espenshade. It had twenty vats originally, and a one-horse bark-mill. Needless to say enlargements came with years of operation. For very many years it has been owned by the Lichty family.

Considerable quarrying has been done in the township. Limestone predominates, and two firms began to burn it near Leaman Place soon after railroad construction began. One property originally belonged to the Bowers estate, and passed to the McIlvains, and later to G. D. Slaymaker, on lease. The other limestone quarry and kilns were opened on the estate of John Slaymaker. He built two kilns in 1832, and commenced to burn lime for building and fertilizing purposes. In 1848 it passed to the McIlvains. The Pequea quarries about half a mile north of Paradise were first owned by Hiram Witmer, and leased to John Keller in 1864. They were leased subsequently to others, and in time an industry which found constant employment for forty quarrymen and nine cutters was developed, the quarry being considered "the finest limestone quarry in the county, and one of the best in the State."

Paradise township had a population of 2,320 in 1900; in 1910 the census showed 2,319 inhabitants; and in 1920 the township was credited with 2,223 inhabitants. A graphic description of Paradise, as seen "from a trolley window," was written in 1910. It reads:

> We soon cross the Pequea on a fine stone arch bridge and enter Paradise township, organized 1843—a fine fertile undulating agricultural section. La Park, Paradise and Leaman Place are now before us, bordering the old turnpike for several miles.
>
> The first settler in Paradise township was Mary Ferree, a French Huguenot, who came to this country in 1709, a widow with six children. * * * Her descendants are counted by thousands, among whose illustrious names are those of Gen. J. F. Reynolds, Admiral William Reynolds and Admiral W. S. Schley. To the left, yellow tenements come to view belonging to the "Park" seed and flower farm. A short distance beyond also on the left side is an imposing three-story brick dwelling, the summer home of Hon. C. I. Landism, president judge of the courts of Lancaster county.
>
> At the east end of Paradise is a beautiful house, a part of "Oak Hill," the estate and home of Hon. J. Hay Brown, one of the historic mansions of the county, built 1817 by Dr. John S. Carpenter, owned subsequently by prominent families and at one time the seat of a select school for girls. Close by is a two-story brick building, formerly Paradise Academy and later a soldiers' orphan school. Across from Judge Brown's west gateway is a Pres-

byterian church, erected 1840, an offspring of the Leacock Presbyterian Church situated a few miles north on the "old road" and a mile west of Intercourse in Leacock township. This congregation, regularly organized 1741, worshipped for a time in a log house erected 1739 which was replaced by the present building in 1759. The congregation was connected with the Pequea Church for a time and served by its pastors, among them the celebrated Dr. Smith.

As we proceed we notice far to the southeast on the summit of the wooded Mine Ridge a pile of brick, which grand, gloomy and peculiar, dominates the landscape. It capitalizes the summit of the "Great Divide" in Lancaster county, separating substantially the "Upper" and "Lower Ends"—the limestone and the barren lands, the light and heavy timber, the German-Swiss Palatine sects and "Plain People" from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Quaker, and Baptist—it indicates an absolute differentiation in social, political, and religious life, different ways of living and different ways of thinking.

The lofty iron and brick chimney stack on Mine Ridge, to be seen for so many miles around, is a relic. The lands immediately about it were devastated long years ago by noxious fumes from the smelting ores. Copper was mined here before the Revolution; and nickel with profit at a later period. The late proprietor, Joseph Wharton, reaped a fortune here.

In Leaman Place, a railroad village, the junction of the unique Strasburg railroad, is a spacious mansion, the Leaman homestead, from which four notable sons went forth: Charles Leaman, a Presbyterian missionary in China; Henry and Rosh, eminent physicians in Philadelphia; and William, deceased, the most intellectual personage of his generation at the Lancaster Bar.

After crossing the stream beyond Leaman Place the country seat of Silas Eshleman is passed on the left. * * * To the right and south of the trolley line, along the base of Mine Ridge, lie the famous "London Lands," a large tract taken up nearly two centuries ago by a London company—whence London Run and London Grove Tavern of earlier days. On the picturesque Wolf Rock road, which leads across the hill, is the site of the grist mill, distillery and hemp mill built by Frederick Wise, in 1760. The imposing manor house, which crowns the hill on the left, inside a wooded lawn, is the house of Mr. N. Milton Woods, president of the First National Bank of Lancaster, and one of the many rich men of the county. This splendid house was built by Dr. Leaman, preacher, physician, and professor at Lafayette College.

Just north of Rotary Station, at Williamstown, is a hilltop from which, with a strong glass and vivid imagination, on a clear day one can see "the whole thing," from Compass to Swatara, having glimpses of Chester, Berks, Lebanon, Duaphin and York, and overlooking half of Lancaster county. From Williamstown to Gap the trolley line leaves the turnpike, giving us a better chance to study the fields with the varied crops. A short distance beyond the thriving young village of Kinzer we enter historic Salisbury township.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PEQUEA TOWNSHIP.

The history of early Pequea is given in Conestoga township chapter, for until 1853 the territory which now comprises Pequea township was a part of Conestoga. Pequea township lies to the southward of the county seat, Lancaster, between Pequea and Conestoga creeks. West Lampeter township line is the northeastern boundary of Pequea, Providence township line is the southeastern, Martic is the southern, Conestoga township is the southwestern, and the north and northwestern line borders the town of Lancaster. The soil is fertile; in fact, Pequea township land is among the best in the county for agricultural purposes. The surface is slightly undulating, but not difficult to cultivate, and some very valuable farming estates are to be found in that region. The two historic waters, Conestoga and Pequea, with tributaries, give water and drainage, and the Lancaster & Quarryville railway, which passes through the township from northwest to southeast, gives a transportation outlet.

So much has been stated regarding the very earliest days of the ancient Conestoga township, which included Pequea, in the sketch of the former, that lengthy reference is not here necessary. Briefly, the early settlers in the Pequea part of Conestoga township included the Bare (Bear), Behm, Bachman, Breneman, Burkholder, Deitrich, Forry, Gochenauer, Good, Harnish, Hachman, Hess, Huber, Haberstitch, Newcomer, Mehaffy, Snavely, Stetler, Kindig families. The early assessment lists of the first years of the Republic show that among the landholders in what is now Pequea township were: John Bare, who in 1780 owned 216 acres of land in the northwestern part of the township; Jacob Bare, his brother, owned 200 acres nearby; John Behm (Beam) owned 90 acres; John Bachman, who lived north of what is now Willow Station, owned two acres; Jacob Breneman owned 100 acres one mile west of (now) West Willow village; Adam Breneman owned 150 acres nearby; John Burkholder owned 184 acres in that vicinity; Henry Deitrich owned 198 acres near West Willow, the railroad passing through part of it; Christian Forry owned 250 acres near West Willow Station; Jacob Gochenauer owned 130 acres in the lower end of what is now Pequea township; Henry Gochenauer had fifty acres in the eastern part of the township; Peter Good lived in the lower end, on 150 acres; John Good owned 65 acres near his brother's estate; John Harnish was assessed on 445 acres; Jacob Harnish, Jr., had 100 acres; Michael Harnish had as much, part in the original Harnish holdings being still in the possession of that family; Melchor Hachman owned 100 acres southwest of the village of West Willow; John Hess had 60 acres near the township line in the southwest; John Huber owned 60 acres near what is now Pequea Station; Michael Haberstich was in the northwest part, possessed of 250 acres; Abram Newcomer owned 200 acres just west of where the Mehaffys live; John Mehaffy's land was near West Willow Station, and later passed to Tobias Landis; Benjamin Snavely, son of Christian Snavely, who settled where West Willow developed, was a blacksmith in that place; Abram Kindig (Kendig) was one of the pioneer settlers, locating on the farm that was later owned by the Harnishes. Kindig possessed 175 acres in 1780; the Warfels date their settlement in Conestoga back to the earliest decades, when George Warfel, who was born in Germany in 1715, settled.

Centers of Population—The communities of Pequea township include the villages of West Willow and New Danville. West Willow is nearly midway along the northern boundary line of the township, and from about 1875 a station on the Lancaster & Quarryville railroad. Christian Snavely established a tavern at that point in the early settlement days, and very slowly a hamlet developed. Pioneer settlers were John Mehaffy and the Harnish family, but as late as 1820 there were not twelve dwelling houses within what is now the village area. However, the village gradually progressed, and when the railroad passed through the township, the right of the community to a railway station was recognized. With railway facilities gained, the village was given added impetus for growth, and by comparison with other villages of Lancaster county has shown health and vigor. In 1880 the population was about 150,; in 1920 it is said the village possessed about 400 inhabitants. The pioneer merchant was Henry Huber; his store was in what is now the eastern part of the village. Successors in that part of the town were Peter Zercher, Jacob Charles and Dr. Green. The old Huber store stood where the residence of Martin Miley later was built. The store house of Jacob Charles eventually became the church of the United Brethren congregation. A. W. Harnish built and kept a store in the building near the railroad station later occupied by Andrew Mehaffy, Jr., as a cigar factory. The successors of Harnish were Stoner and Joseph Herr and Brother. In 1883 Henry S. Herr, who built the Herr Block in 1877, bought the business. Charles D. Nixdorf has the general store at West Willow now. Christian Snavely had the first tavern. His successors were Benjamin Snavely, John Overbach and Benjamin Raugh. Michael Harnish later made his residence there. Benjamin Martin was the first tavern keeper on the site of the present hotel. The brick West Willow Hotel was erected in 1878. The pioneer blacksmith also was Christian Snavely (Sneverly). He and his son Benjamin carried on the smithy probably for sixty or more years. A. H. Harnish was the first station agent, West Willow station being opened in the spring of 1875. The old coal and lumber yard established by Andrew Mehaffy, and sold to W. G. Mellinger and Brother in 1878, is still owned by the Mellingers, who also latterly have operated a leaf tobacco factory, and have a business also at Baumgartner. West Willow was officially recognized by that name in 1879, when a post-office was established in the place and entered in Federal records as West Willow post-office. Henry S. Herr was first postmaster.

New Danville, in the northwestern part of the township, was originally known as Stumptown, and was given the more dignified name at the time a post-office was established in the village, the reason for so naming the post-town being, it is said, that the given or Christian name of so many of the male inhabitants was Daniel. It is not possible from available data to state when the town or village was first named. The place is about four miles from the city of Lancaster, and there was much traffic along the road. Several taverns have been operated at New Danville. The first probably was that of Christian Zercher, which was opened in the building later used as a store by Jacob B. Miller. Mr. Zercher's successors were John Zercher, Jacob Heiney, Michael Zercher and Daniel Grofft, the last landlord. Zercher's inn was opened before 1830. Another inn had been kept for ten year prior to 1830 in the house later used as a dwelling house by John L. Breneman. Daniel Conrad was an innkeeper in Stumptown from about 1840, in the house later occupied as a residence by Abram R. Harnish.

The first store was that kept by John Rohrer, and he may have been the original innkeeper. He sold his store business to John Zercher, who transferred it to his hotel. Henry Herr soon afterwards opened a store, but both were soon closed. In 1856 Daniel Conrad, Jr., and Benjamin Yerdy (Yourdy) opened a store. Later merchants were William T. Youatt, Robert Green, Henry Conrad and Jacob B. Miller. The wagonmakers have included Jacob Oyman, Andrew Zercher, Benjamin Johnson, Joseph Miller, John Ellmyer, John D. Stauffer and Abram Snavely. Others who have carried on another shop have been Daniel Conrad, Jr., Charles Riddle, Amos Harnish and John D. Stauffer. Blacksmiths include Daniel, Benjamin, George and Henry Conrad, James Johnson, Samuel Hess, Benjamin D. Morton, Jacob Johnson, William Rote, Daniel Hess, George Lutz, John Myers, H. S. Hersh, Albert S.

Hersh. New Danville now has a population of about one hundred; and its business consists of a tavern, a general store, two smithies, two meat markets, an implement establishment and a shoe shop.

The churches of Peaquea township to-day include the Stone Mennonite, the Byerland Mennonite, the Pequea Mennonite, the West Willow United Brethren, the Pequea Church of Brethren, and the historic Boehm's Methodist Episcopal Church. The churches have been classified for separate review in the many denominational chapters. School history is also reserved for inclusion in the two school chapters.

CHAPTER XXV.

PROVIDENCE TOWNSHIP.

Providence township was erected in 1853, from Martic township. It is bounded by Pequea and Strasburg townships on the north, by Strasburg and Eden townships on the east, by Drumore township on the south, and by Martic township on the west. The township line on the northeast is Big Beaver creek, emptying into Pequea creek, which latter forms the boundary on the northwest. These and Butler's Spring, which rises in the center of the township, and flows northerly also emptying into Pequea creek, are the principal watercourses in Providence township. The township is generally well adapted for agricultural purposes, though the southeastern part has been put into other uses, a valuable deposit of iron ore having been exploited, at different times during the last century and a half. The Molar Bank mine furnished the ore for a furnace which was operated in provincial times in the central part of the township. This mine was thought to have been exhausted, and for many years lay abandoned, but in the 'sixties, under different management, it was reopened and profitably worked.

Much of the pioneer history of Providence is given in the Martic township chapter, and need not be restated here. The provincial tax of that portion of Martic township now embraced in Providence for the year 1757 showed the following names of landowners: James Duncan, John Luckey, Brice Miller, Patrick Duncan, Jacob Beams, Arsbell Bredy, Christian Graft, Thomas Smith, Michael Graft, John Graft, Ulrich Yourty, Jacob Brant, Jacob Graft, John Garvin, Michael Shank, Matthew Cuningham, Ocly Everly, George Sutter, Jacob Hoover, Sr., Edward Gilbert, Thomas Nelson, Samuel Mears, Samuel Luckley, Alexander Scoot, Robert Luckey, Hugh Reynolds, Christian Murphey, William Diven, George Coop, John Duncan, John Funk, Robert Duncan, Francis Taylor, Hugh Gray, Henry Stofer, Harry Bleecher, William Falk, Michael Bleecher, Jacob Loughman, John Hannaw, Henry Lines, John Lowman, John Stofer, Jacob Winter, William Hoover, Jacob Hover, Joseph Blear, Jacob Bear, William White, John Graft, Jr., Martin Funk, John Winter, Thomas White, Adam Lomous, Robert Fulton, Henry Hare, Samuel Workman, Frederic Shouler, Henry Workman, Jacob Brubaker, Hugh Blear, Francis Taylor, Samuel Mears, Henry Hoover, George Johnson, Alexander McAlster, David McBride, John Dowell, John Ramsey, Samuel Willson. The "Freemen" named on the 1757 list were Andrew Mahaffey, Patrick Brubaker and Hans Adams. Samuel Irwin was collector.

Of the pioneers, some brief reference might here be made. Michael Shank came from Swithzerland in 1720, and purchased from James Musgrave about 1,200 acres, part in Providence and part in Drumore township. Part of the tract is still in the hands of descendants of Michael Shank, who died in 1745. Michael Graft and wife settled nearby at about the same time. They came from Germany, and their descendants (Graff, Groff) are still to be found in the township. Ulrich Everly came with his parents from Switzerland in about 1730. He married a sister of Michael Shanks, and died in about 1810. Further to the westward Christopher Winters settled. He was believed to be of German descent. He died about 1810. Henry Hair settled to the northward, and a little way off to the northwest were Henry and Frank Bowman. Henry Bowman, for many years a bishop of the Mennonite Church, was son of Henry Bowman, pioneer, by his wife a daughter of Christian Herr (Hair). Another early settler was John Miller. To the southward, on land which later was owned by the Leamans, were John and Valentine Hart. The Harts later operated an extensive tannery. Near the Harts Frederick Kuhn settled. Above him George Hess kept a hotel in the earlier provincial days. Henry McFalls settled in 1782.

New Providence began to take entity after a log house had been erected and occupied as an inn "At the Sign of the Black Horse." The hamlet was originally known by the name of the inn, "Black Horse;" and for a century or more the "Black Horse" was a well-known hotel. When a post-office was established, the place took the name of the office, "New Providence." The original purchaser of land in the vicinity of New Providence was John Taylor, who was a surveyor for the Provincial Government. In 1736 he purchased a tract of land containing over eleven hundred acres from the Penns, and New Providence eventually developed on the southern portion of this tract. John Taylor probably did not settle here, his purchase apparently being speculative. He sold the tract in small sections to different persons. Among the ultimate owners of land in New Providence were Jacob Eshelman and Christian Shultz. An early landowner within the village limits, or just beyond, was a man whose land patent was made out in the name of Powpather, but who in subsequently conveying to his children recorded the patronymic as Brubaker.

Besides the hotel, there was early erected a grist mill nearby. It was destroyed by fire long prior to 1800, but upon its site later stood a chopping mill and subsequently a saw mill. The first smithy was owned by Henry Eckman; David Miller built a woolen mill in the village in about 1816, and a grist mill in about 1825. Howry and Eshelman built a hotel in 1825, Richard Kerns being one of the first landlords. In the building Dr. Semple had a store, not merely a drug store, but one of general stock; he was the first merchant to open in the village. Dr. Robinson followed, and later merchants were David Bair (in 1831), John Rice and Jacob Stoutzenberger, John Peoples (1847), John Bair, Groff Brothers, John Rohrer, John Tweed, Raub Brothers and others. John Hildebran purchased the old log hotel in 1846, and razed it, building upon its site a store building. He continued as a merchant almost for the remainder of his life. The New Providence post-office was first opened in 1834, Christian Wenditz carrying the mail to Strasburg once a week on foot. Ultimately daily service was established, and with the opening of the Lancaster and Quarryville railroad a morning and evening service. The first postmaster was Jacob Stoutzenberger. Forty years ago New Providence had a flouring and grist mill, owned by Gabriel Smith & Sons, several retail stores, a lumber yard, a leaf tobacco plant, and a woolen mill. To-day there is a mill, a carriage maker, a harness maker, some general stores, lumber and coal yards, hotel, pump works, smithy and tobacco plant. The population is about three hundred.

Smithville grew around an inn, or rather the inn constituted Smithville for many decades, for the whole business of the hamlet was conducted under its, for long the only, roof. The hotel, known as the Spread Eagle, was erected in 1810 by John Blair; John Hamil was the first landlord. In 1818 the Smith family purchased it. Smithville now has a population of about 250, it is said; has two general stores, a lumber yard and a mill nearby.

Other historic taverns of Providence township include the Blue Bell, which was opened somewhat earlier than the Spread Eagle by Jane Sargen, and so centrally situated in the township that elections were generally held in that house; the Hickory Grove, on the Lancaster and Port Deposit road, south of the Blue Bell, and opened in 1858, with John Riley as landlord; and the Union, on the western side of the township, on the Lancaster and Rawlinsville road. The Union Hotel was built by Jacob Eshleman, and used by him for some years also as a store.

The industrial history of Providence township must make some reference to an old furnace in the western part of the township. For a century it was a conspicuous landmark, and the story is that in Revolutionary days cannon balls were cast at that spot and hauled by teams to Wilmington, Delaware. One day, at the time the ironworkers were preparing to cast, the alarm was given that the English were near. The cast was postponed, and the molten mass chilled, the furnace thus becoming useless. The ironworkers are credited with the patriotic resolution to let the iron chill and so render the furnace useless, rather than see it pass into the hands of the English and be used to make more cannon balls by them. The furnace was never afterwards used.

One of the first mills in the county was built where in 1857 Martin Huber erected another grist mill. It passed from him to John Strohm, Jr., who became one of the prominent citizens and public servants of Providence; he was county commissioner for a time. His father, John Strohm, had an even more distinguished record, serving in the State Legislature and Senate for eleven years, 1831-42, and in the National Congress for two terms, 1845-49. Near Strohm's mill was another, to the southward; it was built in about 1813 by Henry Breneman. Both were on Furnace run, and there in earlier days iron smelting was carried on, Breneman's mill, of stone, being built mostly of materials taken from the old furnace. North of Strohm's, on the same stream, is a woolen mill, not the first upon the same site; it was built by Cyrus Royer.

John Peoples was one of the leading early merchants at New Providence. He was responsible for much of the building of the place; and others of the same family have been of prominent record. Hiram Peoples was elected to the Legislature twice. The pioneer physician was Dr. Daniel Musser, who settled there to practice about ninety-five or a hundred years ago, but did not stay long. Dr. Duncan came in 1830; Dr. Rollins in about 1844; Dr. Benjamin Musser soon afterwards; Dr. John K. Raub in 1856; Dr. W. J. Wentz soon afterwards; and Dr. A. H. Helm in 1868. The first township officers of Providence township were: Thomas Redman, supervisor, 1854-55; Benjamin F. Rowe, assessor; Benjamin H. Witmer, justice; George Martin, Tobias Brubaker and N. K. Look, school directors.

Pioneer school teachers were Moore Connell and George Evans, who taught as early as 1800 in a log school house which stood near to the Molar Mine Bank, in the southeastern part of the township. Among later worthy teachers in the same school house was Abraham Brubaker. The public schools of to-day in Providence township are equal to those of most of the other townships of Lancaster county, and reference to them will be made elsewhere.

The population of Providence township is decreasing slightly. In 1900 it was 1,680; in 1910 the Federal census taking showed 1,512 inhabitants; and the late census credited Providence township with only 1,383 residents. This includes the villages.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LITITZ AND THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT.

The Moravian church settlement at Lititz was not begun until 1754 and the village was not laid out until 1757, but its origin is traced to the efforts of Count Zinzendorf, patron of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren, or Moravians, in 1742-43. A Moravian settlement had been made at Bethlehem, and in furtherance of his church and of the Gospel, Count Zinzendorf in 1742 proceeded from Bethlehem, "through Berks county, where he visited the Schwenfelders and other sects," and eventually reached Lancaster county, where "among other pious persons whom he visited was Mr. Jacob Huber, of Warwick township." He met with a friendly reception. "The same evening after his arrival, he addressed the assembled neighbors. Many more would have attended had they not been prevented by Mr. George Kline, Mr. Huber's neighbor, who made efforts to dissuade others from hearing him, and endeavored to excite unkind feelings against him."

However, during the Count's visit, which lasted several days, Kline "became very uneasy touching his course," states an article written by a member of the Moravian Society of Lititz for Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844); "his conscience told him loudly he had not acted rightly." The following day, Count Zinzendorf went to Lancaster, having been given permission to preach in the court house. "Kline followed him thither to hear him preach, and was one of his most attentive hearers." The Count's address "removed all his prejudice and made such an impression on his mind that he, as well as some of his neighbors, requested him to visit them again, or to send a minister who preached like him." So the Count "on his return to Bethlehem sent the Rev. Jacob Lischy to them, with orders to visit other pious persons who resided in various parts of Lancaster county. * * * After that they were for a number of years visited by others from Bethlehem." Among the evangelists, after Lischy, were Christian Henry Rauch and David Bruce. Meetings were held in private houses. Huber's house stood upon the site of the present Snyder homestead, north of Lititz; other settlers were scattered over Warwick township. The first settler in Warwick township was Richard Carter, who probably warranted his holding, though he never held letters patent. He settled on the west side of Conestoga creek, about a mile from its mouth, but a year or so later moved to where Millport later developed. The small stream having its source in Lititz Spring was named Carter's run in his honor. He was appointed magistrate upon the formation of Warwick township in 1729; he died in 1750. Among the early settlers who might have been present at the Zinzendorf addresses in Jacob Huber's house were Christian Bomberger (Bambarger), George Eby, John Gingerich, Michael Pfautz, Christian and Jacob Hershey, John and Daniel Brubaker. George Kline (or Klein), who did not attend but who later was instrumental in establishing the Moravian settlement at Lititz, settled in Warwick township prior to 1840. His land eventually became the site of Lititz. He took out patent for 296½ acres on July 14, 1841, and for 32½ acres on December 12, 1747.

George Kline was a member of the Lutheran church, and of the first Lutheran congregation in Warwick township, but so strongly was he impressed by the preaching of Count Zinzendorf that he at once ceased his antagonism toward Moravian church activities. He ultimately became of the Moravian faith, and finally transferred to that church the whole of the land he owned in Lancaster county. The first church built within what became the bounds of Lititz was a log structure erected on Kline's land in 1744 (Rupp says in 1741), "at the instance of a number of Lutheran, Reformed and Mennonite attendants on the preaching of Rev. Lawrence Nyberg, a Swedish Lutheran minister" of Lancaster who came occasionally to preach to Lutherans in Warwick township. The log church stood near the road to Lancaster, on the ground still occupied by "the old graveyard." The church was dedicated by the Rev. Nyberg "on the festival of St. James," July 25, 1744, and for that reason perhaps was named St. James' Church. (Rupp gives the name as St. Jacob's, and the name of the minister as Rev. Theophilus Neyberg). Services were held in this church by the Rev. Nyberg monthly until 1746, when he left the Lancaster congregation and devoted his whole attention to the Lutheran congregation in Warwick township. He was in sympathy with Count Zinzendorf in some respects, and in 1746 "he was suspended from his ministry owing to his independent views and the character of his preaching." Being thus released from his Lancaster charge, he was able thereafter to preach every Sunday in the Warwick township church, St. James', which under his ministry became almost of union character. He "opened his pulpit to the various itinerant Moravian ministers," and finally "united himself with the greater part of his flock with the Moravian Society." The Moravian minister resident among the "awakened" persons in Warwick township at that time was the Rev. Daniel Neubert, who came with his wife from Philadelphia in September, 1845. His work "was entirely pastoral, consisting of visits from house to house, and in keeping private meetings on weekday evenings."

In September of 1745, or 1746 (Rupp says in 1747), members of the Warwick congregation met at the house of George Kline to consider the question of building a school and meeting house (a Gemeinhaus) which would serve also as a dwelling place for the minister. Present at the meeting were Nicholas and Frederick Kiesel, Hartman Vertries, Michael Eib, Jacob Scherzer, Jacob Heil, John Bender, Sr., Christian Palmer, Jacob Scheffler, George Kline. The Revs. Nyberg, Rauch and Neubert were also present. The will of the meeting was that a Gemeinhaus be erected, all promising to contribute toward its building. George Kline donated a site of three and three-quarters acres (subsequently increased by gift or purchase to eight acres and twenty-three perches), and in November the cellar was dug. On March 29, 1747, cornerstone was laid by the Revs. Nyberg and Neubert; on May 24, 1748, the Rev. Leonard Schnell occupied the house "and commenced the school with four boys and three girls, his wife teaching the latter." (Rupp's version is that "on the 9th of February, 1748, this house was consecrated, and on the 22nd of July following, the Rev. Leonard Schnell moved into it, as their minister and school teacher. On the 13th of May following, he opened the school, with four boys and three girls").

Continuing to quote from the "Early History of Lititz," compiled and read at the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of the Lititz Moravian Congregation, September 10-11, 1899, by A. R. Beck, archivist of the Moravian Church, it appears that on June 28, 1748, the Rev. Reinhard Ronner and wife arrived from Bethlehem as assistants in the school and pastoral work; on August 11, the first lovefeast was held in the Gemeinhaus; on November 13, George Kline (or Klein) and Leonard Bender were received into the communion of the Brethren's church at Bethlehem, the first to be so received in America, all other members "being recent emigrants from Europe;" and on February 9, 1749, the Brethren Spangenburg, de Watteville, Seidel and others from Bethlehem, were present to dedicate the Gemeinhaus. On that day the "Warwick Country Congregation" was also organized, with the following first members: Brethren George Kline, Hans George Kiesel, Henry Rudy, Jacob Scherzer; Sisters Anna Kline, Christiana Kiesel, Verona Rudy, Apollonia Scherzer. Communion was held, and the day was thereafter observed as the Gemeinfast of the Warwick congregation. Twenty-two new members were received in November, 1749, during a Provincial Synod then held in Warwick. The church was strengthened in 1753 by the organization of a "Society," i. e., "a class of persons who, whilst they were not members of the Warwick church, desired to be under the spiritual supervision of its pastors and to share in the ordinary and special church services." Members of this auxiliary of the Warwick church were Hans Bender, David Biehler, Martain Boehler, Andrew Bort, Henry Bossert, Michael Eib, Andrew Frey, Christopher Frey, Valentine Grosh, Jacob Heil, David Hilton, Christian Huetter, Jacob Jones, Michael Klein, Christian Kling, Henry Lehn, Paul Lehn, John Nohel, Michael Palmer, Christian Palmer, John Plattenberger, Henry Tschudy, also their wives; also Francis Seip and Michael Zahm, single; and Herculrode and Barbara Stauffer, widows.

Moravian Settlement Planned—At this time the two Moravian church settlements were Bethlehem and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania. The former was the "Pilgrim Congregation," consisting exclusively of minisiters, missionaries and ministerial students; the latter, Nazareth, was the "Patriarch's Congregation," its members being mostly farmers who labored for the church and a common treasury. "The members lived in close quarters and with the greatest economy, surrendering many individual rights." For such a restricted and self-effacing life many of the emigrants from Europe were not suited; therefore Zinzendorf and Spangenburg resolved to provide a third Moravian church settlement (Gemeinort) in Pennsylvania, one which would afford Moravians greater freedom of action and enterprise than prevailed at Nazareth, and yet would bring members under "closer spiritual supervision" and fellowship in the church than could be obtained in the country congregations, such as Warwick. To establish such a settlement, George Kline, of Warwick township, in 1753 offered to give his entire landed property, 491 acres (Rupp says, "more than 600 acres") to the church, in exchange for an annuity of £70 sterling. Kline repeated the offer in 1754, announcing his purpose to retire to Bethlehem with his wife and daughter; and on August 20, 1754, the legal transfer of the property to the Unity of the Brethren was made.

In the spring of 1754, George Kline had built a two-story stone house near his log house. He may have intended that it should be used as a dwelling by the ministers; at all events, he himself did not occupy it. Brother Nixdorff, from Lancaster, was the first occupant; and it was afterwards used as a parsonage, also as a meeting house, "along with the Warwick Gemeinhaus, until 1761." Later, it served the purpose of tavern and store. It stood on the north side of Main street, centrally placed, and in 1757 was the factor which decided the direction of the main street of the village of Lititz then platted. The building was demolished in 1864 or 1866. The "Warwick church and school house," the Warwick Gemeinhaus, stood on the eastern part of Mr. Kline's farm, on a declivity of a slight hill, north of what is now Main street and northeast of the Badorf residence. It was taken down and reërected within the village limits in 1766, and stood opposite the square, on the northeast corner, until destroyed in the fire of July 16, 1838. After removal from its original site, the Warwick Gemeinhaus was used "as a dwelling and school house for the teacher who had charge of the school for such children as did not belong to the Society. * * * The children of the Society had then a separate school."

Early History of Lititz—Lititz began to take entity in June, 1756. On June 12 letters were received from Zinzendorf in one of which he gave the name Lititz (or Litiz) to the new settlement, after the barony of Lititz, in Bohemia, where the infant church had found refuge in 1456. A year earlier, Bishop Hehl had been charged with the organization and guidance of the new settlement, and had arrived from Bethlehem on November 9, 1755, taking up his residence in Kline's stone house, which thereafter was called the Pilgerhaus, and after receipt of the letters from Count Zinzendorf, rapid progress was made. A saw mill was erected by the sons of John Bender, and on February 9, 1757, the town or village of Lititz was surveyed and laid out in lots by the Rev. Nathaniel Seidel and Mr. John Reuter, and the name of Lititz was given to it. Felling of trees began February 12, and quarrying on the 22nd. On April 18, Lewis Cassler arrived from Philadelphia, and having bought a house lot, began to build a dwelling. "This house, the first private house in Lititz, occupied the site of Mr. Israel G. Erb's present residence," wrote John G. Zook in his excellent Lititz historical work, which he published in 1905.

On January 18, 1758, a council was held to ascertain how much building and labor each member would contribute for the two choir houses, i. e., the houses for the single brethren and sisters. On June, or July 7, 1758, the cornerstone of the Single Sisters' House was laid by Bishop Spangenburg. The house was built of limestone, three stories high, 90 feet long and 37 feet deep. A simiular but smaller house was built for the single brethren in 1759. Cornerstone was laid by Brethren Peter Boehler and Gottlieb Bezold (Petzord), on July 4, 1759. The latter was architect and superintendent. On May 14 of that year it was decided to unite the two congregations, Lititz and Warwick, under the name of Lititz. Thus Lititz gained added importance as a Moravian settlement. The combined strength was 253 persons, including children, at the end of 1757.

Owing probably to the gathering of many persons in Lititz while conditions of living were still primitive, the settlement suffered from fever and dysentery during 1758 and 1759. Dr. Schmidt, a physician, came from Bethlehem to attend the sick in 1859, and in the next year Dr. Frederick Otto, the first physician to take up permanent residence in Lititz, arrived, moving "into the house at the spring, vacated by Brother Haller." (The log house of George Kline). The first child born in Lititz was John Bomgartner, on September 26, 1758. He died early in November that year, and his body was the first to be interred in the new graveyard, "on the hill south of the present church." The graveyard should be described, for there is not another like it in Lancaster county, stated Rupp, in 1844:

> It is enclosed with a white fence, along which there is an avenue of trees; there are three gates leading to it, one large one, and two at its sides of smaller dimensions; the large one is never opened except on funeral occasions. Over this there is an arch. * * * After entering the gate the visitor finds himself in a beautiful avenue of cedar trees which separates the graves of the males from those of the females, the former being on the right and the latter on the left. Here the visitor finds the row containing nothing but the married men and on the opposite side married women; as he passes on, those of the single classes, and further, those of little boys and girls under the age of twelve. The graves are all of two sizes, being without distinction of an oblong shape, and flat on the top, to which shape they are brought by two moulds, expressly kept for that purpose, one for adults and the other for children. The sides are planted with sod, and the tops are overrun with the Virginia mountain pink, which in the month of May is in full bloom, and renders the appearance of the graves one of the most beautiful imaginable. On each grave there is a marble tombstone, which without distinction lays flat on the grave, verifying the old adage: "Death levels all, both great and small." The epitaphs contain the name, birth, and departure; to some, a few more lines have been added, a number of which are truly edifying, and very striking. Each tombstone is numbered and the highest number in 1843 is 527. The first person was buried there in 1758.

There was an older graveyard, that of St. James (St. Jacob's) Church, and for some years after the dedication of the new one, both were used, "apparently according to individual preferences." In 1779 the new graveyard was reserved exclusively for residents of Lititz proper, and the terms "The Graveyard for Outside Brethren," and the "Warwick Graveyard" came into use.

The first Easter Morning service observed in the Lititz settlement was that held in the St. James graveyard in 1759. The service was concluded in the new graveyard with a *Te Deum.* The first Christmas Eve service for the children was that held in 1759. The custom of presenting each child with a lighted candle was not introduced in Lititz until the Christmas Eve service of 1765.

The first innkeeper was Brother Andrew Horn, who received his license on February 8, 1762.* The inn was kept in George Kline's stone house, then known as the Pilgerhaus. Bishop Hehl was permitted to occupy rooms in the Sisters' House temporarily. The first saw and grist mill was that built in 1757, under the direction of Brother Christiansen, who came from Bethlehem for the purpose. On August 15 the "mill was raised without injury to any one;" on November 11 the mill was started; and "on the 18th our Lititz family had bread from some of the first flour made," reads an entry under that date in the church diary. Formerly the Lititz settlement was supplied with flour by the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, a wagon passing through Lititz regularly every few months. The Lititz mill, a log structure, was destroyed by fire November 25, 1776, one thousand bushels of grain being then lost. It was rebuilt, without delay, of stone. In 1765 the ground was staked off for a wool carding mill on the Lititz creek. In June the mill was in operation. In 1771 the log church, St. James' (St. Jacob's), "being much out of repair and not used any more for sacred worship, was taken down and removed to the fulling mill below the village and converted into a dwelling house for the miller."

Cornerstone of the new Gemeinhaus (which is the present parsonage) was laid by Bishop Hehl, assisted by Bishops Boehler and Spangenburg, on March 17, 1762. The document placed into the stone makes mention of the Sides Episcopalis Ignatiana, and is dated "the second year of the reign of the most glorious George III of Great Britain and the three hundred and sixth year after the building of the Ancient Brethren's settlement of Lititz, in Bohemia." It was dedicated on September 18, 1763, three hundred persons being present. Bishop Hehl had moved into the Gemeinhaus in August, also the Rev. John C. Franke, who succeeded Dr. Otto as physician of the settlement. The upper story of the Gemeinhaus was used for a place of worship. It was provided with a small organ, moved from the Sisters' House, and "the walls were adorned with a number of beautiful oil paintings," scriptural scenes. In this hall the congregation worshipped until August 13, 1787, when the present church was consecrated. Such in brief is the early history of Lititz, which cannot properly be separated from the early church history of that community.

Industrial—The industrial history of Lititz also began in the activities of the Moravian congregation. The organ moved into the new Gemeinhaus in 1763 was not one of Tannenberg's instruments, but David Tannenberg (or Tanneberger) began to manufacture organs in Lititz in 1765, and his skill as an organ-builder soon brought him "an extended reputation as such." An entry in the Church Diary on November 17, 1768, reads: "Various musicians from Lancaster came to inspect Brother David Tanneberger's new organ (built for a church in Maxatany)." He built the organ for the new church at Lititz, that consecrated in 1787; and he built organs and pianos which found buyers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, Bethlehem, Madison, Virginia, and Salem, North Carolina, and other places. One of his pianos was sold for £22 10s.

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*The Lititz Springs Hotel, originally named "Zum Anker" (Anchor Inn), was built in 1764. It was owned and conducted by the Lititz Moravian congregation, the landlord receiving a salary from the church. It was a large two-story frame building. In 1804 an addition in brick was made on the west side (where it can still be seen); and in 1848 the old frame inn was removed, thus affording space for a brick addition on the east side, and the house was made all around three stories in height. Soon after that the church sold the property to a private party. The first landlord of "Zum Anker," from the beginning through Revolutionary times, was Andrew Horn.—Abraham R. Beck.

($110 approximately). John Henry Rauch, augermaker, blacksmith and spurrier in the Lititz settlement, invented the screw-point on augers; "the pattern was sent to England by Judge Henry, after which the screw-point was generally introduced." Godfrey Albright, of Lititz, made the first plan of a ten-plate stove; he gave his pattern to Robert Coleman, who then introduced them.

The name of Lititz was extensively spread through the product of the factory of Mathias Tschudy, a hatter of Lititz. He employed many persons in his Lititz factory, where he manufactured chip hats and bonnets. "He was the only person in the United States that understood the art of manufacturing them (chip hats), and supplied nearly all the cities and country with his hats. The palm leaf and straw hats coming into fashion, they were preferred, and consequently the factory was discontinued," stated Rupp, in 1844.

Another industry of the early nineteenth century brought Lititz before the country. John William Rauch, a native of Lititz, began to bake bretzels, or pretzels, in 1810. Earlier, bretzels were made at Rothsville, near Lititz, and "were peddled from a basket through town by a man on horseback from that place, nicknamed 'Dutch Charlie.'" Henry Rauch, son of John William, continued the manufacture, and one of his apprentices, Julius F. Sturgis, branched out independently in 1861 as a bretzel manufacturer. In partnership with Jacob Kramer, Sturgis developed a wide market and brought Lititz bretzels into popular demand. He continued to be identified with the local industry until he died, in 1897. His widow Sarah sold the business to her son, Nathan D. Sturgis, in 1904. He still has the pretzel bakery; and at least two other members of the Sturgis family are in the pretzel manufacturing business in Lititz. The Sturgis product was registered in 1876 as "The Only Genuine Lititz Bretzels," which indicates that the Lititz product had reached a recognized place in public favor. The manufacture of bretzels, or pretzels, is still one of the main industries of Lititz.

A century ago the malting of grain was one of the leading industries of Lititz. The church authorities encouraged the brewing of malt liquors also, hoping that beer would thus in time take the place of stronger liquor then in comparatively general use in the settlement. Between 1820 and 1824 a malthouse was erected on Broad street, near Carter's run, where Dr. Roebuck's residence later stood. The first malster was Michael Greider; Jacob B. Tshudy acquired the business in about 1830, and operated it until his death, in 1866, after which Mr. R. R. Tshudy conducted it for about twelve years. The original malthouse was burned in 1856, but another, of brick, was built without delay. After Mr. R. R. Tshudy's death in 1878, the building was bought by Messrs. Buch and Brother, and used as a tobacco warehouse. It is still a tobacco warehouse, or cigar factory, subsequent occupiers including Bricker and Snavely, Walter F. Baer, and Halpern and Walter. John Kreiter began to brew malt liquors in 1833, by permission of the church authorities. He built a brewery and malthouse to the southward of the Spring Grounds, southwest of Lititz Spring. The plant was owned in succession by Christian Kreiter, Michael Muecke, John Hamm, F. M. Rauch and R. R. Tshudy (the two last-named in partnership as Rauch & Tshudy). In 1865 fire destroyed the brewery, but a new one was built without delay by Keller and Tshudy. Henry

Zortman later owned the property. A tannery was conducted by Jacob Geitner for many years in the building later occupied by Milton Bender, butcher. Tanning by the Geitner family in Lititz was discontinued in 1882, when scarcity of bark caused Clement Geitner to move to Hickory, North Carolina.

The first incorporated industrial company was the Lititz Plow Company (Limited). The company began business in the Lititz grain elevator, but did not succeed, and finally was liquidated. In 1891 the Lititz Bed Spring Company came into existence, and manufactured that specialty for about four years, using the shop subsequently occupied by A. C. Pfautz, blacksmith.

For three or four years from 1905, W. M. Amer and Emanuel G. Witters had a shirt factory on Center street. However, Lititz industrial plants until 1898 were comparatively unimportant, and with one or two exceptions did not aim to supply more than the local demand. But with the establishment of the Keystone Underwear Mills in 1898, Lititz business men became imbued with a wider industrial perspective. The Keystone Underwear Company was organized by Samuel B. Erb, Adam Long and Israel G. Erb, and incorporated in 1905. The directors then were Israel G. Erb, Adam B. Long, G. Graybill Diehm, Henry H. Snavely and John L. Wentworth. The mills are still operated, and the product goes to all States and to many foreign countries. Another underwear company was organized soon after the Keystone Mills came into operation. It was known as the Kauffman Knitting Mills. but was not incorporated. The company is now defunct, and the plant is a cigar factory. The Lititz Spring Hosiery Mill now in operation is also a private enterprise.

In the 'nineties a creamery was established on North alley by Garber, Reist and Nissley. The business was expanded to embrace a number of creameries through the enterprise of the partners, E. L. Garber, J. G. Reist, E. G. Reist and C. L. Nissley, and its product shipped mainly to Philadelphia in the form of butter. The firm name eventually became Garber, Reist & Company, and now is E. L. Garber & Son. The W. C. E. Cough Drop, which came into popular favor twenty years ago, was the product of a local establishment. W. C. Enck began to manufacture the specialty in 1893, and organized the firm of W. C. Enck & Company. J. R. Gibbel, his associate, withdrew about seven years later to enter independently into the business of candy manufacturing.

The Lititz Condensed Milk Company was organized in 1899, and in the same year was consolidated with the Excelsior Confectionery Company of Reading under the firm name of the Kendig Manufacturing Company. The new company entered into the manufacture of cocoa and chocolate, and found such a ready demand for the product that the small initial plant soon became inadequate. Local capitalists became interested, and several increases in capital occurred, to meet development needs. With increase to $150,000 authorized capital, the company was reorganized as the Ideal Cocoa and Chocolate Company. There have been capital increases since, but the business is still operataed under the same name, and the products, "Ideal" cocoa and chocolate, are widely known throughout the country. (See also the Industrial chapters).

The development of this company and of several others was materially aided by the fostering interest of a Lititz civic body, the Board of Trade, which was organized through the efforts of John G. Zook and W. H. Muth on March 15, 1901. Its first work was to interest capitalists in the chocolate manufacturing enterprise. Soon afterwards the Board of Trade was instrumental in organizing the J. M. Mast Manufacturing Company, with a capital of $15,000, to manufacture animal traps, patent fishing floats and vegetable graters. In 1905 the Mast Company was merged with the Animal Trap Company of Abingdon, Illinois; and the new company was said to be "the largest concern of its kind in the world." The firm name for more than a decade has been the Oneida Community Company, who now control the operations.

In 1902 the Wellington Manufacturing Company entered extensively into the manufacture of starch. Reorganization in 1904 increased the authorized capital to $2,500,000, with change of name to Wellington Starch Company. The corporation supplied American and European markets, but was poorly financed, and eventually had to cease operations. The plant is now used by Acme Metel Products Co., manufacturing safes, bank vaults and metal furniture. In 1904 the Lititz Shoe Company was organized, and took possession of a building vacated by the Kendig Manufacturing Company. The machinery installed was capable of producing 500 pairs of Goodyear welt shoes daily. It was merged in the Eby Shoe Company, which was organized in 1904. The planing mill formerly occupied by Seaber & Grube was remodelled, and equipped with machinery for the manufacture of one thousand pairs a day of children's shoes. The shoe factory is still owned and operated by the original company, which has a branch in Denver, and is now raising a large factory building in Ephrata, the first steel-framed structure raised in that borough, by the way.

The Lititz Lithographing Company, successors of the Hertgen Lithographing Company of Lancaster, became established in Lititz in 1905, through the enterprise of Dr. J. C. Brobst, P. B. Bucher, W. M. Keissling, H. Reist Landis and J. E. Hertgen, who were its officers. The manufacture of paper boxes was a substantial part of its business. It is at present known as Lititz Paper Box and Printing Company, quite an extensive business. In 1905 also, the Consumers' Box Board and Paper Company was organized, with the following officers and directors: Dr. P. J. Roebuck, E. E. Weaver, G. A. Hoffman, D. E. Bruner, J. F. Stoner, H. H. Gingrich, H. C. Seldomridge, A. R. Lane and C. B. Risser. The original capital was $150,000. The plant is still one of the important industries of Lititz. It has another plant at Binkley Bridge. A business of substantial importance is that of the H. B. Workman Company, manufacturers of web halters.

Tobacco curing is an appreciable industry of Lititz; there are several cigar manufacturers and some cigar box manufacturers. Other industries included the making of safes by Stiffel & Freeman (now Acme Metal Co.); there is a cement works, several pretzel bakeries, a large planing mill; and, of course, Lititz is well supplied with service companies and retail establishments such as one would expect to find in a progressive inland town. The increase in population during the last two decades would indicate that although Lititz is one of the oldest communities of the county, it is still one of the most vigorous. The population in 1900 was 1,637; in 1910, it was 2,082; but the 1920 census discovered the population of Lititz to be 3,680. The greater part of this increase came by annexation by Lititz of part of Warwick township, but part may be attributed to vigorous industrial activity.

Municipal—Until 1855, Lititz was owned exclusively by the Moravian Church, and only those who were of that church could in the early days lease land within the village boundaries. All of the early industrial and civic agencies were undertaken by the church authorities or with their sanction. The first store was that managed by Innkeeper Horn, in the Pilgerhaus. The first bakery was that which "Brother John Thomas received permission to start" in 1764. The mills—saw, grist and fulling—were enterprises of the Moravian Church. All civic functioning was to all intents by church ordinance. Interesting entries are to be found in the diaries of the Moravian congregation. For instance:

> 1770—September 28. A church council resolved that each householder should lay a pavement of some kind before his house.
>
> 1773—July 1. The church council resolved that it should not be permitted to the young men to wander around the farms at fruit time.
>
> 1774—July 7. A public advertisement having summoned all the freeholders of this county to meet at Lancaster on the ninth for an election of a committee and deputies to Congress in Philadelphia, a meeting was held with all our freeholders to consult what should be our position in the serious conjuncture which has arisen between the colonies and the mother country. The conclusion reached was that Brother Horn should be our representative.
>
> 1775—February 27. In a council meeting attention was drawn to the measures adopted by Congress regarding the use of tea. * * * It was resolved that the sale of tea in our store shall cease.
>
> 1792. A night watchman was appointed, there having been a good deal of thieving in the neighborhood and an attempt at robbing the store. He went on duty at ten o'clock, and after midnight called out the hours. His salary was twenty-four pounds.

It was not until 1828 that an independent store business was permitted to be conducted in Lititz; in that year Jacob Tshudy "started in business with his own stock of goods" and, with this exception, the Church Council would not permit any other store to compete with its own until 1843. Then the church store was sold to Nathaniel S. Wolle. Regarding Lititz, Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844) has a paragraph which reads: "One of the stores, and the tavern belong to the community, to which also belongs the land, which is partly divided into farms, and partly into lots, which are rented by the inhabitants, and the profits arising from the rents are applied for various purposes." However, for forty or fifty years prior to that time, indeed ever since the years of the Revolutionary War and the commingling then of Moravians with soldiers who were quartered in Lititz, the church had been experiencing "a period of transition, a change from the old time to the new, characterized by a tenacious clinging to earlier customs and regulations that belong to the past on the one hand, and an indifference or opposition to them on the other hand." The passing of business enterprises out of the jurisdiction of the church in 1843 was an indication of the change. The radical change, however, came in 1855, when the so-called lease system was abolished by a vote of the Church Council, "not however without considerable opposition." Thus Lititz ceased to be an enclusive church settlement, when it had become clear that the leasing system was no longer practicable. Presumably, Lititz residents forced this change in church policy; at all events, the people of the community acted quickly, petitioning the county authorities and being granted corporate powers of village governance in November of the same year, 1855. The first board of trustees elected under the powers of the charter of incorporation were Francis M. Rauch, Ferdinand D. Rickert, Nathaniel S. Wolle, George T. Greider, John William Rauch and Samuel Lichtenthaeler. Lititz continued to hold village status until 1888. On April 24th of that year Lititz was incorporated as a borough. The first borough election was held on May 26. Johnson Miller was elected burgess; Aaron Habecker, William Evans, J. A. Buch, J. H. Shenk and D. E. Light, councilmen; Robert N. Wolle, Jacob L. Stehman and I. F. Bomberger, auditors; D. M. Dietrich, justice; I. G. Pfautz, assessor. The first meeting of the council was held on June 1, at the next meeting John G. Zook was elected secretary, and Israel G. Erb treasurer. Norman Badorf is present burgess, J. S. Herr is secretary.

Of the municipal departments, the fire-fighting organizations possess the most interesting history. Engine and hose for the early settlement were provided by a fund established by public subscription in 1790, the engine being made by a famous German maker. Its cost was three hundred and fifty florins, and the cost of the hose was seventy-five florins. Shipment was made in September, 1792, and the material reached Philadelphia in February, 1793. Freight charges amounted to £10 9s. 9½d. In 1795 extensive repairs were necessary, but the engine remained serviceable for many years, and is still in existence.

The first especially disastrous fire occurred in 1838. Then six buildings were destroyed and the whole village endangered, the fire destroying the old Warwick church, as well as damaging Linden Hall and other buildings. In that year a fire company was organized to operate the two engines owned by the community. The original engine, that imported from Germany in 1792, was rebuilt by Martin Schreiner, of Lancaster, and another engine, known as the "Friendship," had been purchased in Philadelphia. The fire company was of volunteer status, and was named the Assistance Fire Company. The original officers were Samuel Lichtenthaler, president; Rufus A. Greider, secretary; Levi Hull and Francis W. Christ, vice-presidents; Frederick A. Zitzman, treasurer; Aaron Traeger and William Keller, engineers. Residents enrolled in the fire company to the number of sixty-one. No further serious conflagration occurring, the fire company membership dwindled to inoperative number after some years; and when the village passed from the church to corporate government in 1855 it was thought advisable to reorganize the fire company. The Friendship Fire Company functioned from 1855 to 1861 with about sixty members, but was disbanded upon the outbreaking of Civil War. For thirty years or more thereafter, Lititz was without a fire-fighting organization. In 1894 a meeting of citizens was called, and the Lititz Fire Company, No. 1, was organized on February 15, with the following officers: Dr. J. L. Hertz, president; Williamm M. Amer and Elmer E. Ritchie, vice-presidents; Henry R. Gibbel, secretary; A. R. Bomberger, secretary; T. R. Kreider, treasurer; Herman Fisher, W. S. Diehm and H. K. Gonter trustees. The Stevens electric fire alarm system was later installed, and a fire bell weighing 600 pounds suspended over the fire hall, which also served as the council chamber. The municipal building had been erected on East Orange street in 1894, and had evidently been planned to serve the dual purpose. A new municipal building on South Broad street was erected in 1917-18.

Public Utilities—Water records begin with a meeting of citizens held on April 12, 1887, "to organize a water company for street sprinkling and other purposes;" but it was not until 1893, its seems, that "water and electric light were introduced in the borough." On May 24, 1892, the Moravian church, Sunday school and parsonage were illuminated with gas for the first time. The standpipe and powerhouse of the Lititz Water Company stand in a two-acre enclosure adjoining the baseball ground on the south and the Lititz Spring grounds on the west.

Lititz Spring has been one of the distinctive features of Lititz since the early days of the church settlement. The water is stated to have certain desirable and health-giving mineral properties, and at one time bottled Lititz water was in good demand outside Lititz. Quoting from Editor Zook's "Historical and Pictorial Lititz:" "The spring is a strong one of the clearest limestone water, and empties into a large oval pool surrounded by cut sandstone coping. It is claimed that several underground streams converge at this point. A person standing at the elevation west of the springs is puzzled to understand where the reservoir exists that supplies the vast volume of water. It is believed that a large part of it comes from the hills far to the northwest. It is claimed that chaff put into the cave on the John Bomberger farm on the Manheim road two miles away reached the springs by way of a subterranean stream."

James Carter, the pioneer settler in Warwick township, settled on the Lititz creek, which for long thereafter was known as Carter's creek. From its head to the Conestoga river, into which its empties, the distance is six miles, and the spring flowed so strongly in the early settlement days that it provided sufficient waterpower "for some of the largest merchant mills in the county," stated Rupp. In pre-settlement days, the Indians favored the Lititz region as a camping ground, because of the abundance of good drinking water available at the spring. It then formed a large pond, and the vicinity in places was swampy. About the year 1780 the first attempt was made to adorn the approaches to the spring; Tobias Hirte then set out the willow trees which later became valuable contributions to the park planning. In 1792 certain young men of the settlement conceived the idea of fitting up the place as a pleasure ground. The Church Council did not encourage the idea, fearing that such a "lushphaltz" would engender too much worldliness, but they finally gave their consent, and reluctantly granted an acre for park purposes. By voluntary labor on Saturday afternoons and on moonlight nights, the villagers at first filled in the swamp, which in the springtime in former years had been generally covered with water to a sufficient depth to admit of boating. Other improvements included the building of a bath house. Many trees were planted, but all died excepting the locust trees. Discouraged by this failure and by the opposition of farmers who would have preferred the spot always to remain a cattle pond, the improvement project was finally abandoned, and it was not until 1835 that the project was revived. Then plans to give the spot a sylvan beauty were followed intelligently, and in course of time its beauty attracted not only the people of Lititz, but those of many other places also. Celebrations were held as early as 1818, but the first of a series of Fourth of

July celebrations for raising revenue with which to carry out the park-planning in the Spring grounds, was held in 1843. Thereafter, Independence Day celebrations were the main source of revenue for the maintenance of the park, but the greatest help came from a loan of $1,500 to the park committee by Jacob Tshudy. John Beck, principal of the Lititz Boys' Academy, took great interest in directing the work. The standstone founts and coping were placed around the pool in 1856, at a cost of $1,500, the Coleman, Tshudy, Beck and Lichtenthaler families coöperating to carry the work to completion. Lititz became a railroad town in 1863, and soon thereafter parties began to come from Reading and elsewhere and picnic in the Spring grounds. With the passing of time, Lititz Spring grounds became more and more popular as a picnicking place, and it became necessary to provide suitable accommodation, though such a general use for the park had never entered the minds of the men who, seven or eight decades ago, began to beautify the approaches to the Lititz Spring.

Transportation—Outstanding events in transportation history of the Lititz district include the laying out of the Lititz section of the Reading to Anderson's Ferry wagon road in 1761; the finishing of the turnpike over the old Crown road between Lititz and Lancaster in 1847; the coming of the Reading & Columbia railway in 1863; the organization of the Lititz & Rothsville Turnpike Company in 1882; the leasing of a lot in the Lititz Spring grounds to the Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company in 1884, for the erection thereon of a railway station, which station was built and opened to the public on December 1, 1884; the leasing of the Lititz & Lancaster turnpike in 1894 to the Conestoga Traction Company, so that Lititz and Lancaster might be connected by electric railway, this being effected in 1895; and the running of street cars for the first time as far as the R. and C. railway on July 21, 1899. The Philadelphia & Reading lease of station lot extends for ninety-nine years, but an important condition is that the lot will revert to the Moravian church if used for any other than the original purpose. The leasing of the turnpike to the Traction Company is for 999 years. The first meeting of citizens to consider the matter of establishing trolley service between Lititz and Lancaster was held on February 6, 1890, and the trolley tracks were completed as far as Kissel Hill by April 30, 1895. On that morning and so far, the trolley traveled with passengers along the road from Lancaster. The cars ran as far as the southern borough limit on May 15 of that year.

Schools—Until 1852, owing to the excellence of the two academies, no public schools were established in Lititz excepting for primary grades. The position in 1844 is stated thus by Rupp: "There are four schools in the village; two of them are, however, infant schools; one for the little boys and one for the little girls. In these schools the small children of the village, and some from the neighborhood, are taught to read, the rudiments of arithmetic, and some writing, and from these they are promoted into the two existing higher schools."

In 1852, Lititz was organized as an independent school district under the common school system of Pennsylvania; but to all intents the old and excellent order was continued for many years thereafter. Under the new district school board a primary school was opened on January 5, 1853, but the system of graduating girls from that school to Linden Hall Academy and boys to Beck's Lititz Academy, was continued until the opening of a high school in 1870, tuition fees for children graduated to the academies being borne by the district, which included a part of Warwick township. John Beck's retirement from acadamic work in 1865 was probably one of the main reasons for the institution of a high school by the district school board. Lititz Primary School had an enrollment of thirty-two children in 1855, fifty-two in 1861, and eighty-two ten years later. In 1871 enrollment embraced the attendance in the primary school and also in the high school, which was erected in 1870 at a cost of $8,500. The primary school building consisted of two rooms until 1889, when two more rooms were added. The high school building was remodelled in 1903. Additional information is given in the general chapter on the Public Schools of Lancaster County (q. v.).

Miscellaneous—The financial history of Lititz to 1855 is to be found mainly in the archives of the Moravian Church. An entry in the church diary dated July 29, 1775, reads: "Congress and the Assembly having ordered that non-associators, i. e., those whose refuse to bear arms, shall contribute in money to the expenses of the country, the brethren David Tanneberger, of Lititz, and Christopher Frey, from the country members, were appointed collectors."

For two or three decades after the Revolution, the church settlement did not prosper financially. The two wars with Britain established periods in which provisions and labor were costly, and paper currency in a state of depreciation. "Still," writes the diarist of the year 1779, "we have not only had a sufficiency, but have been able to give to others." In that year the church paid in taxes more than four hundred dollars, and the citizens "as much more."

However, the system of church ownership of land and commercial agencies in the community was not a financial success, and was impracticable in other respects; but with the opening of these agencies to private enterprise in 1855 the financial status of the community improved, so much so that in 1867 "its business men felt the need of a banking institution." This was supplied in 1868 by the organization then of the Lititz Deposit Bank, under State supervision, with John Evans, William Evans, Emanuel Kauffman, Samuel E. Keller, R. R. Tshudy and M. T. Huebener as directors. In 1880 the institution became a National bank, taking the name Lititz National Bank. In 1905 its paid-in capital stock was $105,000, and there was a surplus fund of $45,000. It was involved in the failure of the Wellington Starch Company, and could not recover, so a receivership was established. It went out of existence, but depositors did not suffer any loss. The Farmers' National Bank of Lititz was brought into operation in 1901, with a capital of $60,000. The original officers were Dr. P. J. Roebuck, president; E. L. Garber, vice-president; H. G. Gingrich, cashier. The two first named, with J. F. Buch, S. W. Buch, N. B. Leaman, William Amer, H. S. Meiskey, C. H. Bomberger, Hiram Buckwalter and J. G. Usner constituted the directorate. The capital, surplus and undivided profits in 1922 amounted to $165,000, and plans were being made for the erection of a new banking house. S. W. Buch is president and J. H. Breitigan cashier.

The Lititz Springs National Bank was organized May 22, 1909, with a capital of $50,000, and the following officers: D. M. Graybill, president; A. W. Sensenich, vice-president; P. F. Snyder, cashier. The bank opened for business on June 1, 1909, at 40 East Main street. In 1917, the northeast corner lot at East Main and North Broad streets was acquired from the P. J. Roebuck estate, and preparations made for the erection of a fine banking house thereon. Construction, however, did not begin until May, 1922. Capital, surplus and undivided profits in August, 1922, amounted to $183,000. D. M. Graybill is still president and Mr. Sensenich is still vice-president; but Mr. Snyder was succeeded as cashier in 1918 by Mr. H. H. Diehm. The original directorate has remained unchanged with one exception, Dr. M. H. Yoder being elected in 1919. The other directors are D. M. Graybill, A. W. Sensenich, H. C. Miller, C. S. Landes, Henry H. Myers, Adam L. Burkholder, P. K. Graybill.

Lititz has two good newspapers, the older being the "Express." Mr. John G. Zook has been editor-owner of it for more than forty years.

Fraternal—There are several strong lodges of fraternal and beneficial orders in Lititz. The first to be instituted was a lodge of the American Mechanics, which functioned from August 10, 1869, to 1877, and was then merged with a Manheim branch of the same order. The Lititz Springs council of the Junior Order United American Mechanics was not formed until February 19, 1897. The meeting for organization was held in Bomberger's Hall, fifty-one enrolling as charter members.

Of the present lodges, Lititz Lodge, No. 253, Knights of Pythias, is the oldest, and one of the strongest. It was instituted on May 20, 1870. The charter members were John Kohl, Isaac Pfautz, R. R. Tshudy, Dallas Flory, J. F. Diehm, H. H. Tshudy, William B. Bollinger, Aaron Hybecker, John Breneman. The original senior officers were John Kohl, W. C.; and I. G. Pfautz, V. C. For fourteen years or more the Pythians were the sole lessees of Bomberber's Hall, moving into Rudy's Hall in 1900.

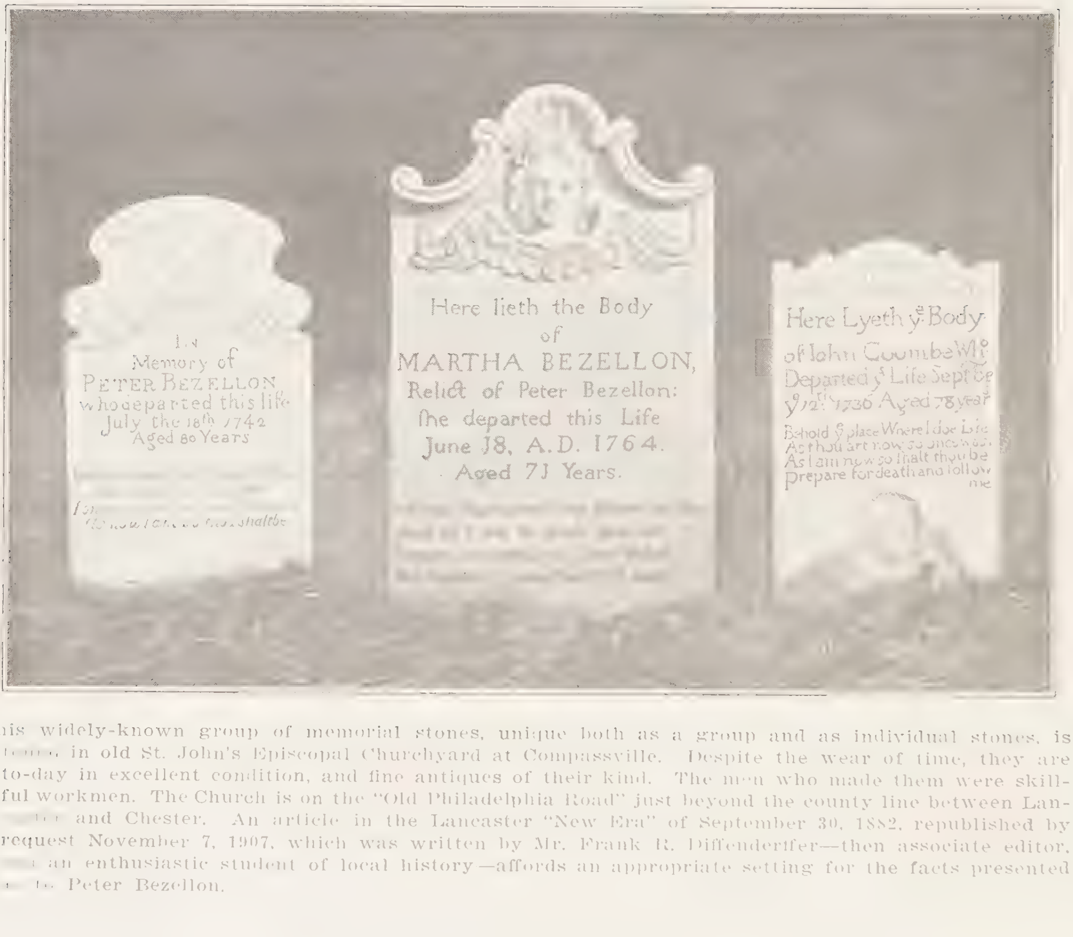
Garfield Castle, No. 76, Knights of the Golden Eagle, was next instituted, coming into being on March 3, 1886, when thirty members were admitted. After twenty years, its membershihp exceeded 225.

On March 13, 1886, Stevens Post, No. 517, Grand Army of the Republic, was conceived by twelve Civil War soldiers who met at the Sturgis House. On May 7 that year the post was installed and began to function with twenty-two members. For many years Stevens Post annually decorated the graves of deceased soldiers at Kissel Hill, Lexington, Brunnerville, Brickerville and Rothsville.

Lititz Lodge, No. 1050, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was organized on July 17, 1892. The petition for charter was signed by twenty-three Odd Fellows and twenty candidates. Bomberger's Hall was the original place of meeting.

Morning Star Temple, No. 70, Ladies of the Golden Eagle, was formed on June 22, 1895, in K. of P. Hall. There were thirty-four charter members.

Lititz Castle, No. 19, Ancient Order Knights of Mystic Chain, came into being November 25, 1899, thirty-five members being initiated on the night of institution, which took place in Bomberger's Hall. The auxiliary body of the same order, Lititz Assembly, No. 48, Daughters of Naomi, A. O. K. of M. C.,



This widely-known group of memorial stones, unique both as a group and as individual stones, is found in old St. John's Episcopal Churchyard at Compassville. Despite the wear of time, they are to-day in excellent condition, and fine antiques of their kind. The men who made them were skillful workmen. The Church is on the "Old Philadelphia Road" just beyond the county line between Lancaster and Chester. An article in the Lancaster "New Era" of September 30, 1882, republished by request November 7, 1907, which was written by Mr. Frank R. Diffenderffer—then associate editor, and an enthusiastic student of local history—affords an appropriate setting for the facts presented as to Peter Bezellon.

was organized in Rudy's Hall, December 7, 1904. Twenty-seven candidates were then initiated.

Court Lititz, No. 296, Foresters of America, was instituted April 27, 1904, at Rudy's Hall, and began to function with twenty-one members.

Lititz Camp, No. 561, Patriotic Order Sons of America, came into existence September 30, 1904, with forty-two members. The instituting ceremonies were held in Rudy's Hall.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BOROUGH OF MANHEIM.

Pre-settlement history of the Manheim region is romantic but vague, and has little bearing on the history of the borough of Manheim. Several decades before white settlement of the Chiques Valley began, the Indian occupation had become comparatively unimportant, tribal warfare having reduced the inhabitants to small number. "The earliest known inhabitants of the Manheim region," writes H. Frank Eshelman, "were the Indians of the Chiques creek, the petty Canoy tribe a few miles northwest, the wandering and treacherous Shawnees or Shawana Indians about Cocalico, as well as southwest toward Columbia, the Ganwese between Paxton and Conestoga (3 Col. Rec., 500), and the Susquehannock-Conestoga, tenanting at different times all sections of the region between the Conestoga and Susquehanna rivers." Earliest evidences of white men in the region are indicated in road records. William Penn, writing in 1690, stated that: "Three years ago a road was definitely cut and laid out between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna country." The route was by way of French creek and Conestoga river, and Eshelman believes that "this first northern route between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers" passed about six miles to the southeastward of Manheim.

Peter Bazaillon (Bezellion, Bizaillon), a French-Canadian, came into the Manheim region in the first decade of the eighteenth century, to trade in peltries with the Indians. He was on the Susquehanna in 1701, and is supposed to have explored the Chiques Valley in 1709, but may have been in the region earlier. Mombert, quoting colonial records, states that Bazaillon was granted a trader's license in 1703. Another record gives the year as 1710. He settled near the Schuykill, and established a trading post at that point. Soon, however, he moved to East Caln township, Chester county, where he and his wife lived for some years, though his trading post was among the Paxtang Indians. He moved into Donegal either in 1708 or 1709, having in 1708 been granted "free liberty to build to himself a house" at that point. Bazaillon established a well-known highway between the Susquehanna and Schuylkill rivers. The route passed less than three miles south of present Manheim, and comes into later records as Old Peter's Great Road. Settlement of the Chiques Valley by the Scotch-Irish began in about 1716, and in 1718 Peter's road was laid out. It was the main road across the northern part of Lancaster county, and in 1726 it was formally laid out as far west as Conestoga creek. In 1729, when Lancaster county was erected, Old Peter's Great Road was made the northern boundary of the townships of Hempfield, Manheim and Leacock. Jacques

LeTort, a French Canadian and also a fur trader, was in the region at about the same time as Bazaillon. John Coombe, a brother of Martha Bazaillon, also traded with the Indians of the region, and had a trading post at Conoy Indian town. Martha Bazaillon, Jacques LeTort and John Coombe (or Combs) were early landowners in the Donegal country. Isaac Taylor in 1719 was requested by James Logan to survey for Martha Bazaillon a thousand acres of land in Donegal township, a short distance below Conoy creek, and also a tract of 300 acres for John Coombe, her brother. Seven hundred acres were surveyed for Martha Bazaillon, and three hundred acres for James Logan. A tract of nine hundred acres was also surveyed for Jacques LeTort, the land adjoining that of Martha Bazaillon. Martha Bazaillon had no children, and her land eventually passed to Hess and the Brennemans. Jacques LeTort sold his tract to James Logan, who took out a patent for it.

The fur traders can hardly be classed as the pioneer settlers, and the connection of James Logan with the two French-Canadians is referred to because he later acquired the tract upon which in 1762 the village of Manheim was platted. He took patent in 1733 for about 1,200 acres of land, and at his death bequeathed what remained of his tract to his daughter Sarah and to her husband, Isaac Norris. On February 17, 1762, they deeded the land, about 729 acres, to Charles and Alexander Stedman, who September 20 the same year deeded a one-third interest to Henry Willam Stiegel (Heinrich Wil Stiegel). The Stedman interest was sold August 4, 1769, to Isaac Cox, who sold to Stiegel on February 1 of the next year. Steigel then, therefore, became sold proprietor of the land which he had platted in 1762 as the village of Manheim.

Early Settlers—In 1912, H. Frank Eshelman wrote as follows regarding the settlement of the Manheim region:

> About 1716 certain Scotch-Irish had penetrated the northwestern section of now Lancaster county, and by 1722 they had Donegal township organized, carving it out of West Conestoga. In 1724 it had 52 taxable heads of families, all Scotch-Irish except Eph. Moore, Andrew Cornish and John Gardner (Cope's Ches. Co., 173). But beginning in 1717 there was a great inrush of Germans and Swiss into our county annually, and by 1730 (1 Pa. Arch., 271) the choice land was all taken up by them. They crowded into Donegal, but took the northeastern end of it, between the branches of the Chiques near their countrymen, Moore and Gardner, passing well up the Chiques, separate from the Scotch-Irish on the west. By 1740 this northeastern section of Donegal was numerously populated, and the township of Rapho was created out of it. A rich section on the eastern edge of Big Chiques was owned by James Logan since 1733, and from his heirs part of this section, or about 700 acres, was secured later by Stiegel, and eventually became Manheim.
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> No assessment lists of Rapho township are now known to exist earlier than that of 1756. Therefore the pioneer inhabitants of the region out of which Manheim was formed cannot with any completeness be ascertained. On the west edge of Rapho is the old Moore location, held by the Moores to this day. In 1736 the names of Michael Mayer, John Herr and Henry Sanders appear as living in what is now Rapho township (Bk. A, p. 9 and B, p. 352, Recorder's Office). In 1743 Henry Veller and Peter Good (Qr. Sess. Office Dock. 2, p. 28, Roads) appear. In 1746 Christian Longenecker and Jacob Reife appear (Bk. B, p. 591); in 1750 Alexander Mitchell, James Hutchison, Christian Martin (Bk. C, p. 154), Jacob Rohrer, Jacob Ocher, Christian Shank, Henry Grubb, Hans Crider, John Smith (Do., p. 260); in 1752 John Potts, Alexander Scott, Ann Sterrett (Bk. C, p. 339), Jacob Conrad, John Reisht or Reist, John Myers, Philip Bretz and Simon Gross (Bk. C, p. 418); in 1753 Loderwick Metz, Alexander McNutt (Bk. C, p. 525), Benjamin Sterrett and James McPherson (do, p. 570). Of these, more than half are German-Swiss.
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> By 1756 there were 118 heads of families on the Rapho assessment list, of whom over 100 were German-Swiss. Among the new names, Kaiser, Shoemaker, Eshleman, Segrist, Honen-

stein, Ebersole, Wenger, Bowman, Leaman, Frie, Weidel, Haigy, Snyder, Erhart, Beitler, Shellenberger, Schmit, Long, Hoffman, Becker, Kling, Rolenberger, Vegelly, Minig, Shaffer, Brubaker and Springer appear (Ellis and Evans, 1028). From this time onward, the Germans and Swiss continued to fill up this section and gradually bought out the land holdings of the Scotch-Irish and English. The most interesting of these purchases to us is the Steigel acquisition and the laying out thereon of the Manheim village in 1762.

Lewis and Evans gives 1762 as the year of the platting of the village of Manheim by Stiegel, but Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844) states that the village was laid out in 1761. Mombert does not agree with either, recording that "about 1760 or 1761 Wilhelm Heinrich Stiegel, an eccentric German, who for many years had managed the Elizabeth iron works, laid out this town." Rupp's reference to Stiegel (Steigel), and Manheim reads as follows:

> About the year 1760 or '61 Mr. Steigel, who managed the Elizabeth iron works for many years, when they were owned by Benezet & Co., of Philadelphia, commenced his singular career. He was well known as the eccentric German Baron, or Wilhelm Heinrich Steigel, proprietor of Manheim. Having purchased two hundred acres of land from the Messrs. Stedmans, of Philadelphia, he erected a grand chateau (castle) very singular in its structure, and afterwards laid out a town to which he gave the name of his place of nativity—Manheim. This town was laid out in 1761, and in 1762 contained three houses. One of his countrymen, Mr. Andrew Bartruff, father of Colonel John Bartruff, erected the third house in the town; he kept the first grocery.

The life and industry of Stiegel have been the subjects of many published works, and much that is interesting but incorrect regarding him and his work has been written. Many of these mistatements were, however, corrected in a volume entitled "Stiegel Glass," published in about 1914. Its author, Frederick William Hunter, "disperses some of the hoary traditions and dispels many misty illusions" regarding Stiegel, writes Mr. W. U. Hensel in a review of the work. Stiegel, it is believed, was not a baron, was not born in Manheim, was not wealthy before coming to America, had not a "city home" in Philadelphia, and did not name the Elizabeth Furnace after his wife. It also appears that it was in Elizabeth, not Manheim, that Stiegel first made glass. Mr. Hensel's review, in part, reads:

> First—Stiegel was not a baron, a nobleman, nor of a noble family within the meaning of these terms in Germany at the time of his emigration. He was born at Cologne, not Manheim, May 13, 1729, eldest of a family of six children. His father died June 22, 1741. "Heinrich Wil Stiegel," as he described himself, came to this country on the "Nancy" from Cowes, Isle of Wight, landing at Philadelphia, August 31, 1750. He brought with him his mother, Dorothea Elizabeth, who died here January 11, 1781; and his youngest brother Anthony, aged eleven, who married twice. His second wife died at Schaefferstown as late as 1824.
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> Second—Stiegel did not bring with him £40,000 (sterling); nor, so far as reliable evidence appears, any considerable amount of money. His face and figure, attractive manner, ambition and intelligence were his principal fortune. There is no adequate proof that he engaged in business ventures, or made profitable investments, in Philadelphia.
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> Third—He likely came to Lancaster; visited the monastic settlements of the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata; explored the region of Schaefferstown and the Furnace Hills; met and on November 7, 1752, married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob (not Johann) Huber, the master of Elizabeth Furnace. Neither it nor the township was named after Stiegel's wife, nor by him.
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> Fourth—He acquired an interest and relations with his father-in-law in Elizabeth Furnace. He owned Charming Forge, near Womelsdorf (now Lebanon county), and sought Philadelphia partners and capital in extending his business operations. John Dickinson, of Revolutionary fame, was one of his legal advisers, likewise George Ross, Wm. Atlee, and Jasper Yeates.
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> Fifth—It is very doubtful if he ever had a "city home" in or near Philadelphia. There is no record to prove he ever owned any realty there except two small lots, on which there may

have been a warehouse and store, to sell his glass. He may have temporarily resided in the city from time to time.

Sixth—The Stedmans, who joined him in the Elizabeth operation, were agents for the ship on which Stiegel came to America.

Seventh—He married Elizabeth Holtz, October 24, 1758, eight months after the death of his first wife and the birth of their second daughter.

Eighth—At the beginning, the Stiegel-Stedman operations at Elizabeth and Charming Forge were profitable, their activities led to the acquisition of large land holdings, running up to an acreage exceeding 10,000. The future site of the town of Manheim was first purchased independently by the Stedmans, not by Stiegel, who "bought in" soon after.

Ninth—Stiegel had artistic tastes and temperament and inventive genius, as well as business energy and vision. He improved the Franklin stove and devised the six and ten-plate. His decorative plates were artistic, after the fashion of the day. He erected comfortable workingmen's homes and a stately mansion for himself. He advertised extensively. He likely made one trip to London in the latter part of 1763, and promoted shipments abroad of his bar iron. This was the period of his greatest prosperity; but at no time was his estate worth anything like the traditional £40,000.

Tenth—His first experiments at glassmaking were at Elizabeth, in 1763, not in Manheim, a fact which I think Mr. Hunter's own investigations have first established. The lure of this fascinating and promising "infant industry" drew him measurably away from the iron interest and toward the larger establishment, the baronial manner of business and living and the elaborate style of his mansion and equipage in Manheim. Window glass and the coarser forms of table glass were made in Elizabeth, but after the Manheim glass houses started work, the first in November, 1765, the second in 1769, the variety of ware was greatly enlarged, the artistic excellence of form and color much increased and its vogue was widely extended. Stiegel's trans-Atlantic trip was followed by the importation of skilled workmen from Italy, England, and Germany, and the Manheim factory came to compete with European glass centers, having its salesrooms in New York and Philadelphia, and agents in a score of colonial towns.

Eleventh—As the iron industry languished and the financial embarrassment of the Stedman enterprises increased, Stiegel's plans in glass became more elaborate, extended and risky. By 1771, when their advertisement was most pretentious, his ventures were most hazardous; and his three lottery schemes, the last of which was abortive, were not so much the outcrop of a gaming spirit as they were props to a failing fortune. They did not avail, however, and the sheriff sold his Manheim estates February 3, 1774, his iron properties having been disposed of partly prior to that, and Elizabeth Furnace went under the hammer a little later.

Twelfth—While Stiegel actually "did time" in prison for debt, he did not languish and lament in confinement for the long period often sympathetically and romantically related. He was in Manheim November 24, 1774, and on December 24, 1774, the General Assembly passed the act for his relief and release, none objecting.

Thirteenth—On May 5, 1774, Stiegel had leased the glass works to Smith & Simund; and on October 25, 1775, William Basman, Michael Diffenderfer, Paul Zantzinger, Casper Singer, and Frederick Kuhn were operating the Manheim glass works. Either James Jenkins or David Rittenhouse ran the Manheim glass works for a brief period after the Stiegel failure; Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, bought the mansion in September, 1777, and his family lived there until after the British evacuation of Philadelphia, in 1778.

Fourteenth—When the Manheim domed glasshouse was torn down in 1812, the bricks were hauled to Neffsville, and from them was constructed the hotel there (by Leonard and Barbara Fidler, hence the name "Fidler's Green," once given to Neffsville). * * *

Fifteenth—Of the later life and death of Stiegel, more clearly verified by record, Mr. Hunter's narrative confirms most of the other historians. That he was a Tory, or that he was ever visited by Washington or British generals, is untrue. While he served Robert Coleman as foreman at Elizabeth, that furnace made munitions of war for the Revolutionary army. * * * Washington's visit to Elizabeth was as guest of Coleman in 1792, when he was President; and Robert Morris, David Rittenhouse, Prevost William Smith and Trench Francis accompanied him. Mr. Hunter confirms the fact that the location of Stiegel's grave is unknown even to this day; probability locates it at Charming Forge. Nor can the last resting place of Stiegel's mother, his second wife, or his brother Anthony be identified.

Stiegel paid £50 sterling to the Stedman brothers for a one-third interest in the 729 acres upon which he laid out the village of Manheim in 1762; and in

1770 he acquired the other two-thirds for £110 10s., excepting such lots as had been sold to individuals in the meantime. These lots were sold in many cases at a low cash price, but upon a perpetual ground rental. When Stiegel's effects were seized by the sheriff, his landed property passed to Michael Diffenderfer, by sale. He deeded to William Bauseman, and the latter bequeathed the property to his children, William B. and Elizabeth Heister. The Bauseman heirs deeded their several interests in the ground rents to John D. Hiester, and although the new owner made no effort to collect the rent for some years, and endeavor was eventually made to assert his right to payment. It was finally necessary to bring suit to enforce payment. This was done in 1856-57, and much was collected. The lot owners, however, chafed under the rental obligation, and in 1880 a committee was formed to negotiate with the Heister heirs. Settlement of claims amounting to about $13,000 was made upon payment of $6,500, and on March 29, 1881, the interest of the Heister heirs in ground rents in the borough of Manheim was deeded to the committee, which was disbanded after transference of the deeds to the respective lot owners.

At the time Stiegel laid out the village there were two log structures upon the site. One was still standing on South Prussian street 125 years later. In 1762 five dwellings stood upon the village site, two built by Stiegel, another by Andrew Bartruff. The other two were presumably the two log houses. Stiegel first built a house on West High street, near Market square. A history of Manheim published in 1912 makes the following reference to the Stiegel residences:

> He began his Manheim "Mansion" in 1763, and finished it in 1765. It was situated on the northeast corner of North Prussian and East High streets, the house itself being forty feet square, two stories, with a dormer attic, all of red brick imported from England, and transported in wagons from Philadelphia by his own teams. The second floor was fitted up as a chapel, with arched ceiling. It contained a pulpit from which the Baron himself often preached to his workmen and surrounding community the doctrines of the Lutheran faith. * * * On the roof, between the large chimneys at each end, was the famous balcony, from which on festive occasions his finely educated band, brought from Europe, and also chosen from his workmen, entertained the Baron and his many favored guests. * * * About the same time the Baron erected of the same imported brick an executive building, or an office, one-story, with attic dormer windows, on the northwest corner of North Charlotte and West High streets.
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> In 1765, when he began his Manheim improvements (building a glass works) and after his Manheim mansion was finished, he and his family divided their time between Manheim and Elizabeth. * * * In 1769 he built a tower-like castle on a high hill near Elizabeth Furnace, which is to-day pointed out as the "Thurm Berg" or "Stick Berg," "Tower Hill" or "Cannon Hill." This castle contained large banquet rooms, and on the top was stationed a cannon, fired in salute on festive occasions, or to honor some distinguished guest, and also as a joyous signal to all—pay day.
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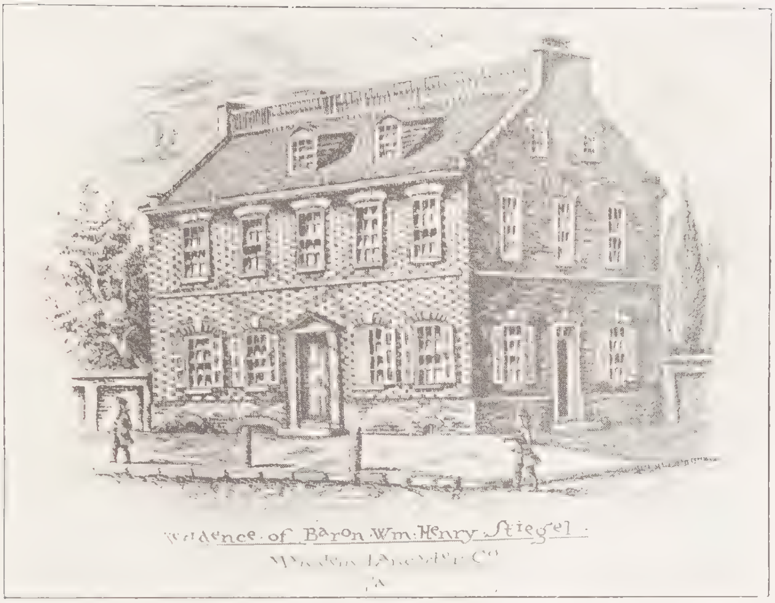
> When the Baron traveled from one of his homes to the other, either on business or pleasure, it was his custom to ride in his coach, drawn by four horses, of which he was a great fancier. He traveled with his outriders, and a pack of his favorite hounds running ahead. His entrance into Manheim was always announced by the firing of a cannon, and his arrival was greeted with great joy; the band from the roof balcony of his mansion welcomed him with music, and everybody was supposed to have a brief holiday, since the firing of the cannon summoned his workers to the mansion to greet him. He treated his men with marked consideration and kindness, and they honored him; his presence was their greatest joy, and he took great interest in their spiritual welfare.

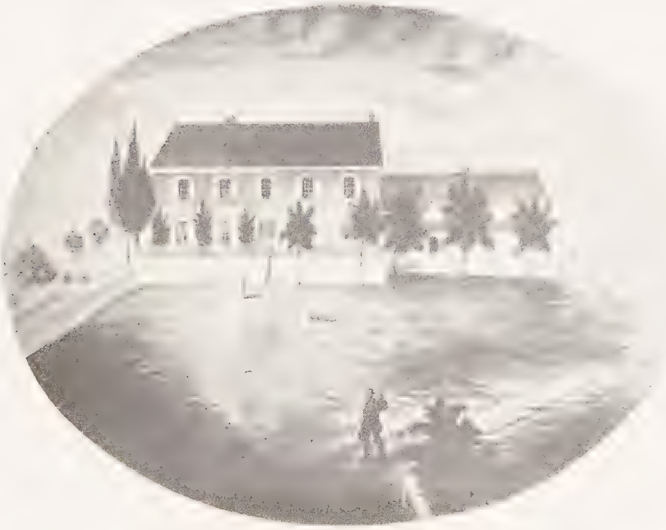
Stiegel is looked upon as the founder of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. It appears that Stiegel and his workmen for about ten years gathered in a log edifice which had been built upon land deeded in 1761 to five councilmen of the Lutheran church for church purposes by Nicholas Merrett, of Warwick township. The consideration was one silver shilling, and in that log church Stiegel was wont to teach his workmen the doctrines of the Lutheran church. In 1770 it was destroyed by fire, whereupon Stiegel set aside a lot and built a small church upon it. His intention was to bear one-half of the cost and hold the congregation responsible for payment of the other half; but this proving to be a heavier burden than the "infant congregation" could bear, the patron took the burden wholly upon his own shoulders. Always eccentric but innately generous, Mr. Stiegel made some unique provisions in the deed he executed in this connection. The instrument reads: "Deed from Henry William Stiegel, and Elizabeth his wife, dated December 4, 1772, to Peter Ereman, Henry Whorley and Wendel Marzall, trustees and wardens, to and for the only use, purpose and benefit of the German Lutheran Congregation, conveying Lot No. 220, in Manheim, in consideration of Five Shillings, and they yielding and paying therefor unto the said Henry William Stiegel, his heirs and assigns, at the Town of Manheim, in the month of June yearly forever hereafter, the rent of One Red Rose, if the same shall be lawfully demanded."

Payment of rent in this floral currency was duly made to Mr. Stiegel in the stipulated month of the first two years, 1773 and 1774. However, before another year had expired, disaster had come upon the patron; he (Mr. Stiegel) was imprisoned for debt in 1775, and the One Red Rose if tendered in that year would not have materially changed his state of purse. For almost 120 years thereafter the annual church rentals remained uncollected, and few knew of the unique stipulation until 1891, when the deed was discovered among some old papers of the Zion Church. Since that year, however, the liability has been regularly met, and the annual gatherings of interested Lutherans for the purpose of paying tribute to the memory of the distinguished Manheim pioneer by delivering one red rose into the hand of a descendant of the founder, have developed a ceremony now widely known as the "Feast of Roses." Accrued interest is being also gladly tendered, not one but many roses being brought to the "Feast of Roses" each year. Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh, later Governor of Pennsylvania, delivered the "Rose Day Address" on June 11, 1889, at the tenth anniversary of the Feast of Roses. He said: "Manheim should be the rose city of America. Plant around your homes, your churches, your schools, the fragrant favorite of your founder. Reverence and honor your ancestral line by planting this beautiful bush, that annually in your midst may burst forth the flowering banners of fragrant memorial, and so shall you honor, so shall you commemorate a worthy and public-spirited pioneer, so shall you exalt and refine the lives of your children and keep fragrant in their memories the life of the many-sided man in whose memory we gather to-day and from whose life we may gather much to enrich and to exalt our own lives." Mr. Stiegel died at Charming Forge on January 10, 1785, aged fifty-six years.

Industrial History—The industrial history of Manheim began with the establishment by Mr. Stiegel of a large plant for the manufacture of glassware, the first of its kind to be brought into operation in America. The factory was erected at the corner of South Charlotte and Stiegel streets. Erection began in

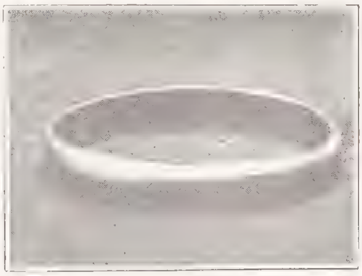

Residence of Baron Wm. Henry Stiegel
Manheim Lancaster Co
Pa

RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM H. STIEGEL, MANHEIM, LANCASTER



MANSION AT CHARMING FORGE
Built in 1787, owned by Wm. Taylor, where Stiegel died

WM. TAYLOR, OF CHARMING FORGE, BERKS COUNTY, OWNS THE BUTTON WHICH W. H. STIEGEL WORE ON HIS VEST



RING OF W. H. STIEGEL AND ELIZABETH HOLTZIN, NOW IN POSSESSION OF JOHN C. STIEGEL, OF HARRISONBURG, VA.

1763, but the plant was not fully completed until 1768, the main building then being of such dimensions that, it is said "a six-horse team could drive in it and turn around." Brick was specially imported for the building, and the dome-shaped roof gave the structure a height of more than one hundred feet. In 1769 Mr. Stiegel built a second glassworks. He induced skilled operatives to emigrate from Europe, and in 1769 was employing as many as thirty-five of these expert glassworkers. Stiegel glass soon gained a good reputation, being it is said, equal in quality and design to some of the European glass of high standard. Latterly, Stiegel glass has commanded high prices because of its being sought by relic-hunters. The whole of Mr. Stiegel's effects were seized by the sheriff in 1774 and sold. The industrial plants appear to have been acquired by James Jenkins, according to Rupp. The industry flagged, however, during the Revolution, and for about forty years from 1779 the plant lay idle. It was dismantled in 1809, and the bricks were used to build a hotel at Neffsville.

Peter Longenecker built a mill in Colonial times, it is believed; at all events, its establishment was at some time between the years 1763 and 1780. It was built of limestone, and later a wooden fulling mill was added to it. The mill stood until about 1838. To the northward of it Abraham Hostetter erected a mill in 1829. The Hostetter mill passed through the hands of J. H. Bassler, John Hostetter and Benjamin M. Stauffer, before it became the property of E. B. Bomberger in 1866. The last-named was operating the mill at full capacity in the 'eighties.

The business interests of Manheim in 1780, as indicated by a list of taxable inhabitants, included: Henry Custers, smith; Gabriel David, clockmaker; Ludwig Druckemiller, shoemaker; John Dyer, carpenter; Frederick Druckenmiller, potter; Peter Fisher, cooper; George and John Hotz, George Hounstein, John Nowman, weavers; John Huber, Frederick Nowman and Charles Smith, masons; Matthias Long, John Noecker, smiths; Nicholas Levy, saddler; Enoch Murry, hatter; Adam Matzebacher, Christian Tetrah, tailors; Jeremiah Miller, George Warner, shoemakers; Henry Werly, joiner, and Martin Yetters, carpenter. The list of taxable inhabitants under reference has sixty names under "Houses and Lots" classification, and thirty other men are listed as freemen. William Smith is shown as "doctor," and Jeremiah Henselman as tavern owner. The latter probably owned the Black Horse Hotel, which was established by John Heintzelman; it stood for a centuary on South Prussian street, though not as a hotel for all that time. Andrew Bartruff was the first grocer; his store stood upon North Prussian street from about 1761. A century later, on April 16, 1861, fire destroyed it. Its history includes a period of use as an inn, though perhaps not by the Bartruff family. Colonel John Bartruff, son of Andrew, established the Spread Eagle Hotel in 1804. In 1817 Manheim had three taverns—the Washington House, kept by Jacob Meyer; the Black Horse, kept by Mrs. Heintzelman; and the Spread Eagle, kept by John Bartruff. The business interests of Manheim in that year (1817) were: General stores, conducted by John Thorn and Christian Stauffer; a tannery, by Jacob Arndt; a brickmaking plant, by Dederick Baehler; saddlery, by Peter and George Britz; hardware, Mrs. Heintzelman; shoemaking, by Kline and Faertig; stocking weaving by Martin Bauder. The cabinet-makers and carpenters were Emanuel Dyer, John Rice and John Wagner; the blacksmiths, Joseph Stanem, Joseph Frantz and Jacob Long; coopers, John Schneider and A. Schauer; tailors, George D. Miller, David May and Philip Waltz; wagonmakers, Peter Gruber, George Long and John White; Henry Brahm, Adam Danner, ——— Boehler, William Wagner, John Brosey, Henry Brosey, Jacob Koch; watchmaker, George Rudisell; dyer, ——— Waltz; locksmith, John Long; painter, Alam Sill; bone comb makers, Jonas White and his father. The physicians then were Michael Kauffman and John Heintzelman.

Manheim to-day has some important industries, including a large asbestos plant, and a tobacco factory. The asbestos plant is that of the United States Asbestos Company, which was organized in 1906, with a capital of $60,000. The original officers were: George H. Danner, president; Chester L. Hill, vice-president and general manager; Munroe M. Pfautz, secretary; M. G. Hess, treasurer. The company began its operations in the former plant of the Manheim Canning Company, with four employees. Within six years its operations had so expanded that it found employment for about 200 people. The company was reorganized in 1910, the capital increased to $175,000, and changes being made in the directorate, S. R. Zimmerman becoming president, and Albert Nield superintendent. A fire in 1911 destroyed part of the original plant, but it was soon rebuilt, as well as additional buildings.

Otto Eisenlohr and Bros., well-known cigar manufacturers of Philadelphia, opened a factory in Manheim on July 1, 1910, and found employment for about 125 persons; the local plant was at 114 North Prussian street. The Hershey Machine and Foundry Company began operations in a small way in 1900, and soon found work for about sixty-five persons. After a decade, its foundry was much enlarged.

In 1905 the Bond Foundry and Machine Company was organized, for the manufacture of the Bond Patent Universal Shaft Hangers and Bearings in particular. The company transferred its machinery, patterns, presses, and so forth, to Manheim in 1905, and installed them in the former plant of the Greer Clarkson Company. Pressed steel products of the company's acquired patents have found favor among foreign users, and the American demand is substantial. The company manufactures a full line of power transmission specialties, it is said. The original officers were: Charles Bond, president; Joseph Burr, vice-president; H. H. Shenck, secretary; H. M. Beamesderfer, treasurer; and Morgan T. Williams, manager. M. T. Hess became identified with the company as secretary a few months after it was organized, and M. M. Pfautz soon joined the directorate. Several of these men were instrumental in 1911 in incorporating the Manheim Manufacturing and Belting Company, the object of which organization was to manufacture Balata belting of a British patent to meet the American demand. Turner Bros., Ltd., of England, makers of the "Veelos" brand of Balata belting, had entered into an agreement with the Manheim company whereby the latter had sole right to manufacture "Veelos" specialties in the United States. The Manheim plant at the outset had manufacturing capacity for about $500,000 worth of belting annually, and began to operate in 1912. The development has been good. The local men originally concerned in the enterprise were Charles Bond, George H. Danner, M. M. Pfautz, M. G. Hess and John H. Cassel, the first named being president.

The Manheim Milling Company had its beginning in 1874, when J. Z. Eby built a feed warehouse, although it was not until 1897 that the Manheim Milling Company was organized. Mr. Eby took a Mr. Stehman into partnership in 1876, and they installed flour milling machinery then. Three years later they introduced a roller flour mill, the first of its kind to be operated in Lancaster county, it is said. In 1880 Ezra Reist joined the firm, which became Eby, Stehman & Reist. From 1884 to 1887 the mill was operated by Eby & Company, but in 1887 W. W. Jones, of Philadelphia, acquired the plant, operating until 1897 as the W. W. Jones & Co. Milling Company. Then the Manheim Milling Company was organized, and has since operated, though in 1908 Mr. L. Deetjen, of Philadelphia, acquired the entire plant. The Manheim Knitting Mills began operations in 1906, with five machines. The present plant of the Manheim Underwear Mills directed by W. W. Moyer is quite substantial, as also is the plant of the Manheim Hosiery Company. A shirt factory was opened in Manheim in 1908 by Hoffman Brothers, of Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

The banking institutions of Manheim are the Manheim and Keystone National banks. The Manheim National is one of the oldest National banks of the county, having been organized February 11, 1865. The original directorate was Abraham Kauffman, president; B. M. Stauffer, J. L. Stehman, Philip Arndt, John Rohrer, H. S. Snavely, Elias B. Bomberger, A. Bates Grubb and John M. Dunlap. J. Hoffman Hersey was first cashier, and opened the bank for business on March 1, 1865, in the Uhler property at the corner of Market square and North Prussian street. In 1866 the bank acquired a property on South Prussian street, from John Sheaffer, and that has been the home of the bank ever since. The original capital was $100,000, but in 1882 increase was made to $150,000. Since that time a substantial reserve has been accumulated. The Keystone National Bank was organized in 1887, and during its first few years of operation used the H. C. Boyd property at the corner of Market square and North Prussian street. The first officers were: W. Litzenberger, president; A. H. Danner, secretary, F. F. Brosey, cashier. The original capital was $60,000; increase was made to $75,000 in 1907, and to $100,000 in 1912. The present banking house was built in 1893.

Manheim school history is vague prior to 1830. Earlier, there were in all probability adequate private school facilities, but none that come into distinctive note. One of the pioneer teachers was Adam Smith, who taught for many years. However, three school buildings were erected between 1830 and 1836. They were known respectively as the Upper, Lower and Central schools. "In 1836, after the adoption by Rapho township, of which Manheim was then a part, of the district school system of public schools, the schools of the borough were controlled jointly by the district school board and six trustees for the borough." When the borough became a separate school district in 1855, the schools were graded, the Upper School becoming the Grammar, the Lower School the Secondary, and the Central School the Primary. At that time the school year was of five months' duration; in 1862 it became six months, and in 1882 was lengthened to seven months. Teachers were then paid a stipend of about thirty dollars a month. In 1868 a new school building was erected, and the school divided into four grades. After a decade or so increase to six grades was effected. A high school course was instituted by W. Rieff Nauman in the early 'eighties, and the first class was graduated therefrom in 1866. A four years' high school course was ordered in 1912 to bring Manheim High School into the first grade. The school buildings are situated on the corner of East High and Hazel streets.

The municipal history of Manheim comes into note with the effort made in 1830 to obtain borough status for the town. The initial effort failed, but the movement was revived in 1837. A petition signed by a majority of the voters of the town was considered by the State Legislature, and on May 16, 1838, the incorporating act was passed. The first election under the act brought the following into office as borough officers: David May, burgess; John Rice, John Musser, John Arndt, Jr., Jacob Stauffer, George Eby and Samuel Deyer, councilmen; Benjamin Hunsinger, constable; David Fisher, supervisor; Thomas W. Veasey, clerk; Daniel Danner, treasurer. The first meeting of the council was held at the Central schoolhouse. The first tax levied was for the sum of two hundred dollars. There were at that time within the borough limits 365 taxable persons; and small though the levy was, there were some taxpayers who deemed the demand unreasonable. David May was burgess for the years 1838-39-40. In 1840 a change in the judicial system brought David May into office as the first justice of the peace elected for the borough of Manheim.

Fire company records are invariably interesting, and carry the reader back to the early days of the community. Those of Manheim cover more than a century, one record reading: "In 1810 the citizens feeling the need of organized protection in event of fire, started a subscription for the purpose of building a house and purchasing apparatus. An engine was purchased, which was called the 'Union,' and a house built. The house was painted red, and was known as the 'Red House,' and the Union Fire Company was organized."

The Union and Maheim fire companies were, it would seem, one and the same. The former comes into records of the borough in the 'thirties, and at least one instrument shows that the latter, the Manheim Fire Company, existed in 1812. A review of the history of Manheim fire-fighting organizations during the century, 1821-1911, was written in 1912, and from the review one gathers that the present company, the Hope Hose Fire Company, possesses the paper, "neatly printed and signed by about fifty persons," upon which are spread the original articles of association of the Manheim Fire Company. The paper is dated January 9, 1812, and states the twelve articles of association. The company as organized was headed by Michael Kauffman, Emanuel Deyer, John Roth, John Snyder, Henry Miller, Martin Rudisill and William Wagner, as directors. The engineers were Jacob Eby, Peter Gruber, Adam Nees, George Pritz, Jr., Adam Danner, John Myer and John Wagner. Then followed the names of men assigned to engine, hook, ladder and axe positions. A small hand-engine was purchased. The engine was the fire-fighting apparatus of the Union Fire Company until 1848, and is still treasured as a relic by the Hope Fire Engine and Hose Company, No. 1. It is stated that the local fire company operated as the Manheim Fire Company until 1836, "when another engine was purchased, and the incorporation of the borough agitated." A second fire company was organized, and the borough act of incorporation in

1838 accorded the local administration authority to organize "as many fire companies of the citizens of said borough as there are or shall be engines belonging to said Borough." There being then two hand engines, the burgess and council on June 25, 1838, resolved that "two fire companies be formed—the one to be called the 'Union,' and the other the 'Active.'" Organization was completed in November, 1838. It was soon found, however, that the second engine was of little use, and the Active Fire Company was soon disbanded in consequence. In 1839 a fire house was built; formerly rented quarters were utilized, and the company meetings were held in the school house, or other suitable place. The one-story frame building erected on Market square in 1839 for the Union Fire Company, was used for the purpose until the late 'sixties, when a new council chamber and engine house was erected on North Prussian street. The old fire house was moved to the lot then owned by George Long, and now by N. W. Long. It is still standing, and for some years was used as a grocery store. Acquirement of a larger and more modern engine in 1848 brought a change of name, members of the Union Fire Company, in January, 1850, resolving to adopt "Globe" in place of "Union," the possession of a "Globe" engine adding prestige to the organization; the engine was used in Manheim until 1895. But the Globe Fire Company did not exist for so long; its membership was reduced very considerably during the Civil War, and it is stated that from 1863 to 1869 "there was no company and no organization worthy of the name." On February 26, 1869, reorganization was decided upon, and the new company became known as the Star Fire Company. Hose Company No. 1 was also then organized, and the Globe fire engine was rebuilt. In 1871 a new hose cart was purchased. It was a "Hope" cart, and its acquirement brought another change of company name, the change being to Hope Fire Engine Company, and to Hope Hose Company, No. 1. On June 25, 1874, the company was chartered as the Hope Fire Engine and Hose Company, No. 1, of Manheim, Pa. The name has remained practically unchanged ever since. The fire company has excellent quarters in the public building, municipal headquarters. The building was erected in 1903-04, upon a lot owned by the fire company, at the northwest corner of East High and Wolf streets. The fire company had planned to build independently, but soon after so deciding it came to their notice that the borough councillors were also debating the question of a better municipal building; so the fire company offered to deed its lot to the borough, if the latter would provide adequate quarters in the suggested new municipal building for the fire company. This was done. The Hope Fire Engine and Hose Company, No. 1, is an efficient, strong body. At the time of its centennial celebration in 1912, it had a membership of 125 volunteer firemen, under Chief Christian Bear.

Prior to 1868, Manheim seems to have had no fraternal societies, at least none that were of the present leading orders. The first local lodge established was the Order of the United American Mechanics, but a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was organized in 1869. There was also at that time a Manheim lodge of the Good Templars order. A local Masonic lodge was not formed until 1891.

Manheim Council, No. 154, O. U. A. M., was instituted April 10, 1868. Its charter members were F. R. White, A. J. Eby, H. A. Kinch, J. S. Witmyer, Dr.

James M. Dunlap, Horace Dasher, S. A. Ensminger, M. E. Bomberger, H. C. Gibble, Henry Diffenderfer, H. S. Musser, Theodore Fisher, H. S. Burkholder, S. S. Nees, S. B. Spickler, John Dowhower, Samuel Keiter, J. M. Ensminger, J. Z. Eby and J. G. Leber. The first officers were: J. G. Leber, C.; J. M. Dunlay, V. C.; F. R. White, R. C.; M. E. Bomberger, treasurer. Before many years had passed, the council possessed a home of its own, purchasing the building still used from the estate of J. M. Hahn. The membership within recent years has averaged more than 150.

Manheim Council, No. 32, Junior O. U. A. M., was organized August 12, 1868, with eighteen members, one of whom, H. M. Ensminger, remained a member of the local council for more than fifty years. The strength is about 175 members. The first officers were: C. J. Mengle, C.; B. A. Donovan, V. C.; W. B. Mixell, R. C.; J. M. Rice, treasurer.

Selah Lodge, No. 657, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was formed March 11, 1869, with charter members as follows: Drs. John M. and James M. Dunlap, H. S. Stauffer, E. M. Stauffer, John H. Metzler, M. J. Erisman, C. J. Reiff, D. F. Hamaker, D. B. Hackman, Abraham Schoff, T. H. Hershey, Henry Pritz, C. J. Singer, Peter M. Will, B. D. Danner, J. Z. Eby, Emanuel W. Long, Ephraim Hostetter, John H. Stauffer and Daniel Kiehl. The first officers were: John M. Dunlap, N. G.; H. S. Stauffer, V. G.; James M. Dunlap, secretary; Abraham Schoff, treasurer. Present strength is about 180 members.

Manheim Lodge of the Independent Order of Good Templars was organized in 1868, but passed out of existence in 1871.

A local branch of the P. O. S. of A. was formed October 2, 1874, with H. M. Ensminger as president; but the society was disbanded in April, 1883. Washington Camp, No. 590, P. O. S. of A., was instituted February 21, 1891, with an original membership of 48. The membership is now about 200. The auxiliary lodge is No. 65, Patriotic Order of America, organized March 26, 1892.

Manheim Lodge, No. 587, Free and Accepted Masons, was given constitution on June 24, 1891. Martin E. Bomberger was the first worshipful master.

Stiegel Castle, No. 166, Knights of the Golden Eagle, was formed on March 11, 1887, with fifty charter members. The original senior officers were: Charles A. Kline, past chief; W. Rieff Nauman, noble chief.

Kauffman family has figured prominently in many phases of Manheim affairs. Abraham Kauffman in 1876 gave a tract of land for park purposes to the borough; it was made a beautiful park property, and was named Kauffman Park. The first borough cemetery was given by Dr. Michael Kauffman who, however, died before deed had been made. Still, the title to the land was obtained by the borough upon payment of forty dollars.

The Federal census figures indicate that Manheim has gone steadily forward. In 1780, ninety inhabitants were taxable; the population, therefore, would probably then have been more than 300. In the first year (1838) of Manheim as a borough, the taxable inhabitants numbered 365. The census taking of 1850 showed a population of 778 persons, and subsequent figures are: 856 in 1860; 1,122 in 1870; 1,666 in 1880; 2,019 in 1900; 2,202 in 1910; and 2,712 in 1920.

Manheim's water supply is undertaken by the Manheim Water Company, which has a reservoir and pumping station in Rapho township. The company was incorporated in 1884. B. Frank Danner is managing director.

Jacob Stauffer installed a printing plant in Manheim in 1830, but soon abandoned it. Another printing office was established in 1838 by John Michael Ensminger. His equipment consisted of "a pound of type given him by a friend," possibly Jacob Stauffer. His job office on Market square, near South Prussian street, was enlarged some years later, and in 1846 he ventured into the newspaper field, beginning a weekly journal on January 6. It was a small folio, ten inches by fourteen, and contained four columns of matter. The name was changed from the "Weekly Planet" to the "Manheim Planet and Rapho Banner" in 1849, and to the "Manheim Sentinel and Lancaster County Advertiser" in 1850, the paper being then owned by D. B. Rock. Fire destroyed the plant in 1851, but new quarters were found on North Prussian street. In 1852 Mr. Ensminger again acquired the paper, and since that year it has remained in the direction of that family. In 1853 the plant was removed to South Prussian street, and the name of the paper shortened to "Sentinel-Advertiser." It was then a seven-column four-page journal. It became an eight-column paper in 1871, and a nine-column in 1886. Mr. John M. Ensminger remained at its head until his death, in 1899. He was succeeded as editor by Wien A. Ensminger, who became sole owner in 1901. The "Sentinel" has a circulation of about 2,400 copies, and covers the local field well. In 1914 the paper was purchased by H. E. Trout, and then converted into an eight-page paper.

The religious history of Manheim is written into the several church chapters. Reference must be made to one social service body. Had the Young Men's Christian Association of Manheim, which was organized in 1859, continued to function, it would now be distinctive among the pioneer bodies of that association, for it was only about seven years earlier that the first Y. M. C. A. (Boston, Massachusetts), was organized in America. However, the Manheim society could not survive the calls made upon its strength by the military needs of the Civil War, and in 1863 it went out of existence. Reorganization was effected in 1879, with F. G. Brosey president and H. H. Gingrich secretary.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BOROUGH OF NEW HOLLAND.

New Holland, in Earl township, oldest and leading community in the Earl townships, is nearing two centuries of settlement. Its beginning was in 1728 it may be reasonably asserted, for it was then that John Diffenderfer settled "in the woods," in the vicinity of what became New Holland. In this connection, Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" (1844), contains two paragraphs which read:

> During the year 1727, rising of one thousand Palatines arrived in Pennsylvania; among them were the Diffenderfers, Ekmans, Meyers, Bowmans, Eberlees, Zugs, Shultzes, Funks, Frans, and others, whose descendants constitute a portion of the inhabitants of Lancaster county. Two brothers, Alexander and John Diffenderfer, sailed from Rotterdam, arrived at Philadelphia in the month of September; Alexander settled in Oley, now Berks county, and John at Saeue Schwamm, now New Holland, in the woods. His grandson, David Diffenderfer,

> now in his ninety-second year, informed us that his grandfather's household goods were brought from Philadelphia, by one Martin, and unloaded under an oak tree. In the course of a few days after their arrival, a hut or cabin was erected by the aid of the neighbors, who were kind; and the goods snugly housed, and the family comfortably situated. Michael, David's father, was then a child.
>
> The neighbors were attentive in relieving their wants, and supplying them with necessaries. Mr. Bear bestowed upon them a cow; Mr. Martin and Hans Fraaf, some flour and meat. Shortly afterwards, other German families settled here; among these were Ranck, Bachert, Beck, Mayer, Brimmer, Koch, Hinkel, Schneider, Segar, Stehly, Brubacher, Meixel, Diller, and others.

Frank R. Diffenderfer, writing in 1876, as to the arrival of John Diffenderfer, his ancestor, in 1728, states: "This was the humble beginning of New Holland, the metropolis of the Earls, but at that day known as Aaeue Schwamm. This very suggestive name was applied to a narrow strip of low land, lying immediately north of the present town, and now in the ownership of the Hoovers, Mentzers and Rolands."

The village seems to have become the most important in Earl township within a few years of the coming of John Diffenderfer. In 1748 the Lutherans gathered to the number of seventy for a communion service in the church which had been organized in 1730. The village was then perhaps known as Earltown, and before coming into record as New Holland, the place was called New Design. Possibly it was given that appellation in about 1760, when Michael Diffenderfer, son of John, secured a patent for 268 acres of land contiguous to the settlement, for it was in that year that Michael Diffenderfer surveyed and platted twenty-five lots off this tract. The place was described as New Design in "deeds and other papers down to 1763;" and it is thought possible that the name was not changed to New Holland until about the time of the Revolution. The twenty-five lots had each a frontage of five perches and a depth of twenty-one perches, and, following the custom of the time, were sold or leased subject to a low but perpetual ground rent. The annual rent, in this case, was seven shillings. That New Holland was not platted on the site of the original settlement seems to have been the opinion of Frank R. Diffenderfer who, in 1876, wrote:

> * * * , the first settler built his cabin not on the present site of the town, but in the immediate vicinity. Who erected the first house in the town proper, and where it stood, are questions that will perhaps never be positively determined; no known written record exists bearing on these facts. It is known, however, that the first well dug in the place is the one on the turnpike, opposite the residence of William L. Barstler; it is also known that it was dug by Amich Snyder, who, in company with two neighbors, had built their log huts in that vicinity. They had no permanent water supply, however, and to remedy this deficiency, agreed to dig a well; lots were drawn to decide upon which one of them the task should fall; the fates pointed out Snyder as the one appointed to do the work, and he did it. It is reasonable to suppose the site for the well was not far removed from their dwellings, and as it is a well authenticated fact that a house formerly stood on the spot now occupied by Mr. Barstler's dwelling—itself a very old building, we cannot go far astray in marking that as the spot whereon stood one of the first three houses, built about the same time, in the present town of New Holland. The second well in this place was dug by a Mr. Brant, at the lower end of the town. Before these wells were dug, the few settlers living in the town were obliged to do their washing, butchering, etc., at the spring now owned by Mrs. Buch, at the eastern end of the town, and bring their daily supply of water for domestic purposes from thence.

These houses are not still standing, but there are some very old buildings in New Holland, among them the residence on Main street, opposite Brimmer avenue, in which Isaac C. Hiester, Congressman in 1851, was born. Another is known as "Robert's Folly," a three-story double brick house built by Anthony E. Roberts, who was county sheriff in 1839.

The early history of the settlement in the New Holland vicinity can, unfortunately, only be followed in church and school records. Much regarding New Holland churches is written into the religious chapters, particularly the Lutheran.

Schools—The school history of New Holland is made especially notable by the establishment of a free school in the place in 1787, but there probably were earlier schools. It seems likely that school was taught in the settlement soon after the coming of the first pastor of the Lutheran church, Rev. J. C. Stoever, in 1730; and it is believed that the log church at Zeltenreich's was used for school purposes. School history is written into the records of Trinity Lutheran Church (q. v.); and it would seem almost that Rev. Melsheimer, when he took up pastoral charge in 1786, saw that an important duty of the church lay in the establishment of a school. The church trustees met the call to the extent of giving half an acre of the church lot (four acres) for school purposes, and led by Rev. Melsheimer, the citizens subscribed generally to the building fund. Two subscription papers were circulated in 1786, one written in German and the other in English. There were about 133 original subscribers, and the number was later added to. By direct subscription of money, the amount raised was £109, 10s. 9d. In addition, building materials such as lime, logs, sand, stone, laths, boards and rafters were given, as well as personal services. The school record states that "the cellar was completed without little or no charge;" and in the work of raising the school house there was probably little charge for labor. The school house was of logs, two stories high; its dimensions were 35x40 feet; and "after the building was erected, certain carpenters gave one or more days' work gratis to make desks and benches." The school house was dedicated December 26, 1787, on the morning of which day the whole community it would seem gathered at the Lutheran parsonage, "and from thence marched in an orderly procession to the school building," upwards of 700 persons being present.

The school thus established was to be a permanent free school for all village children, and the instruction was to be in English as well as German. It was to be under the direction of the Lutheran church, to all intents a parochial schools. Whether two schools were established, or only one in which all scholars were taught both German and English, is not clear from existing records. Rev. John W. Hassler's church review in 1880 states that "the community, by liberal private subscription, erected a large school building, designed for the accommodation of two schools, a German and an English, the latter, by the conditions of the gift, to be in some sense a parochial school." It seems, however, that there was only one schoolmaster, and that he was almost a parochial assistant of the Lutheran pastor, having to undertake, by resolution of the Church Council, certain exercises in the church on the Sabbath, when the pastor was absent. The schoolmaster was also "publicly and earnestly admonished that he must lead a consistent and godly life, at home and abroad, if he would not be removed from his office." A few years later the schoolmaster was expected to "serve the congregation every two weeks in playing the organ and leading the singing. * * * He was to teach school nine months in the year, and on Sunday catechise the children, if twelve should attend." Hence it is clear that the free school established in New Holland in 1787-88 was of parochial character, probably a total charge on the Lutheran church, or perhaps on the Lutheran and Reformed churches jointly; but, in any event, it was a praiseworthy movement, for the free school system did not generally come into effect in Pennsylvania until another fifty years had passed by. Regarding the later history of the New Holland school house, Rev. Hassler writes:

> This school building, after doing much and valuable service in the promotion of education in this place, was afterwards, upon the adoption of our present common school system, legally authorized to be sold, and was used for various purposes, until in the end it became a sort of tenement house, and only a few years ago (in about 1877) was torn down to make room for other improvements. A portion of the proceeds of the sale of this property fell to this congregation (Lutheran), which had originally given the land for school purposes, and the remainder was committed to trustees, who now (1880) use the interest of it to provide the children of this place with two months extra schooling each summer.

The present public school building was erected in the 'eighties, a clock tower surmounting it. The log school house was sold on August 1, 1857, for $1,060, half of which was returned to the Lutheran church. The other half, with funds in hand and accumulated interest, in 1876 established a fund of $2,100 for the school purpose stated. At that time (1876) the public school was of four grades, and in addition there was a "select or private" school, taught by Miss Annie C. Brubaker. (See also Public Schools chapter).

Miscellaneous—In 1876 the industries of New Holland included three cigar factories and three coachmaking establishments. There were five hotels and seven stores. A noteworthy institution then functioning was a brass band, which during the Civil War "went into service as a band and made for itself an enviable record," under Isaac Witmer, its organizer and leader. In addition there was in New Holland in 1876 "1 printing office, using a steam-power press, and publishing the 'New Holland Clarion,' a four-page weekly newspaper with a large and rapidly increasing circulation, and a widely extended influence." That paper, which is still the leader in Earl township, was founded January 18, 1873, by George H. Ranck and J. W. Sandoe, passing to the former after some years. Its present owner, C. R. Martin, edited it for many years, but latterly the editorship has been handled capably by Harry E. Ressler.

The industries of New Holland in 1922 included several cigar factories, several good machine shops and modern garages; a brass, bronze and aluminum works, a concrete pipe works, a planing mill, a large silk mill and other profitable sources of employment. The silk mill during recent years has been employing an average of 250 persons. There are two good banks in New Holland; the Farmers' National Bank, capital $50,000, and surplus twice as much; and the New Holland National Bank, capital $125,000, and surplus of about equal amount.

New Holland has railway and electric trolley connection, and moderately good roads. The New Holland turnpike road had its origin in the movement to build an artificial road from the Blue Ball tavern to Lancaster, which was approved by Governor Simon Snyder in 1810: Diffenderfer writes:

The commissioners named in the act, having certified that thirty or more persons had subscribed for 122 shares of the stock, the Governor by letters patent, bearing date of March 3, 1813, created the subscribers into a corporation called "The President, Managers, and Co. of the New Holland Turnpike Road," which title was in 1856 changed to "The New Holland Turnpike Road Company." Four miles of the road having been completed in 1816, examiners were appointed by the Governor, and upon making a favorable report, the company was authorized to erect gates and collect toll; a second section of five miles was completed during Gov. Hiester's administration in 1823, and accepted by him. The road was not completed until 1825. The first toll-money was received in July, 1816, and the first dividend declared in 1839. By an act passed May, 1821, the Governor was authorized to subscribe for $5,000 of the stock in behalf of the Commonwealth.

Earlier roads have been referred to in the Earl township sketch. New Holland was made a post-office before 1800, and possibly it was at that time that New Design changed to New Holland. Samuel Hall was postmaster in 1816. That the borough is growing is at once seen in the census statistics. In 1900 the population was 902; in 1910 it was 1,106; but there has since been more than normal increase, the 1920 census discovering that New Holland then had 1,453 inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BOROUGH OF MARIETTA.

Robert Wilkins, an Indian trader, first settled along the Conestoga creek, upon land adjoining that of Richard Carter, who afterwards moved farther up the creek and is looked upon as the first settler in Warwick township. Wilkins moved westward and in 1718 or 1719 took up a tract on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, at the point where the borough of Marietta eventually developed.

Robert Wilkins was an Indian trader, and had four sons who associated with him in this interesting but dangerous life. The sons were John, Thomas, William and Peter. William was at first indentured to Edmond Cartlidge, another trader who had a post along the Susquehanna, and a tract of land in what became Manor township. Robert Wilkins, the father, settled on the tract of three hundred acres he had acquired. Thomas, his second son, took up an adjoining tract, one hundred and fifty acres on the north side; John bought several hundred acres adjoining Gordon Howard's tract in what is now Mount Joy township. What Peter did is not recorded.

The tract warranted to Robert Wilkins seems to have been given by him before 1727 to his son, William, for in that year William Wilkins gave possession of that tract to Rev. James Anderson, in exchange for a tract of 305 acres, situated along Spring run, about half a mile east of where Marietta now stands. The Rev. James Anderson had been called to Donegal Church in 1726, and in that year had purchased the 305 acres from Peter Allen, an Indian trader. In the next year the "trade" with William Wilkins was made, and Mr. Anderson at once moved onto his new purchase.

Anderson's Ferry—He probably even then had in mind the establishment of a ferry at that point; but it seems that he deferred consideration of his own affairs until he had disentangled those of his parishioners, whose land titles were in many cases irregular. These matters were not straightened until

1737; indeed, it was not until 1736 that patent was issued to him for the three hundred and five acres he had acquired from William Wilkins nine years earlier. But Mr. Anderson in 1736 or 1737, "in his own behalf, or that of his oldest son, James, took out a patent for a ferry at his river farm." It appears that "this was not accomplished without much delay, on account of objections filed by John Wright, who then had a ferry three miles further down the river."

Rev. James Anderson died in 1740. He bequeathed his property to his wife and his two sons, Thomas and James. The widow and her son Thomas transferred their interest in the estate to James Anderson (2nd), "who became a prominent officer in the French and Indian wars, and also in the Revolutionary War. He was a member of the General Assembly for many years, and died in 1790." Anderson's Ferry comes into prominent record when Congress was in session at York, in the fall of 1777 and spring of 1778. "It was more frequently used than Wright's Ferry, on account of the condition of the water and ice." The ferry at that time was owned by James Anderson (3rd), son of James Anderson (2nd), who had conveyed it to the former by deed dated July 22, 1772. It and the landed estate were inherited by James Anderson at the death of the father in 1799, and this James Anderson (4th), was the man to whom Marietta owes its substantial beginning. He decided to plat some of his land and dispose of the lots by lottery, according to the favored custom of that period. In due course, on November 16, 1804, there appeared in the Lancaster "Journal," published by William Hamilton, the following advertisement, which also appeared in the Lancaster "Journal" of February 8, 1805:

> Town of Waterford—The subscriber has appropriated a tract of land on the north side of the Susquehanna river, at Anderson's Ferry, for a new town, to be called Waterford, and wishes to dispose of the lots on the same by way of lottery. Waterford will be excellently situated on account of health; will afford an elegant prospect and good limestone water in abundance. It is laid out at right angles. Each of the upper lots are 206 feet in depth and 50 feet in width, fronting on a main street, and having a 16-feet alley in the rear. The water lots are 132 feet in depth and 40 feet in width, separated from each other by a 10-feet alley. All the lots will be clear of ground rent. The bank of the river is to be kept open for the use of the holders of town lots and for no other purpose whatever. No privilege will, however, be given that can affect the interests of the present ferry. A plan of the town may be seen at the home of Mr. Hugh Wilson, at Lancaster, and at Anderson's Ferry. The drawing of the lottery, it is expected, will commence in the month of February, or early in the month of March next. Tickets at $60 each may be had of Hugh Wilson and William Ferree, in Lancaster; of John Pedan, Chickeys; of John Greer, Yorktown; and the subscriber at the Ferry. (Signed) James Anderson.
>
> November 16.

Let us now trace from settlement days the developement of an adjoining tract of land which is now also a part of Marietta. George Stewart in 1719 took up several hundred acres of land adjoining that of Robert Wilkins on the east. He died in January, 1733, and his son John inherited the real estate. Five years later, John Stewart was granted patent for 350 acres, with the usual allowance. Ten years later John Stewart sold the land to David Cook, who eventually divided the estate, bequeathing to his son David 212 acres adjoining the Anderson tract, and the remaining 159 acres to his son James. David Cook (2nd) eventually decided to lay out a portion in lots and sell by lottery method.

This development came in 1803. On November 19 that year David Cook publicly announced that he was the proprietor of a "tract of land adjoining Mr. Anderson's plantation at Anderson's Ferry, and that he had laid out a town to be named New Haven, containing one hundred and one lots, which he intended to dispose of by lottery, each ticket commanding a prize; the price of each ticket to be fifty dollars and the titles to the lots were to be in fee simple and free from ground rents." The exploitation of the townsite of New Haven was therefore somewhat in advance of that of Waterford. The lottery seems to have been successful, for David Cook a few years later laid out another part of his farm in town lots, which adjoined those previously platted. This addition Mr. Cook designated "New Haven Continued." Such active townsiting had been appreciably furthered by developments in road construction. In 1805 a turnpike to connect Anderson's Ferry with Lancaster was projected, and with this facility in view and with the obvious increase in river traffic, lots were sold rapidly.

In 1912, at Marietta's Centennial, an address was delivered by Mr. Barr Spangler; in it he thus referred to the beginning of Marietta, in the two towns Waterford and New Haven:

> In 1736 James Anderson established a ferry and built the Accomac dwelling. He also built a ferry house at the head of Ferry street. It stood diagonally across the street. When it was torn down Robert Wentling bought the material, with which he built the present residence of John O'Brien, on Gay street. The population having greatly increased, Andreson laid out part of his farm, in 1805, into a town that he called Waterford. The mansion of his farm is now occupied by William B. Fink, on the farm of James Duffy.
>
> David Cook, the brother-in-law of Anderson, laid out a town east of Waterford a year later and called it New Haven. The dividing line between the two towns was Elbow lane. The mansion house on Cook's farm is now the residence of Howard Naylor. The brick for the two dwellings were made on the Cook farm.
>
> The first brick dwelling built in Waterford is now the residence of John Mayer, corner of Front and Gay streets. The oldest house was a one-story building adjoining the residence of William Sweigart, on the east on Market street. It was torn down recently.
>
> The first building put up in New Haven was a log building erected by Henry Conn, who opened it as a tavern and called it the Spread Eagle Hotel. It was located just north of the livery stables of Mr. Grady, and was torn down about twenty some years since.
>
> Additions were made to both towns by Jacob Grosh on the east, and by Benjamin Long and James Mehaffy on the west.

But these two additions did not come until after the consolidation of Waterford and New Haven as the borough of Marietta, in 1812.

Marietta Incorporated—The incorporation of Marietta resulted, it would seem, from the endeavor of James Anderson, and possibly David Cook, to improve the financial situation. Progress had been too rapid, and James Anderson was passing through an unpleasant experience like that so often encountered by pioneers. He had spent, or had become liable for, considerable expenditures in town improvements; he had procured a charter for the erection of a bridge over the river, and had spent several thousand dollars in grading a road from the south side of his ferry over the hills.

The future seemed to be good, but the pace was too swift. Still, neither of the town planners had reason to be discouraged. The river traffic had so increased during the first decade of the nineteenth century that a number of towns had come into existence along the river, but none had been so alluring to the land speculators as Marietta. The taverns at Waterford and New Haven were the resort of gamblers. Mr. Sener writes: "The two taverns were infested with gamblers and speculators, and these remarks apply alike to both towns, before and after they were consolidated." Waterford was the most favored, but not necessarily the most stable; and ere long James Anderson found that his house was built upon sand. Marietta "sprang into existence as if by magic," writes Samuel Evans, "and commenced to crowd the heels of their Quaker neighbors (Columbia), and for a few years rivalled the former in population. The place grew too fast; a large class of disreputable persons followed the stream of speculators who overflowed the place, and, like birds of prey, lived off the earnings of others. When the final crash came but few were able to weather the storm."

However, ere that came many things happened. There was surprising activity in real estate, and several more town planning projects in the immediate vicinity of Marietta. The 159 acres of land bequeathed to James Cook, brother of David Cook, by their father, changed hands in 1786, James Cook then selling his farm to Jacob Neff. The latter died in 1798, and his daughter Catharine married Henry Cassel some time afterwards. In 1806 the executor of the estate of Jacob Neff sold 162 acres of land to Henry Cassel. On the first day of 1814 Cassel sold to Jacob Grosh, for the sum of $58,500, forty-five acres of this farm fronting on the river. Grosh immediately laid this out in building lots, and it now constitutes the eastern part of Marietta. He named it Moravian Town, but for many years afterwards it was called Bungletown.

Westward of Marietta another town came into existence in 1813. It became known as Irishtown, and also as Fishtown. It seems that the tract of 150 acres warranted to Thomas Wilkins in 1718 later passed into the possession of John Lowrey, son of Lazarus Lowrey, Indian trader. Eventually Alexander Lowrey bought the property from his brother John, and spent his last years upon that property. Colonel Alexander Lowrey died January 31, 1805, and his daughter Frances, the only child by his second wife, Ann Aldricks, evidently inherited the property. She (Frances Lowrey) had married Samuel Evans, first associate judge of Chester county, in about 1793. Mrs. Frances Evans on April 2, 1813, sold the farm she had inherited from her father to John Pedan, James Mehaffey and James Duffy. Samuel Evans, grandson of Mrs. Frances Evans, wrote in 1883 as follows regarding this transaction and its outcome:

> Irishtown, although not within the corporate limits of the borough is practically a part of Marietta, and is so regarded generally. On the 2nd day of April, 1813, John Pedan, James Mehaffey, and James Duffy purchased from Mrs. Frances Evans one hundred and sixty-one acres of land adjoining the Anderson farm on the west, and laid out the entire tract into five hundred and sixty-two building lots. The town plan was distinct and separate from Waterford, and the streets did not connect in a straight line with those of the latter place. In the centre of the plat, ground was reserved for a market house, and also for public buildings. In their advertisements to the public announcing that they had laid out a town, they designated the place as "Marietta." When the charter of the borough of Marietta was granted it did not include that part laid out by James Mehaffey and his associates. This was not an accidental omission. The place was never incorporated, and up to the present time the citizens have resolutely resisted the extension of the borough line to include their property.

It appears that these three men, with some other associates, Henry Sharer, Mathias Rank and ——— Haines, also bought from James Anderson the ferry house and right and the twenty acres of land adjoining it, paying therefor $110,000, for which price the bridge charter was also included. One would imagine that this sale would have quite reëstablished the financial status of James Anderson; and the sale in November, 1813, of about eighteen acres of David Cook's land to John Myers, for $29,650, might have made the financial state of Mr. Anderson's co-founder better also, had payments been fully made in cash. But in all probability little cash passed at that time, and in a few years all realty values depreciated distressingly.

Marietta in its first year or so as a borough, however, gave unmistakable indications of prosperity. The consolidation of the two rapidly growing towns, Waterford and New Haven, was sufficient indication, apart from the many additions. These included Cook's Addition, of forty-eight lots; Myers' Addition, of eighty-three lots; Sharer's Addition (the ferry land) of one hundred and six lots; Long's Addition of two hundred and eighty-two lots, all within the borough; and the five hundred and sixty-two lots of Irishtown, adjoining.

The sale of lots in all of these townsite projects was probably very actively prosecuted, and there must have been much building, if the Marietta "List of Taxables" for the year 1814 is a reliable indication. That list, which records the occupations of taxpayers opposite names, includes the names of an abnormal number of men who were connected with the building industries. There were nine lumber merchants, twenty-one carpenters, twenty-one joiners, five masons, three painters, five plasterers and five nailers. Other trades were represented in Marietta by ten coopers, six cordwainers, five blacksmiths, two saddlers, one weaver. There were twelve merchants and storekeepers, nine tailors, six butchers, one millwright, one tobacconist, one whitesmith, one chainmaker, one miller, two wagonmakers, four pilots and three ferrymen. There was one minister, the Rev. Henry B. Schaffner, of the Reformed church, and fourteen innkeepers. In addition there were five distillers and one brewer; and most of the storekeepers probably had licenses to sell wines and spirits. In consequence, there was probably sufficient sickness in the borough to keep the three physicians listed busy. The brewer was Alexander Hirtzler, and the doctors were William Garrett, Samuel Houston and Pretricious Smith. Four of the taxpayers are listed as schoolmasters: George Briscoe, Joseph Jefferies, Samuel Ross and James Townsen. William Pierce, who is classified as a scrivener and printer was also, it seems, a teacher. Henry Cassel was shown as a bank director; Edward Hand as a clerk in the bank; Jacob Rohrer as cashier of bank; and John Graeff as bank cashier. Possibly all were connected with the private bank established in Marietta in September, 1814, by Henry Cassel, and "later merged into the Marietta and Susquehanna Trading Company." There was one druggist, Martin Kindig, on the list; two cabinetmakers, John Hiestand and Henry Quest; one magistrate, Jacob Greybill; one assemblyman, Jacob Grosh, Esq.; and one constable, Henry Dunn. The ferry is shown as then belonging to Henry Sherer & Company, and the ferrymen were John Cromwell, Joseph Gettis and George Snyder. James Duffy is listed as a speculator, and Joseph Keesey and John Pedan as gentlemen. Henry Baker and Henry Sultzbach were tanners, John Robinson and Henry Heckrote were hatters, John Cloud was a boatbuilder, Henry Kline a miller, William Boyd a weaver, and James Anderson heads the list, unclassified.

Altogether, the tax list of 1814 was an encouraging one; it showed more in some trades probably than the Marietta of a century later could show. In 1912, the late Mr. Barr Spangler referred to one incident of those early busy days. He said: "Before the introduction of anthracite, piles of wood could be seen at every door in the fall of the year, the sawing of which was quite a trade. John Everyday, an expert sawyer, was always overflowing with piety, and constantly praying to be taken 'home.' He was sawing late one evening when a joker crept up behind the woodpile and cried out in a sepulchral voice: 'John, your time has come!' John * * * dropped his saw, and, falling upon his knees, cried out: 'Work is brisk now, O Lord; let me live a while longer.'"

Many others were as hopefully situated. Many had become wealthy on paper. So much paper, in connection with such stupendous realty transactions, had passed, there was such a rapid expansion of the town and such an evident air of much and good business, that few could see that there was any suggestion of artificiality in that prosperity. Most townsmen looked upon the happy state as but the expected healthy, if rapid, development of an important trade-centre on the principal trade route, the Susquehanna. Trade was ever increasing in variety and volume; and whiskey was plentiful and cheap. Mr. Spangler writes: "The farmers converted their corn and rye surpluses into whiskey. There were distilleries at that time on almost every farm. A market for whiskey was established here. The liquor was brought in hogsheads and placed on timber covered with boards, awaiting the spring freshet, when it was taken in arks to tidewater. The exposed hogs-heads were frequently tapped at night by boring a hole with a gimlet and inserting a straw."

With such an abundance of work and whiskey the people were happy, and there were many joyous festivals. Harvest fairs were early observed in Marietta. "They attracted a great many merry-going people," said Mr. Spangler. "The principal amusements were ball playing and dancing at the taverns, and usually the drinking led to many pitched battles. In 1861 a market house was erected on Center square, and Benjamin Long added a second story to provide a dance hall. "A religious revival occurring two years later, Long was converted and changed his dance hall into a meeting house." Others became serious at about the same time, some because of religious conviction, but many because of increasing financial difficulty and trade depression. Mr. Spangler writes: "In 1816 a wild speculation in real estate broke out. An exchange was opened in Noble's Hotel in Market square. The people from the town and country assembled there and bought and sold property at fabulous prices. Farms were knocked off at more than $300 an acre, and town lots in the suburbs at $2,000. The same farms were sold subsequently at $60 to $75 an acre, and the lots at $10. It carried many of the dealers into bankruptcy and ruin."

The Hon. W. U. Hensel, in an address he delivered at Marietta on September 5, 1912, made particular reference to that difficult early period in the history of Marietta; also to a worthy townsman, whose strong character became evident in the difficulties of that time. In part, he said:

> * * * the time was ripe for rival land booms along this river shore. Then began that spirit of development which resulted in the unique arrangement of your streets, and the patch-

> work of Waterford, New Haven, Cook's, Myer's, Sharer's, and Grosh's various additions. The story of their consolidation and incorporation into the greater Marietta, the obdurate self-exclusion of the "Outlanders" of Irishtown, is too long and familiar for the telling of it here. * * *
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> The speculative fever rose to its greatest height during the period of the second war with Great Britain; and Marietta has the distinction of having experienced such a boom and collapse as never were paralleled or even approached before, or since, anywhere else in Lancaster county. When Henry Cassel, in 1814, sold to Jacob Grosh the forty-five acres comprising "Moravian Town" for $58,500, and eighteen acres subdivided into eighty-three lots brought $29,650; and Henry Sharer's addition of 106 lots, with ferry franchises and bridge charter, commanded $110,000, the wind and water in the deal can only be rightly judged by estimating the profits that the purchasers contemplated in the resale.

Mr. Hensel then goes on to refer to Jacob Grosh, the "strong man" of early Marietta:

> With the epoch of land speculation in this neighborhood there came to it, just about the time of Lowery's death (1805) a foremost representative of that other race, which has so largely entered into and so tenaciously adhered to its property-holding, religious and political domination, social and business life. In the early taxable lists and muster rolls of Donegal, the recurrence of German names is not rare. In 1782 Albright, Bauer, Bucher, Kline, Dravenstadt, Longenecker, Lichty, Mumma, Musser, Wolf, Lieland, Winkoop, and that Christian Winiker,—or Vinegar, from whom as its owner the old Vinegar Ferry was named—occur as landowners and people of substance. The Mehaffys, Duffys, Podans and Kellys had tarried longer in Ireland than the Ulster folk. The Armstrongs, of color, were here a hundred years ago. But no one of any or all of these strains of blood filled so large a space in the public eye * * * as Representative and Senator, Captain and Judge Jacob Grosh. Born of a family of "Redemptioners" a few months prior to the Declaration, the experience of his youth and early manhood inured him to all the burdens of frontier life. The frown of a harsh father drove him from the parental home; an early marriage was followed by early widowhood; and when at twenty-three he courted his second wife, he could speak no English and she no German. * * * Ill health induced him to quit farming, and, with a capital of $1,000, he built a brick tavern, the seventh house at Anderson's Ferry.
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> During the War of 1812 he captained the "Marietta Grays," nigh a hundred strong; his own purse bought their blankets. During four years as an Assemblyman and four as Senator, he was a towering figure in developing the town; and, when the crash came, besides enormous debts of his own, he had the proud satisfaction (of knowing) that his insolvent friends had been able to borrow $55,000 on his endorsements. When, in 1822, every man in Marietta except four was insolvent, Grosh was not one of those who escaped. When houses were sold for the value of their mortar, and farms brought less than their fences had cost, Grosh held his head defiant to the storm. When, to save their townsmen from utter ruin, and their town from desolation, worthy burghers conspired to rob the Marietta Bank of all its evidences of local indebtedness, and Grosh and his co-trustees * * * were summoned for trial before the Legislature, it was he who made armed resistance, and proclaimed, with the lucidity of a jurist and the fearlessness of a warrior, that the legislative branch of the Government could not and should not usurp judicial power. * * * When the Whig Senator from Lancaster had his (Grosh's) first appointment as Associate Judge rejected, it was followed by two subsequent appointments, under which he served ten years. He signalized the importance of the office by the dignity and force with which he exercised it; the boldest lawyer could not endure his disfavor when he was right; and he was the one man before whose rebuke even Thaddeus Stevens quailed. Five marriages blessed him; and when he died at eighty-five, this little town had seen no more inspiring funeral.

Judge Grosh, more than perhaps any other townsman, carried Marietta through the difficulties of its first adversity and on to ultimate municipal stability.

How the two principal founders of Marietta fared during the time of financial depression has not been very completely traced. David Cook lived in Lancaster in 1813, with his wife's brother-in-law, Hugh Wilson, who kept the "Golden Fleece," on West King street. (The wives of Wilson and Cook were sisters, daughters of Rev. Colin McFarquhar). Hugh Wilson, "after the War of 1812," moved to Hagerstown, Maryland. David Cook may have gone at the same time, also; it was at Hagerstown that he died, on June 12, 1824. His Marietta co-founder, James Anderson, had, however, died nine years earlier. He, James Anderson (4th), seems to have taken up residence in York, Pennsylvania, after disposing of his ferry and bridge righths to Henry Sharer (Sherer) and his associates in 1814. Mr. Anderson's daughter, Mary Bayley (Anderson) Prince, married David Prince, the principal of York Academy. James Anderson (4th) died June 7, 1815, and was buried in York. However, his son, Joseph Tate Anderson, came back to Marietta eventually and was a druggist there for many years. Further information as to the outcome of the Marietta promotion is contained in a paper entitled "Anderson's Ferry," written in 1907 by S. M. Sener, Esq. The following, which is extracted therefrom, seems to give the end of the story, so far as it affects the interests of James Anderson and David Cook in Marietta: "The lots in the town sold rapidly, and almost from the date of its foundation there was a "boom" in the sale of lots, until about the year 1816 or 1817, when the sheriff took a hand, and for three or four months he was engaged daily in selling lots. Many thousand dollars were paid for single lots."

It is said that Marietta owes its name to the merging of parts of the names of the wives of the founders, it being said that the name of one wife was Mary and that of the other Henrietta. The genealogies of the Anderson and Cook (Cooke) families show that James Anderson (4th) was twice married, his first wife being Mary Bayley and his second Mary McQueen; and that the only wife of David Cook was Mary, daughter of Rev. Colin McFarquhar. Still, it is quite possible that the borough was named Marietta in honor of the three Marys.

Unfortunately, there is no available record of the municipal organizations in the early years of the borough. The first year of which there is record is 1817, when Samuel Ross was burgess; the next record is of 1830, when Abraham Zublin was burgess, and William McElroy was borough clerk. So we may as well close this general narrative of the pioneer period here.

Marietta's War Record—This opens with the War of 1812. The borough organized two companies of militia, and they marched to the defense of Baltimore. One of the companies of Marietta Grays was commanded by Jacob Grosh. In 1830 the townsmen showed martial spirit, organizing two companies, the Pennsylvania Blues and the Donegal Rangers, Captains S. S. Rathvon and John Huss, respectively. Regarding the exciting times of the Civil War, Mr. Barr Spangler speaks from vivid remembrance:

> At the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861, a bitter feeling arose against citizens who were opposed to slavery. Dr. Samuel Houston, a prominent Abolitionist, who had aided some slaves in their northward flight, was followed to the country by a mob who had a rope with them and threatened to hang him; but the Doctor turned upon them with such threats of punishment that they skulked away with fear. In response to the calls during the Rebellion, five companies were mustered here, officered by Captains Congdon, Roath, Miller, Eagle and Ettla. Many of the self-sacrificing men who joined these companies left their homes to return no more. Their blood enriched the battlefields and their bones moulded to dust in the graves of the unknown.
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> One memorable event can never be forgotten by those who passed through its thrilling ordeal. General Lee had outflanked Hooker, and by forced marches was pushing northward,

either to reach Harrisburg or Philadelphia. His advance under Gen. Early reached York on the 28th of June, 1863, and demanded a large contribution from the citizens to save the town from destruction. Two regiments were sent down the turnpike to Wrightsville to hold the Columbia bridge. On the way down they had a slight skirmish with raw militia. The cannonading was distinctly heard here. Some persons came over the river at noon and reported the turnpike swarming with rebels. About the same time, in the afternoon, a messenger came riding into town and reported them fording the river at Chestnut Riffles. The bells were rung, and the citizens that had arms formed into ranks and marched westward, but soon learned that the report about the fording was false.

The approach of Lee's army was not unexpected. For several days previous there was an increasing rush of horses and cattle northward through the town from the Cumberland Valley. The places of business were closed, and the merchandise was either hidden away or shipped to places of greater safety. Some timid people packed cotton trunks, especially the colored people, who feared enslavement, and all hastened northward. During that afternoon the streets were crowded with excited men and weeping women, all fearing the town would be shelled, and possibly burned to ashes the next day. When night set in the moon shone forth with a calmness that indicated the reign of peace. Groups of people were seen counseling each other in subdued voices when suddenly, to the east, a glare of light lit up the sky, and the cry rang out that the Columbia bridge was on fire. It burned rapidly and at midnight the last charred timbers dropped into the river. Then the people sought their homes, only to pass a sleepless night. With the early dawn the streets were again alive with pale careworn faces, each asking the other what to do when the critical moment would come. The forenoon wore on almost with the stillness of death. Then several persons ventured to cross the river for news, and returned with the hope-reviving word that a messenger had reached the camp at midnight, and at once the bugle had sounded. Orders had reached them to fall back, we knew not where.

For three days of painful suspense we awaited news of the movements of the armies. We knew that a terrible conflict was in progress, for along the river bank the dull sound of cannonading could be heard; and by lying on the ground the sound became distinct of the more than a hundred cannon that were raining death-wounds upon thousands of struggling men. On the third day a message reached us that caused our hearts to leap with joy. It bore in its soul-inspiring word that God, in His justice and infinite goodness, had given us a great victory at Gettysburg, as a reward for the liberating of four millions of bondmen.

Marietta women acted nobly during that trying time; and, indeed, during the whole period of war. "Commencing with the earliest conflict, they formed a patriotic circle and worked with a will in converting linens, many of them valuable heirlooms, into lint, and in gathering material for bandages and other useful articles that were hurried off to the hospitals. When the cry came from Gettysburg that the thousands of wounded there were in great need of bread, they rolled up their sleeves, moulded the loaves, and quickly sent off two wagonloads."

Similar experiences in self-sacrifice by Marietta women were experienced quite recently in the stupendous requirements of the World War, to which Marietta contributed, in men, money and materials, to the limit of her resources. That fine record will be included in another chapter.

Marietta Industries—The industries of Marietta in its first fast-growing period consisted mainly of those that come into the range of building trades. Most of the proprietors, or townsite projectors, were lumber merchants also. Henry Cassell is supposed to have been a lumber merchant in New Haven in 1807 or 1808. The firm may have had continuous existence, and would, therefore, have celebrated its centenary some years earlier than the borough. A. N. Cassel, son of Henry, became identified with the lumber company in 1848 or before; and in 1872 he added the planing mill continued by H. Burd Cassell, the contractor. Mathias Rank was also a lumber merchant in New Haven in

1812; he was one of the syndicate that bought the Anderson Ferry and adjoining land, and platted the Sharer Addition to Marietta. Jacob Grosh is shown as lumber merchant and storekeeper on the list of "Taxables" for the year 1812 for the town of Waterford. No other taxpayers are classified as lumber merchants in the 1812 list, but two years later, the Marietta tax list shows a greast increase, the following being listed as lumber merchants: John Grider, Frederick Long, John Myers, Jacob Nicholas, Godfried Greider, Mathias Rank, David Sandal, and also it would seem the important Cassel firm, though all the Cassels, Abraham, David and Henry, then came under different classifications. Most of these lumber merchants probably became submerged in the wave of ruinous depreciation in realty values ere the borough was well started.

The lumber trade improved in the late 'twenties, and "in 1830 and for many years later," states Mr. Spangler, "a large lumber business was conducted by Jacob Grosh, David Rinehart, James Mehaffy, Jacob Stahl and, at a later period, by S. and B. Hiestand and A. N. Cassel. These firms furnished building material for a large portion of the county. In 1834, the river was at places three hundred feet narrower than it is to-day. After much of the bank had been washed away by the spring freshets, wharfing had to be resorted to by the lumber dealers to save their yards." The Hiestand plant, saw and planing mills and lumber yard, was established by B. F. Hiestand in 1848, the mills at Chikis and the lumber yards at Bank and Second streets, Marietta. It is the best-rated lumber company in Marietta.

Marietta had two tanners in 1814, Henry Baker and Henry Sultzbach. Neither are shown on the tax lists of 1812, therefore the establishment of the Sultzbach tannery may be set as in 1813 or 1814. It was situated on the corner of Locust and Walnut streets, and possession passed on to succeeding generations of the family, from Henry to his son John, and from the latter to his son Henry L. Forty years ago the Sultzbach plant tanned 10,000 sides of leather annually. The present Klumpp tannery may have had its origin in Henry Baker's enterprise, though it is stated to have been established by P. Moyer as early as 1815 or 1816. Moyer was tanner for several years, the business passing to Kline and Wolf, and subsequently to John C. Klumpp. Ten years ago the tannery was being operated by the son of John C. Klumpp, and located on Locust, between Second street and Prospect alley.

One of the oldest industries of Marietta was that of hatmaking. Mr. Spangler writes: "The town had a good reputataion for turning out fine hats. Bell crowned and drab beavers were the favorites. They sold at $8 to $10. They were hauled to distant towns in wagons. Soft hats were unknown until Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, on his visit to this country, wore one."

John Robinson and Henry Heckrote were the first hatters in Marietta, both being taxpayers in 1814.

It is of interest to know that the first "stone" coal, or antharcite, came into Marietta in 1816. Mr. Spangler writes: "In 1814 some enterprising men, living on the west branch of the river, brought down a raft of pine lumber, which found a ready sale. * * * In 1816 a raftsman from the north branch brought down some stone coal, as they called it. There being no sale for it, it was given to Henry Cassel for distribution, and for which he opened a market, and sold a few years later 455 tons at $10 a ton, in one season." Wood was the general fuel of that time, and had to be resorted to again more than a century later, in 1922, during an alarming shortage of coal. Abraham Summy was for long a coal dealer in Marietta, and the business is still carried on by his executors. Finn & O'Conner are also long-established merchants in coal and ice. Frank Ziegler & Brother also do substantial coal business. The Marietta Hollowware and Enameling Company has been in existence for forty-three years. Their works on the north side of the Pennsylvania railroad were established in 1876, James Duffy being the principal stockholder. The company is a reconstruction of an earlier one.

Marietta came into national notice forty years ago through the initiative of Dr. H. M. Alexander, who probably at one time had the largest vaccine stables in the United States, and shipped the virus to all parts of the country. Associated with Dr. Alexander at the outset was David M. Grove; in 1882 Dr. Alexander became sole proprietor; later the company became Dr. H. M. Alexander & Company, Incorporated, and in its present expansion it is known as the Gilliland Laboratories.

At one time there was considerable activity in iron smelting and making in the vicinity of Marietta. "Six furnaces furnished employment to many people until the ore beds at Chestnut Hill, and those of the vicinity, began to exhaust." The Chestnut Hill Iron Ore Company was incorporated in 1851, but the only Marietta man identified with it was James Mehaffey. Earlier it was worked by the Grubbs. Chickies Furnaces, No. 1, on the south side of Chickies creek, and Furnace No. 2, on the north side, were operated by Professor S. S. Haldeman, Dr. E. Haldeman, Paris Haldeman and Colonel Horace L. Haldeman. Donegal Furnace, near the mouth of Chikis creek, in East Donegal township, was built by Dr. Eckert and James Myers in 1848. Marietta Furnaces nearby were built a year earlier by Henry Musselman, and later owned by Henry M. Watts Sons. Another furnace near the Marietta Furnace was known as Vesta Furnace; it also was built by Henry Musselman, in about 1868. The Chikis Rolling Mill, in East Donegal township, near the mouth of Chikis creek, was erected in 1865. The ironworking plants of present Marietta are the Lavino Furnace Company, the Marietta Casting Company, the National Casting Company. The Lavino Furnace Company is a continuation of the Henry Watts enterprise, at the two plants built by Henry Musselman, the Marietta and Vesta furnaces. Other industries of Marietta include the D. G. Dery silk mill on Pine street; the William M. Murphy Manufacturing Company at Perry street and Railroad avenue; the Hoffman Leaf Tobacco Company's factory, the Consolidated Cigar Company, the Marietta Silk Company and some others.

As to retail establishments: Marietta has sixteen grocery stores, two drug stores, four general stores and three hardware stores.

Banking—Marietta's banking history began with the private bank of Henry Cassel, who opened its doors in September, 1814, at the time he was exploiting realty projects in Marietta. Within a short time the bank became a department of the Marietta and Susquehanna Trading Company, which was a Cassel enterprise, and of wide and varied scope. It does not seem to have been the beginning of either of the two strong banking institutions that have served

Marietta's business needs and private convenience during the last fifty or sixty years. The First National Bank of Marietta claims to be "the oldest National bank in Lancaster county, and the twenty-fifth organized in the United States," which is quite a distinction. National records show that the first bank to be chartered in Lancaster county under National status was the First National Bank of Marietta, which was organized on May 11, 1863, the First National Bank of Strasburg being the next organized, on May 16 of the same year. And the two Mariettians most instrumental in organizing the Marietta bank were Barr Spangler and Benjamin F. Hiestand, who were referred to as the "grand old men" of Marietta by former Attorney-General W. U. Hensel, in a speech he made at the time of Marietta's centennial celebration in 1912. These two men maintained outstanding place in Marietta banking history until quite recently, Mr. Spangler being president of the First National Bank of Marietta until his death last year, and Mr. Hiestand holding like capacity in the Exchange National Bank of Marietta until death, which occurred in 1919. He was succeeded by his son, B. Frank Hiestand, and he in turn in 1922 by J. Nissley Brandt. The First National Bank of Marietta began business with a capital of $100,000, but its surplus and undivided profits now add a reserve of probably $140,000 to this. The Exchange National Bank of Marietta opened for business in 1874, with a capital of $50,000; the capital is still the same, but its present surplus and undivided profits add approximately another $60,000. Both institutions have enviable reputations.

Newspapers—Marietta has had many newspapers. An indication of how promising the future of Marietta looked in its first year is in the fact that a serious attempt was then made by a capable journalist and printer to provide the infant borough with a journal of its own. John Huss left the employ of the Lancaster "Journal" in 1813, possibly earlier, to launch the "Pilot" in Marietta. His printing office was in "the long one-story brick house on the south side of High street, just below the market house." John Huss took a military commission the next year and was a lieutenant under Captain Jacob Grosh, of the Marietta Grays. He succeeded Grosh as company commander when Jacob Grosh was elected Assemblyman. Meanwhile the Marietta "Pilot" was being published by William Pierce, who changed the name to the "Village Chronicle." However, publication ceased in 1816, but Pierce then commenced the publication of a monthly journal, the "Ladies' Visitor." Two years later he again ventured to issue a weekly news medium. He was editor and owner of the "Pioneer" in 1826, and the next year sold the paper to Charles Nagle. In 1829 Sheaff & Heinitsh began to issue a rival paper called the "Courant." They soon bought the older paper, and published both for some time.

The next paper was the Marietta "Advocate," which ran for a short while in the early 'thirties. The "Ant" was given life in 1840 by Thomas Taylor; and in 1841 the "Orb" began its career, sponsored by Israel Goodman. In 1842 these two publishers formed a partnership and began to publish a temperance paper named the "Washingtonian." In 1844 the "Weekly Argus" was begun, in the Whig interests, by Israel Goodman and Frederick L. Baker.

"The Mariettian" was founded on April 11, 1854, by a stock company headed by Goodman, and having many prominent and capable men identified with it. In 1856 Dr. William K. Mehaffey became sole editor, and Frederick L. Baker publisher. Four years later the latter became sole owner, and with change of political policy its name was changed to "Marietta Register." It represented the Independent Republican party, and passed to Columbia interests in 1874.

The "Marietta Times" was founded in 1876 by George Gilbert Cameron, the first issue being on Thanksgiving Day. It was then a four-page seven-column journal. In 1883 it was enlarged to nine columns, its present size. Succeeding publishers were I. S. Geist, and J. H. Schutz and J. Andrew Haas. The last-named has been editor and owner since January 1, 1909. It is still a weekly, and all home-print.

Churches and Schools—The churches of Marietta include the First Presbyterian and Furnace Chapel, Zion Lutheran, Zion Reformed, First Methodist Episcopal, and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal, St. John's Episcopal, St. Mary's Roman Catholic, and West Marietta Church of Brethren. Mr. Spangler gave some interesting church history in 1912; from his paper the following items are culled:

> In 1811 Anderson gave the people the angle * * * on which was erected what was called the Bell schoolhouse, which was used for religious meetings and for school purposes.
>
> In 1816 David Cook gave the plot of ground on which Zion's Church was built, to be used by all Protestant denominations. The first sermon preached in it was by the noted evangelist Lorenzo Dow, who used the carpenter's bench for a pulpit. The new and old-school Presbyterians held an exciting contest there; each branch of the church strove to control the meeting. A member of the old-school was asked what was the trouble between them. He hesitated for a moment, then said: "Why, the wicked set don't believe in the Divinity of Christ." The great Washingtonian movement of 1843 was carried on in Zion's Church; the speaker occupied the church for weeks and swept the town into the ranks of sobriety. The first buried on the premises caused excitement; the people in the vicinity feared the decomposing body would poison the well waters. At that time, it was customary for the friends and mourners to form a circle around the coffin and pass around cakes and wine.
>
> In 1816 Martin Kindig built a Mennonite meeting-house on Walnut street. It was lately remodelled and converted into dwellings. The lot was the gift of Benjamin Long. In 1822 the Presbyterian Church on Gay street was built; it was torn down in 1850. In 1819 the African (so called) log meeting-house was built, and was burned down by vandals in 1861. The frame Methodist Church was built in 1829, and stood where the Lutheran Church now stands.

The first school house probably was that erected on the angle given by James Anderson in 1811, and known as the Bell school house. Mr. Barr Spangler made the following statements in 1912 regarding the early schools of Marietta:

> About the same period a log schoolhouse was built on the lot where the infirmary, called the Pines, now stands. Charles Stewart, a teacher who taught there, always dismissed his school and took his pupils to the horse races to have a good time. The race-ground was on Essex street, north of the residence of Samuel Thuma.
>
> The early educators were William Rankin, who taught in the room over the market house. He was afflicted with the weakness of dismissing his school for weeks to indulge in a debauch. Mr. Simpson taught in the Academy at the corner of Walnut and Gay streets. G. M. Clanges taught in the same building at a later period. Mr. English had a select school for girls in the building on the southwest corner of Market square. J. P. Wickersham taught in the same building after he had removed from the St. John House (now Hotel Marietta). He also put up the brick Academy building in the Square. Mr. Seiger had a large school in the Linden House, corner of Bank and Third streets.

Some references have already been made to schools. One of the first teachers to come to Marietta was Joseph Jeffries, who formerly taught in the log school house at Donegal Church as early as 1800. William Pierce was the newspaper editor during the War of 1812, but he also found time to teach. Samuel Ross was the first to teach in the hall over the market house, which was erected about 1816. He was also chief burgess in 1817. William Ebbles taught in 1817 and later. William Hull was a teacher in 1819 or 1820. George Briscoe taught a school for some of the earliest years of Marietta in a one-story brick building east of the market house. Geary taught in the same building in 1820. Two of the early teachers in the Bell school house were Stoner and Whitman. William Rankin, an Englishman, was a fine classical tutor, and opened a school in the large room above the market house in the year 1822. Aaron Grosh, son of Judge Grosh, was a teacher in the Bell school house about 1822. "Of the teachers born in Marietta he was the most brilliant." He eventually attained distinction in letters. William Carter taught in Marietta in about 1827. About three years later he published a history of York county. Rev. Abel Charles Thomas, "the most accomplished and gifted of all the early teachers," taught in the log school house east of the Cross Keys Tavern on Second street, from about the year 1828. Rev. Thomas Marshall Boggs, pastor at Donegal Presbyterian Church, prepared boys for college. His brother, John Boggs, started an academy, but was not successful financially. Rev. Timothy Simpson took charge of the school above the market house in 1831. A couple of years later he taught in the new two-story frame schoolhouse built by James Wilson, one square northwest of the market house. His school developed into the higher branches. An associate was Mr. Graves, who had a Latin class of eight or ten students. George M. Clawges took charge of Mr. Simpson's academy in 1836; he was a teacher for fifty years, forty-eight of which were spent in Lancaster county schools.

G. Washington Baker taught a higher school in 1847, first in St. John's House, and later in the Susquehanna Institute. He formed the nucleus for another academy, the Marietta Academy, which began in St. John's House and was developed by a young man, educated in a Quaker institution. He, James P. Wickersham, erected a two-story brick academy building adjoining a three-story brick building he had purchased; that which stood on the southwest corner of Market square. He had good success, but was capable of even larger responsibilities; and Marietta regretfully released him. After he had departed, Marietta residents resolved to build a public high school. It was soon erected in the rear of the Bell school house. J. R. Sypher was installed as teacher, and in 1863 was succeeded by Prof. Isaac S. Geist. He lived the remainder of his life in Marietta, and well established the higher public school.

The common schools of Marietta conform with the highest standard of the schools of Lancaster county, and need not be referred to particularly.

The Susquehanna Institute was a boarding school, organized in 1840, by Judge John J. Libhart and others, and housed in a three-story brick building built by Henry Cassel. It failed financially, after Prof. Seiker had purchased the academy and attempted to reorganize it.

Fraternal Orders—Brief mention might be made. Donegal Lodge, No. 129, I. O. O. F., was instituted December 23, 1845, with S. S. Rathvon as noble grand. Marietta Encampment, No. 76, I. O. O. F., was instituted May 11, 1848, with S. S. Rathvon as chief patriarch. Ashara Lodge, No. 398, Ancient York Masons, was organized and chartered November 22, 1867, with Rev. Robert C. Russel worshipful master. Waterford Council, No. 72, O. U. A. M., was instituted December 16, 1867, with E. D. Roath as councillor. Donegal Lodge, No. 108, K. of P., was instituted September 12, 1868, with George H. Ettla as W. C. Cassiopeia Lodge, No. 1705, G. U. O. of O. F., was instituted November 8, 1875, with Joseph M. Stafford as P. N. F. The local Grand Army Post, Lieutenant William Child Post, No. 226, was organized August 31, 1881, with George C. Ettla as post commander. Opessah Tribe of Red Men was organized September 19, 1890, and is now one of the strongest fraternal organizations in Marietta. Pioneer Fire Company, No. 1, is a fraternal organization; it was formed in 1840, and continues its usefulness as a fraternal institution. Washington Camp, P. O. S. of A., has been in existence for about twenty-five years; and the strong Knights of Malta body has been functioning in Marietta for many years.

The Marietta Community House—The World War came very near to many American homes; rich and poor alike shared in the glories and, alas! also the griefs that followed in the wake of that, the most stupendous of all wars. It entered many homes in Marietta, and it seemed to pick its victims from among the bravest and the best. The son of Henry S. Hiestand had enlisted in an armed unit of the United States even before President Wilson had stated that the nation was in a state of war with Germany; and eventually young Hiestand found his way into the most hazardous and at the same time the most glorious arm of the service—the Aviation Corps. He met his death in the line of duty, and while the naming of a flying field at La Belle, Florida, in his memory, as the Hiestand Landing Field, was a graceful manifestation of the esteem in which the young officer was held by his comrades, his parents have before them in Marietta a more gratifying and useful memorial in the community house which they, with their remaining son FitzGerald, caused to be erected and which they gave to the ex-servicemen and townsmen of Marietta for their use. Lieutenant Benjamin Hiestand was killed June 10, 1918, and on December 30, 1919, the handsome community house at Marietta was dedicated, the fire on its hearth then being lighted by Mr. Hiestand, that its warmth might draw Mariettians into communal efforts of as noble purpose as those which actuated the stalwart young men of Marietta who left the home fireside at the call of duty in the cheerless dark days of the World War.

Briefly, the history of the community house is recorded on a bronze tablet which deservedly has the place of honor in the Memorial Hall. It reads:

> To the memory of Lieutenant Benjamin Hiestand, U. S. A. S.; born August 11, 1898; entered the service of the United States, April 4, 1917; was killed June 10, 1918, at Arcadia, Florida, while instructing a cadet in flying.
>
> This house was given and furnished for the community of Marietta, by his father, mother, and brother, Henry S. Hiestand, Elizabeth F. G. Hiestand, FitzGerald Hiestand.

Another bronze tablet hands down to posterity the proud fact that 182 men and women of Marietta entered the armed forces of the United States or her allies during the World War. Those who lived to return are the men Mr. and Mrs. Hiestand sought to serve in thus memorializing their own first-born son who made the Supreme Sacrifice.

The Borough of Marietta coöperated well in the movement which gave them the community house; hence Marietta now has not only the handsome communal gathering place, but has an endowment fund with which to maintain the institution in perpetual usefulness. The people of Marietta subscribed $25,000 for this purpose. In addition, townsmen subscribed for and had erected on the community house grounds a gymnasium, which supplements the community house facilities. Marietta was one of the first boroughs in the State to own its own community house; and Lancaster county has not another such excellent and well-founded service.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BOROUGH OF ELIZABETHTOWN.

Elizabethtown, the largest borough in the Donegal region and the fifth-largest in Lancaster county, is also one of the oldest and most prosperous. Its existence as a center of population began almost two centuries ago. John and Thomas Harris, Indian traders, were in the Donegal region in the second decade of the eighteenth century, if not before. John had a trading post at the mouth of the Conewago, and possibly Thomas made that his headquarters in his early trading. But in about 1730 or before, Thomas Harris warranted some land on the west side of Conoy creek, and there established the Indian trading post and store. In those early days there was much traffic along the Indian trail, which became the ultimate route of the Lancaster and Harrisburg turnpike. Possibly Thomas Harris knew in 1730 that the Paxtang and Conestoga road was projected; and possibly he saw that tavern keeping would be a lucrative enterprise. At all events, in 1730 he built a tavern on his land, and in the next year the road was laid from Paxtang to his tavern, which soon became "the headquarters of the Indian traders." The tavern, which was the first to be established in West Donegal township, was known as the Bear Tavern. It was a log structure, and stood until 1835, upon the site later occupied by Kolp's smithy, in Elizabethtown.

It was thought that the famous Bear Tavern of stone was not built until 1790, but in 1915 the old building was purchased by Dr. De Vere Treichler, who restored it so well that it is now a residential property of high standard; and the massive walls of the old tavern are likely to stand for another century without appreciable depreciation. During the restoration, workmen discovered beneath the old plaster which covered the outer walls, a headstone above the original doorway, inscribed:

T. M. H.
1745

Evidently Thomas Harris built the tavern, not Barnabas Hughes, as has been supposed. The middle initial may have been that of the wife of Harris, or perhaps of his daughter Margaret, who married George Stewart.

ELIZABETHTOWN, PA.

MARIETTA, PA.

Apparently Thomas Harris was innkeeper for many years, as well as Indian trader. But he probably was often away from home. Like all of the Indian traders, he carried his life in his hands, during the middle decades of the eighteenth century especially; and, like most of the stalwart Indian traders who settled in the Susquehanna country, he was courageous, active and roving. The patent for his tract of several hundred acres on Conoy creek was delivered to him in 1746. In 1748, perhaps before, Thomas Harris was captain of a company of Rangers, and his time was spent mostly along the frontier. In the next year he sold his farm and tavern to Lazarus Lowrey, a veteran Indian trader, and at that time comparatively wealthy. Mr. Lowrey had a larger estate, between Marietta and Donegal Church, at that time, and seems to have bought Harris's holding as a speculation. Captain Thomas Harris moved on to Conewago creek, where his brother has established a post; and Lazarus Lowrey rented the Bear Tavern to Barnabas Hughes, who was the business agent of Wharton & Company, of Philadelphia, and disbursed large sums of money for them among the Indian traders in exchange for peltries. The tavern was thus a convenient headquarters for him. Prior to that time he had transacted his dealings with the fur-traders from Lancaster. The Bear Tavern was situated on the south side of the great road which ran from Paxtang to Conestoga creek, at the point where Conoy creek crossed it. In 1750 Captain Barnabas Hughes purchased the Bear Tavern from the Lowreys, and also the whole of the Harris tract. "In the following year he laid out a town and named it after his wife, Elizabeth." (Another version states that the Lowreys did not acquire the Harris farm and tavern until 1751, and did not sell to Barnabas Hughes until June 13, 1753; also, that it was not until 1753 that Hughes "laid out what is now the western part of the borough").

The Indian unrest increased, and Hughes was not able to do much more than plat the town before the French and Indian War put an end to all prospect of immediate civil advancement of frontier communities. From 1755 to 1763 the uncertain time continued; and when Captain Barnabas Hughes again took up the thread of civil occupations, he was called to larger opportunities in Baltimore, where it is said he became largely interested in the iron business. During the war, Barnabas Hughes had held the military rank of captain and commissary of subsistence. "He was the first person to bring the news to Carlisle of the disaster to Braddock's army." It is said that he died in 1765, and that his sons Daniel, John, Barnabas and Samuel (by another account Daniel, John and Samuel), inherited the Elizabethtown farm and tavern, Samuel soon afterwards purchasing the whole property. The Hughes family moved to Deer Creek, Baltimore county, Maryland, in 1766, and the Bear Tavern was rented to Abraham Holmes, "who dealt in Redemptioners as well as kept hotel." The sons of Barnabas Hughes were of distinguished Revolutionary War record, Daniel, John and Samuel all rising to colonelcies, and later becoming leading ironmasters in Maryland. Samuel was living in Hartford county, Maryland, in 1790, when he sold the Elizabethtown property—tavern, farm and ground rents—to Captain Alexander Boggs. The sale was made on October 28, 1790; the consideration was £1,360; and the land is described as "two hundred and thirty acres on the northwest side of Elizabethtown."

Apparently Abraham Holmes was still tenant at the Bear Tavern in 1790, when Alexander Boggs became the owner; but soon afterwards Captain Boggs built another tavern, which he named the "Black Bear." At least, a statement to that effect is on record. Captain Boggs had married Ann Alricks, stepdaughter of Colonel Alexander Lowrey, and he and his wife moved to the tavern he had purchased from Samuel Hughes. They seem to have made their home in Elizabethtown until about 1809-12. Caleb Thornberry was landlord at the Black Bear in 1798, having in all probability rented the place. In 1809, it is said, Captain Boggs sold his Elizabethtown land, presumably his tavern also, to George Wealand. It is also recorded that Captain Alexander Boggs moved to Marietta in 1812, "to which place he retired to seek leisure and comfort in his old age." So it is possible that the Boggs-Wealand transaction in Elizabethtown realty did not take place until 1812. This is supported by the fact that it was in 1812 that George Wealand laid out an addition to the town.

The Bear Tavern may perhaps be considered as the Scotch-Irish hostelry; certainly almost all those who were identified with it were Presbyterians, and members of the Donegal Presbyterian Church. But there was another tavern in Elizabethtown almost as old as the Bear, and it clearly represented the German side of the settlement, for those who were early connected with it were of the founding families of the Donegal Moravian Church. A log tavern which became the "Black Horse" eventually, was raised in an early year, in or before 1757. A tavernkeeper's license in favor of George Redsecker (Rueck-secker), and bearing the signatures of King George II and the Provincial Governor, was issued that year; the paper was in existence a century later, vouched for and vised by residents of Elizabethtown. The original Black Horse Tavern was of logs; a stone addition to it was made about 1790, and another addition in 1836. Possibly the George Redsecker, who was an officer in the Republican Army during the Revolution, and landlord of the Black Horse Tavern in 1798, was a son of the George Redsecker who held the innkeeping license in 1757.

Around these two taverns chiefly, a thriving little village grew during the last decades of the Provincial period. Two other taverns were built either before the revolt, or soon after hostilities began. One was a small log structure which stood where the Patterson house was eventually built; the other was an inn which came into a prominence that rivalled that of the old Bear Tavern, or of the Black Horse; and in the first decade of the nineteenth century this other hostelry became the principal tavern in Elizabethtown. Since the Revolutionary days it had been known as the "General Washington;" whether it had had another name prior to that time is not stated, but after the war it was a popular tavern, and the recognized stage hotel. In the first years of the nineteenth century a three-storied addition was made to the General Washington, "and this structure was the most imposing one in the village." A century later it was still one of the most subsantial buildings in the borough. At the time of the building of the "General Washington" addition, a stable was built capable of providing for sixty horses, the cost of erection of the two buildings being $17,000.

By this time the roads were becoming better, and stage traffic was increasing. The Lancaster, Elizabethtown and Middletown turnpike was commenced in 1805, and quickly completed. A few years later there was moderately good turnpike communication between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and the "General Washington" at Elizabethtown was one of the stage stops. The Falmouth pike was built for a distance of six miles in 1811, and for a while most of the heavy freight traffic up and down the Susquehanna travelled up and down that pike. It was not unusual to see on that road a line of twenty or thirty heavy Conestoga wagons, each drawn by four or six horses. They were also to be seen in great numbers on the main Philadelphia to Pittsburgh turnpike, the westward migration passing mostly along that road in those early days. (It was not until 1825, when the Erie canal was opened, that the northern route, via the Erie canal, Buffalo and the Great Lakes, to the West and Northwest, was preferred to the southern route along the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh pike). It will, therefore, be understood that Elizabethtown was a place of much traffic in those early days. Indeed, the village had so promising a future that at least one part of its townsite was successfully exploited by lottery means.

Town Expansion—Christopher and Mary Etter had received patent in 1785 for land which became part of the townsite of Elizabethtown. They sold some land in 1791 to Isaac and Barbara Ream, who sold one-half of their part in 1795 to Michael and Elizabeth Reeby. Part of that half in 1814 passed to Martin Stouffer, and in June the same year to Dr. John Eberle and Samuel Z. Grehr. They in August, 1814, sold forty-five acres to Henry Brubaker and Mahlon Roberts, for $9,000. These two Manheim men immediately proceeded to plat the land, and in that year advertised 140 lots for sale by lottery, at $110 each. This was the third platting upon the original Etter tract, Christopher Etter having laid out some lots about 1791, and Reeby some others some time after 1795. So the village was evidently expanding in 1814. Regarding some of the early building in Elizabethtown, Samuel Evans wrote as follows in 1883:

> One of the largest of the log dwelling-houses was upon the ground now occupied by the buildings of E. Hoffman and James Lynch. Another stood where John Breneman's residence now is; and the others of most consequence of which the localities can be identified were where the residences of Mrs. Wieland, Mrs. Julia Wade and George F. Wagner now are, while there was another on the lot west of the Black Horse tavern, and altogether more than a score.
>
> The war (Revolutionary) brought hard times to the village. The price of commodities increased to a wonderful extent, and land had fallen to as low a price as nine pounds per acre, Pennsylvania currency. A number of the residents of Elizabethtown were absent from home on military duty, heavy travel upon the wagon-road had almost ceased, and the village wore a deserted and desolate appearance; but after the close of the war affairs at once assumed a promising aspect, and the period of progression lasted until the War of 1812.
>
> By 1790, or very soon afterwards, another tavern had been built. * * * It was called the "Black Bear." What is now the Greenwalt House was built not long after the Hughes Inn, by a Mr. Coble, who also erected a stone dwelling adjoining it, in which the post office was at one time kept. Still another tavern was put up by Samuel Ebersole, a brick building, and the second of that kind in town.
>
> A Mr. McClure kept a general store about the close of the last century at the northeast corner of the square, in a frame building. He owned the property for a number of years,

> and carried on business there, but finally sold it to Adam Campbell, who afterwards erected the present brick dwelling and store. On the corner where Jacob Baxstresser's dwelling and storeroom now is was at that time a log dwelling, occupied by a Mr. Gardner, who also carried on in it a saddle and harness shop; and a short distance back of it was another log building, in which chairs were manufactured by William Wilson.
>
> In 1798 George Redsecker was still the keeper of the "Black Horse," and Caleb Thornberry was landlord of the "Black Bear," while Jacob Eckert kept the "General Washington." * * *
>
> In the southwest part of town was the first brick building put up in its limits, that now owned by A. Dissinger. It was originally a two-storied building, and was occupied by Thomas Eagan, who carried on the sale of general merchandise. Below this stood a log or frame building, and then came the stone building known as a tavern-stand for many years, and now occupied by Robert Ross as a store. The brick building below this, in which is the Farmers' Bank and residence of Samuel Eby, was built by George Redsecker.

The War of 1812 halted progress somewhat, and between 1815 and 1820 the cost of living was very high, similar conditions being general throughout the country; but after a ruinous depression, a period of prosperity followed, lasting until 1836 or 1837, when the national financial system collapsed through the interference of President Andrew Jackson. Quoting again from the sketch by Samuel Evans:

> By 1820 improvements had been made in the stores, and larger stocks of goods were kept than formerly. The merchants in business during this period, extending to the year 1825 were Messrs. Wagner and Brother where A. Dissinger now is; Adam Campbell, Robert Dempsey, Samuel Redsecker, John Herr and William Campbell. Produce of all kinds was at that time very low. Butter was six and a quarter cents per pound, and eggs six to eight cents per dozen. (They were taken at the village stores in exchange for groceries, which were relatively much higher). Coffee sold at forty to fifty cents per pound, sugar from twenty to twenty-five cents per pound, and that which was called loaf-sugar, put up in conical form, forty to fifty cents per pound. Dry goods were equally high, the common calico selling at more than half a dollar per yard. Whiskey was sold by all of the merchants, and an unadulterated article of good quality could be procured for ten or twelve cents per quart.

Some of the old settlers of Elizabethtown might be briefly noticed here. Peter Schaeffer lived in Elizabethtown for probably sixty or more years, was a Revolutionary soldier, and from the end of the war until 1848, when he died, his life was spent wholly in Elizabethtown. George Redsecker lived almost as long in Elizabethtown. Frederick Byrod, a shoemaker, settled in Elizabethtown soon after the Revolution and lived in the place for more than fifty years; he was the first burgess of the borough of Elizabethtown. Stephen Stephenson was an early storekeeper in the village, and was a captain during the Whiskey Rebellion. Tetrah Jones was one of the early schoolmasters, Alexander Kirchener was landlord of the General Washington Tavern soon after the War of 1812; and other settlers of the village period include Charles Wade, Michael Auxer, John Heffley, James Close, George Walfley, Andrew Cross, Thomas Eagan, John Herr, John Walfley, Joseph Atwood, Bernhardt Klouse, Jacob Corgas, John George, Dennis Kane, William Youse, Michael Coble, William Wallace, John Willett, John Gross, William Heller and Casper Young.

Elizabethtown had the distinction of being a post-town as early as 1781, it is said, George Redsecker becoming the first postmaster; but the place was still a village in 1826. A movement was then started to secure corporate powers for Elizabethtown. Petition was circulated among the residents in that year, and during the winter or early spring session of the State Legislature, power was granted, the act of incorporation of Elizabethtown as a borough being passed on April 13, 1827. Elections followed in due course, though possibly the municipal government did not become operative until 1828 The burgess of Elizabethtown in 1828 was Frederick Byrod; and the borough clerk was Jacob Peeler. The latter was burgess in 1829.

Schools and Churches—At that time the only other boroughs of Lancaster county were Columbia, Marietta and Washington, and Lancaster borough had but recently become a city. Elizabethtown was well supplied with churches, but though there were two schools in the borough, both were log houses. Still common school education was not then general and, among a surprisingly large percentage of the farming communities was not even considered essential. One of the log houses used for school purposes in Elizabethtown up to 1840 had been a Catholic church. It was built in 1768, and was probably used also for school purposes to some extent in provincial times. It became exclusively a school house after 1799, when St. Peter's new stone church was completed. The other log school house of the village period stood upon the site of the later brick school house, afterwards used as a public hall and in the 'eighties as a dwelling house.

The Free School Act of 1834 did not come into effect in Elizabethtown until 1843. The delay was caused by the opposition of the farmers, the combined vote of town and country being necessary for its adoption even in Elizabethtown borough. Probably, there would have been further delay in adopting the common school law had not Providence taken the side of the children in 1843. Election day opened with the country blanketed by three feet of snow, which had fallen during the night. The agriculturalists, who were almost wholly against free schools and were in such number as to overwhelm those who favored free schools, found it difficult to get to the polling place in Elizabethtown. Many did attempt it, and not enough of the farmers trudged through the snow and drifts to make the election an exciting one. But there was excitement next day in Elizabethtown. A local historian who contributed to the Elizabethtown "Chronicle" a series of historical articles in 1881, and which many articles are made available to the present compiler through the interest manifested in historical matters by Harvey E. Reem, of the "Chronicle" staff, describes the exciting school election of 1843 thus:

> The following day showed how strong the opposition would have told against the free-schoolers, for the country people came to town on horseback, in sleighs and sleds, and on foot by the hundreds and sought the justice's office to upset the election of the day previous. Such another hullabaloo among the seemingly quiet and staid country-people you never could have imagined. It was at times thought the matter would end in a row, or that the town would stand in danger of being besieged. An event took place that did more, in all probability, to bring about quiet and peace than forty speeches could have effected. In the office of the justice of the peace (Jacob Redsecker) there was a large box stove, in which roared and crackled a huge fire of dry hickory. The stove was almost red-hot, the room crowded and uncomfortably warm, although outside the mercury was down nearly to zero. Finally, when the temper of the angry mob as well as the atmosphere had reached its highest heat, and an outbreak was not unexpected, there came a sudden change. Every man in the room was seized with a short hacking cough, or a rasping sneeze. All rushed for the door and fresh air. The room was cleared in less time than it has taken to tell it, and the romonstrators against the result of the election, effectually beaten, in a few hours wended their way homeward. Some mischievous person had thrown a large handful of red pepper upon the stove.

Which action decisively ushered in the common school system in Elizabethtown.

The schools of Elizabethtown were probably better than those of the country districts even in the earliest days, as Elizabethtown had some good teachers. One of the most capable early educators was Dr. J. W. B. Dobler. Under the free school system, progress was satisfactory, if slow. In 1855 there were two one-teacher schools in the borough, and the total enrollment was 143. The school levy was $320. In 1873-74 a new school house was built. The lot was acquired from S. Detwiler for $800, and the school board was authorized to borrow $5,000 to carry through the project; it ultimately cost $12,000. The building was formally opened on May 5, 1874. Emanuel Hoffman was president of the school board at that time, and the first teachers in the new building were G. W. Irwin, principal; and the Misses A. Engle, C. Gable and M. Kuhns. In 1882 Elizabeth was shown as possessing four schools attended by 271 pupils. Total expenditures was $3,981.15. For additional data, see the Public School chapter.

The churches of Elizabethtown include Christ's Evangelical Lutheran, Christ Reformed, St. Peter's Roman Catholic, the Elizabethtown Church of God, St. Paul's United Brethren, the United Zion's Children, the Elizabethtown Church of Brethren, Brethren in Christ, and the Mennonite meeting house. Much regarding them is written into the religious chapters.

Financial and Industrial—The financial history of Elizabethtown borough begins with the expedient resorted to during the period of depression following the panic of 1837, when the great National bank, the United States Bank, founded by Alexander Hamilton, lost its charter, and the State banks authorized by Andrew Jackson issued so much paper currency that collapse was inevitable. In Elizabethtown and in other places, the civil government issued promissory notes to meet the emergency; some issued by the borough of Elizabethtown were in denominations of 6¼, 12½, 25 and 50 cents, and larger sums.

The first regular banking house instituted in Elizabethtown was the Farmers' Bank, organized in 1869, with the following officers: Abraham Collins, president; Samuel Eby, cashier; John Hertzler, clerk. It was patronized largely by the Mennonites throughout the township. The Elizabethtown National Bank was organized in 1885, with the following officers: Aaron Dissinger, president; Jacob Dyer, vice-president; I. S. Longenecker, cashier. The charter was dated April 21, 1885; original capital was $100,000. Jacob Dyer became president in 1904, and W. S. Smith three months later; he served until 1920, when Peter N. Rutt became president. Amos G. Coble, present president, succeeded Mr. Rutt in 1921. Aaron H. Martin has been cashier since 1905. Capital is still $100,000, but surplus and undivided profits now amount to $175,000. The Elizabethtown Exchange Bank is a well-established institution, owning a good baking house. Its original capital was $50,000, but its executives have since trebled this amount in capital and surplus. Practically the same directorate has been in office for many years. A. G. Heisey is president; Allen A. Coble, vice-president; and J. H. Eshleman is cashier.

The press history of Elizabethtown began in 1864, unless one gives credence to the assertion that Elizabethtown had a newspaper, the name of which is not known, in 1833, or before. In 1864 B. F. Lehman founded the Elizabethtown "Trumpet." Its name was changed soon afterwards to "The Gazette." In 1869 publication was suspended, Mr. Lehman leaving the town. (He went to Mount Union and there established "The News").

But Elizabethtown was not long without a newspaper. In the year of Mr. Lehman's departure, the firm of Westafer & McCord was formed to take up the journalistic work. They founded the Elizabeth "Chronicle," the first issue of which was in December, 1869. The "Weekly Chronicle" is still running, and for fifty-one years has been the sole property of the Westafer family. John G. Westafer, the founder, was editor for fifty years, until death came to him in August, 1920. His son, G. W. Westafer, who has practically spent his life in the "Chronicle" office and for fifteen years was partner with his father, has been sole owner since 1920, and continues to edit the paper week after week. It is a seven-column eight-page paper, all home print. The circulation is about 2,500, but the return does not pay for the service. However, Mr. Westafer has a good printing establishment, including multiple magazine linotype equipment, and his job printing business is appreciable.

The industries of Elizabethtown are increasing, though it cannot be claimed that Elizabethtown is an important manufacturing center. For fifty years or so the Redsecker family operated a tannery; and there have been some machine shops and foundries, but the Buch plant is the only one that has carried through to the present. The Buch Manufacturing Company began to manufacture agricultural implements on a small scale in 1868; or at least, Mr. Buchs then began to operate a foundry. He formed partnership a year later with a Mr. Groff, and in 1876 the firm of Buchs & Heisey was formed. A fire destroyed the plant that year, but it was soon rebuilt. As now conducted, the Buch Manufacturing Company specializes in the manufacture of wheelbarrows, land rollers, soil pulverizers, corn shellers, lawn rollers, water troughs, wood saws and farmers' furnaces. During recent years a very promising industry has been developing in Elizabethtown, that of the Klein Chocolate Company. Its volume of production increased rapidly during the World War. Further review of the growth of the Klein plants will be found in the Industrial chapters.

Elizabethtown has some large shoe factories, the A. S. Kreider plant and the growing W. A. Withers factory. Both are referred to in other chapters. Several other plants are likely to add substantially to Elizabethtown's importance. The Hoffer Brothers' planing mills are of appreciable size, and the town has a quite adequate range of retail and service establishments, such as one would expect to find in a community that is enterprising, aggressive and growing.

Some indication of the rapid strides the borough of Elizabethtown is taking is seen in the census statistics. In 1900 its population was 1,473; in 1910 it could claim 2,595 residents; and in 1920 it was found to have 3,319 inhabitants. With the exception of Lititz, no borough in the county has shown such progress in the twenty years. But one must not be surprised if Elizabethtown of the future will be more of a college town than an industrial. Elizabethtown College is developing well under the direction of President J. G. Meyer, Dean Schlosser, and a capable faculty. It is "an accredited college with an excellent record."

Elizabethtown will come increasingly before Pennsylvanians, and before Masons in many parts of the country, because of the magnificent Masonic Home the State Masonic body has within recent years established in Elizabethtown. This fine institution is described in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BOROUGH OF MOUNT JOY.

Within the limits of the borough of Mount Joy are the former villages of Rohrerstown, Richland and Walleckstown. Rohrerstown was to the eastward, Richland westward, and Walleckstown consisted of eighty lots extending across the Lancaster and Harrisburg turnpike to the Manheim road.

The first white settlers in this part of Lancaster county were emigrants from the northeastern part of Ireland, men of Protestant faith and Scotch-Irish families. They were mainly from County Donegal, some possibly coming from Londonderry, the long siege of which, the breaking of the boom and the relief by the vessel "Mountjoy" were, it is believed, the associations which caused the town of Mount Joy to be so named.

The first house built by white men within what are now the boundaries of Mount Joy was a small house constructed with bricks by Alexander Campbell in 1768. It forms a portion of the Exchange Hotel, and its origin was authenticated by inscription "upon a stone which capped the apex of the brick arch of a dormer-window," states the Ellis and Evans "History of Lancaster County" (1884), and, further, that "when the structure was altered and improved, the stone was dislodged from its position, and is now said to be in the attic of the hotel." The wooden part of the Exchange Hotel was built by Jacob Rohrer, the founder of Rohrerstown, but when the old tavern passed from Alexander Campbell to him is not stated.

The next house to be built was also used as a tavern. It was in what became Richland, and was built by Michael Nichels in 1783. It stood on the Detwiler lot, corner of New Haven and West Main streets, opposite where now is the Washington House Hotel. The inn was known as the Cross-Keys. The last landlord was Henry Sherbahn, who was the hotelkeeper from 1855 to April, 1869, when it was destroyed by fire. A bank-barn stood where the Washington House now is; it was an outbuilding of the Cross-Keys, used for stabling; and it is said that a stone from the old tavern is now to be seen in the rear wall of the Washington House, the stone bearing this inscription: "Erbaut durch Michael Nichels & Eva, 1783." Another old house, said indeed to have been built as early as 1775, is the old Myers property on East Main street, near the residence of Reuben Fellenbaum. A road which led to Manheim then passed between this house and the Fellenbaum residence. The house erected by Jacob Myers remained in the ownership of that family until 1910, when Mr. E. F. Baker purchased it. Another house still standing and in comparatively good condition is the Darrenkamp house, near the "Herald" printing office. It was built in 1814 by Perry Woods. The "Herald" printing office building was erected in 1817 by John Brindler. There are several other old dwellings with interesting histories that link the early days with the modern.

SCENES IN MT. JOY. (W. D. CHANDLER IN OVAL)

EPHRATA

Franklin Public School United Evangelical Church Washington School

Mentzer Building John J. Geiger (Deceased), Pioneer Teacher Farmers' National Bank

Rohrerstown—Rohrerstown was laid out in September, 1811, by Jacob Rohrer, who came from Sporting Hill, having acquired the original tavern and a large acreage. As platted, his village of Rohrerstown consisted of 134 lots, "laid out around a centre square, and equally divided by the Lancaster and Harrisburg turnpike." Sale of village lots was by lottery, the price of tickets being eighty-five dollars, at which many of the sites were soon sold. Those remaining were disposed of within two or three years. Rohrer took possession of the tavern and added thereto. He may have used it for its original purpose, for in those days most large residences in sparsely settled country and on main highways were open to the traveller, but the house is described as Jacob Rohrer's "farmhouse and residence." Rohrer was also the pioneer storekeeper; for store purposes he built the place now occupied by the Richland Club and Donavon's stationery store. After the War of 1812-14 he moved to Marietta, where he founded a bank. That enterprise ending in disaster, he returned to Mount Joy, and therein made his residence until death, in 1839. Before removing to Marietta, Jacob Rohrer made a frame addition to the old farmhouse, and then "rented it to a Scitch-Irishman, who conducted a hotel in it, for which purpose it has ever since been used." After the death of Jacob Rohrer, the Exchange Hotel was bought by John Pyle, Sr. As to Rohrer's store, he disposed of his stock, before leaving for Marietta, to Jacob Myers, who either bought or rented the store building. In it he conducted a store for many years, living in an adjoining log house, that to which reference has already been made.

At the end of the War of 1812, Rohrerstown contained thirty-three families, according to the testimony given in 1884 by Robert Dysart, of Lancaster, who went to live in Rohrerstown "when it was laid out." He gives the names of residents in 1812, though it does not seem that all could have settled there so early; the period to which he refers may well have been from 1812 to 1820. Among the names are: Brice Curran, who built a house in which soon afterwards James Sterrett conducted the second store that was opened in the village; a Mr. Wilkinson, who became a justice of the peace; a Mr. Earl; the Galbraith family; the Myers family; Messrs. Mencer, Mateer, Hoffman, Dysart, Krider, Woods, Brindler, Navy, Henderson, McNeely, Snell, Hayes, Tod, Craig, Laird, Alsbaugh, Donahue, Sherrer, Eshelman, Lytle. Mr. Navy was a cabinetmaker, but conducted the Red Lion Tavern, the popular proprietor of which in 1818 was Oakey Henderson. Snell was a weaver, Dysart a shoemaker, Alsbaugh a cooper, and Laird a butcher. The original Bell school house was not then in existence, but was built "soon after the close of the war."

Richland—The town platting project of Jacob Rohrer was still in its first year of operation when it became known that the other tavern, the Cross-Keys, was to be the center of another village. The laying out of this village at the cross-roads "as a rival to Rohrerstown," embraced lands lying both north and south of the turnpike from Lancaster to Harrisburg, in Mount Joy and Donegal townships, mainly upon land lying in proximity to the Cross-Keys Tavern, formerly owned by Michael Nichels. "The deeds set forth that his executors sold to Peter Linderwood and Peter Bishop, who sold to Christian Leib, who in turn sold to John Bartruff, of Manheim, and that he then laid out one hundred and twenty-two lots in 1812." Hoffer and Roth seem to have been identified with Bartruff in the Richland project which, however, did not thrive as well as Rohrerstown, though the tavern was often overcrowded with teamsters. In the 'twenties and 'thirties the two villages did not experience much prosperity, but certain intervening tracts of land along the turnpike were platted. The first was a triangular tract of five and a half acres lying between Main street, the Marietta turnpike and Delta street. Christian Choick purchased the tract for $800 in 1828. Upon it was a good stand of timber. This he cleared, and then in 1830 laid the land out in village lots.

In 1834 or 1835 Jacob Walleck (Wallich) exploited a town planning scheme which enabled him to dispose of eighty lots quickly by a lottery drawing; but he incurred such unpopularity thereby that he "removed to the west not long after this transaction." His settled strip, however, became known as Walleckstown. There were several other surveying projects, Henry Eshleman platting a small addition on the south side of the pike and George Myers laying out the "Richland Extension." Some of the projects were worthwhile, others were merely speculative; but the main result was that the villages of Rohrerstown and Richland reached out until they touched, the improvement of the swampy Walleckstown facilitating the union.

This situation prompted suggestions of legal consolidation; and on February 10, 1851, the State Legislature passed an act incorporating the villages of Rohrerstown, Richland and Walleckstown, with several other plots contiguous thereto, as the borough of Mount Joy. Elections were accordingly held, and on April 1, 1851, the understated persons took office: Joseph Hougendobler, burgess; Samuel Minichan, Henry Bender, John Reams, Henry Shaffner, Samuel Dyer and James Moore, councilmen; A. Strickler, treasurer; Jacob Stauffer, clerk. By the way, Jacob Stauffer was the pioneer druggist, coming from Philadelphia in the 'thirties, and opening the first drug store in what later became the Eckert property. Samuel Dyer was the pioneer hardware merchant of Rohrerstown; he came from Manheim in the 'thirties. J. Shertzer was the justice who installed the first officers of the borough of Mount Joy. Earlier the justices of the peace had wider districts, the first appointed for Mount Joy township being James Dysart, of Rohrerstown, on April 14, 1840. Space limitations forbid the spreading here of the whole list of borough officials, but the general development of the community is traced in the reviews that follow of the main activities of the people of Mount Joy through its seven decades as a borough.

Municipal Affairs—An institution of municipal purpose, but to an extent of social character and fraternal interest, is the fire company. Its history covers a period of more than fifty years, for the Friendship Fire Company, No. 1, of Mount Joy, was formed January 27, 1868. As originally constituted, the company was officered by Henry Shaffner as president; H. B. Dunlap and John A. Grier as vice-presidents; F. A. Ricker secretary; J. E. Hoffer assistant; and A. B. Landis treasurer. The field officers were R. P. Kelly, chief engineer; M. Himelspark, Aaron Smaling, Henry H. Kriner, W. F. Brown, Henry S. Conover, James F. Youtz, George Buckius, Jr., assistant engineers;

Robert Whitehead, chief hose director; F. G. Pennell, William McNeal, Jr., J. G. Metzger, Henry Peffer, Albert Culp, Jonas E. Risser, W. H. H. Gillums, assistant hose directors. The other original members of the company were A. B. Culp, John W. Gilbert, Jacob Shelley, John Hildebrand, Harry H. Nissley, Jerry Hagy, William Brady, John L. Gates, J. V. Long, W. R. Hartman, A. S. Brady, J. T. Miles, Owen P. Bricker, William C. Grier, Stephen J. Owens, Peter Waltz, Charles C. Marsh, Harrison Helman, John Fenstermacher, Cuvier Spangler, Lewis Grogg, L. D. Gallagher, J. D. Good, H. Sholl, Col. F. E. Nagle, M. P. Seltzer, John A. Huber, Samuel Riddle, Michael Drabenstadt, James Bell, A. B. Welsh, J. S. Welsh, Henry Helman, Jacob S. Carter, B. M. Greider, John H. Dulabon, S. Donavan, A. K. Martin, Jacob Fenstermacher, Samuel Kurtz, Philip A. Pyle, Levi Ricksecker, H. Austin Brady. The company was equipped with a first-class Button and Blake hand engine, but it was not used after 1875, "as a pressure sufficient to throw water over any house in town is placed on the pipes direct from the waterworks in time of fire," stated a writer in 1884. The fire chief now is Levi Denlinger; president is Walter Loran.

With the somewhat rapid growth of the borough, it became necessary in the 'seventies to increase the water supply, the wells within the borough limits being insufficient. So a bond issue having been authorized in 1872 for the purpose, the borough purchased the old Hiestand mill on Little Chiques creek, and in 1873-74 constructed waterworks. A reservoir was built on Cemetery ridge, and a pumping station at the mill, and in 1874 the borough water mains were carrying the new supply. The undertaking in all cost $40,000. Additional pumping machinery has since been installed, but the plant has not been materially altered since it was built almost fifty years ago.

Gas for lighting purposes was first made in Mount Joy in 1879, when the Donegal Gas Company was incorporated. It was not a municipal undertaking, the franchise having been given to T. S. C. Lowe, who organized the company. The gas works are situated in the western end of Mount Joy, and for its original purpose a building used by the Brady Edge Tool Company was purchased, and a tank erected nearby. Electric light and power is supplied by the Edison Electric Light Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Industries—The first industrial plant of noteworthy importance to be established in Mount Joy was the edged tool factory founded in 1829 by David Brady, who came from Lancaster, where for several years he had been making axes upon a small scale. The business did not reach extensive proportions in his time, but it was the nucleus of a large plant eventually developed by his sons, whose manufactures embraced very many kinds of edged tools, and were shipped "to all parts of the world." However, the sons were not able to recover from the disastrous fire which destroyed their whole Mount Joy plant in 1871. Only one of the buildings was rebuilt, and that in 1879 passed into the hands of the gas company. The Brady enterprise then or earlier was removed to Lancaster.

What is now Cotton Mill No. 1, of the George Browns Sons' Company, was originally known as the Mount Joy Car Works. This enterprise had corporate existence for the period 1853-57, the company being liquidated in

1857, and its property then acquired by the brothers Marsh, who operated the plant until 1872, when John A. Grier purchased it. Four years later, Marsh & Company obtained possession and enlarged its facilities for manufacturing mowers, reapers, land rollers, separators, portable engines and other heavy machinery.

John Snyder began the manufacture of edged tools in Mount Joy in 1848, and five years later began to make threshing machinery. In 1872 the business was being carried on by Wolgemuth & Geyer. In 1881 the trading name was Geyer & Metzler. The last change was to Kriest, Lindemuth & Myers, that firm operating the plant, however, for only a few years. The premises were later rented to Benjamin F. Groff, machinist, but in a few years were sold to John G. Snyder and David L. Miller, who converted the buildings into dwelling houses.

Root's Plough Works was the center of a very active industry in the 'seventies. The business was commenced at Bird-in-Hand in 1851, by D. Root, but in 1868 was removed to Mount Joy. Mr. B. M. Root became a partner at that time, and in a reorganization in 1877 the firm of R. Root, Son & Company consisted of B. M., A. F. and A. B. Root. The plant was a large one, but the enterprise finally failed, and much of the machinery was removed to Mountville. Another early industry was the coach works of the Landis family. The business was established in 1824 by Christian Landis, in East Hempfield. His son, A. B., succeeded to the business in 1843, and fifteen years later removed to Mount Joy, where he developed a plant which found almost constant employment for about twenty-five men for many years. Mr. Landis retired from business in 1890.

A tannery, known as the Kurtz Tanney, was situated on Main street, where the Lytle property now stands. It was operated in the middle decades of the last century. Radiators were at one time manufactured in Mount Joy; with not much success, however. Martin Spickler was a maker of chairs, his business being acquired in 1874 by D. H. Engle, who expanded it to cover many branches of furniture manufacturing. A malthouse was built in the borough by Philip Frank in 1858; and soon his business had grown so much that he used a malthouse of five floors. He remained in business for several decades, manufacturing a superior malt from Canadian barley.

Gabriel Bear built a mill in 1855 or 1857. In 1867 he rented the mill to John M. Brandt, who purchased it six years later. In 1881 Mr. A. K. Manning became Brandt's partner and they are claimed to have installed the first roller-process flouring mill brought into operation in Pennsylvania. An elevator was erected in 1882, one with large capacity of bushels, and with this equipment Mount Joy for a while had good place among the important milling centers of Pennsylvania. Mr. Manning retired in 1891, and some years later Mr. Brandt took Mr. I. D. Stehman into partnership. Mr. Brandt died in 1910, and his son Owen then succeeded him. In 1912 new milling machinery was installed. In 1919 Mr. Owen Brandt also died, and a year later Mr. Stehman purchased the Brandt interests. He is still sole owner.

The textile mills of the Brown family at Mount Joy have been an appreciable factor in the industrial development of Mount Joy since 1891. They are referred to in another chapter In another chapter also are surveyed the operations of chocolate manufacturers in Mount Joy and vicinity.

Herrmann Aukam & Company, of New York City, handkerchief manufacturers, opened a branch plant in Mount Joy in 1899. A few years later an additional building was erected, trebling the facilities, and affording employment for more than one hundred operators; this, therefore, is one of the substantial manufacturing industries of Mount Joy.

The Mount Joy Gray Iron Casting Company was founded in 1881, to manufacture some special patented hardware, but eventually a full line of small hardware articles and toys were produced. H. S. Stauffer was the founder, but he was afterwards joined by Mr. S. N. Eby. Under the partnership the business was expanded well, giving employment to about twenty-five men in the 'eighties. The Grey Iron Works on East Donegal street still produces iron toys and novelties, and of late years has given employment to about 100 hands. Another substantial plant is that with which the Rollman family is identified. The New Standard Hardware Works, Inc., was organized in June, 1909, by M. A. Rollman, E. E. Rollman and H. S. Garber, and began to manufacture ice cream freezers of the patent of M. A. Rollman. The old Snyder Mill was used for two years, but in 1911 a modern plant was erected, and also a complete tinning plant. In addition to the Rollman patent freezer, the company also took up the manufacture of cherry stoners, asbestos mats, asbestos toasters, bread knives, nut crackers, bottle openers, computing scales. The plant site covers five acres, and the company within a couple of years was employing fifty workmen. The Rollman Manufacturing Company handles kindred lines of hardware specialties, and occupies the old Landis Coach Works, on Mount Joy street.

Banks of Mount Joy—The Union National Mt. Joy Bank had its beginning in the Mount Joy Savings Institution, which was organized and incorporated in 1853. The name was changed to the Mount Joy Bank in 1860, and in 1865 it came under the powers of the national banking system as the Union National Mount Joy Bank. The officers of the Mount Joy Savings Institution, when organized in 1853, were Henry Eberle and Andrew Gerber, the former being president, and Gerber being treasurer and secretary. In 1856 Jacob R. Long was appointed cashier or treasurer. He remained as cashier for almost thirty years, J. V. Long succeeding him in 1886. The original capital was $50,000; the present capital is $125,000, and in addition there is a surplus of $285,000. Succession of presidents is as follows: Henry Eberle, Abram Shelly, John G. Haerner, Christian H. Nissley, H. C. Schock. The new banking house was opened March 10, 1911; H. C. Schock, president; J. E. Longenecker, vice-president; Harry N. Nissly, cashier.

The First National Bank is almost as old as the Union National, and as a matter of fact is just as old as a national bank. It began as a State bank, the Farmers' State Bank of Mount Joy, in the early 'sixties, taking national status November 21, 1864. Dr. Andrew Gerber, who was one of the founders of the Mount Joy Savings Institution, was cashier of the First National Bank from 1864 until 1890. He reached high repute as a banker, and firmly established his bank. The present officers are: Thomas J. Brown, president; J. S. Car-many, vice-president; R. Fellenbaum, cashier. The present capital is $125,000; surplus $165,000.

The Press of Mount Joy—The Mount Joy "Herald" was the first newspaper established in Mount Joy, and it was published almost continuously for fifty-five years. It was founded in 1854 by Frank H. Stauffer, a capable journalist, who later reached national note as a writer of fiction. He sold the "Herald" to the Rev. E. H. Thomas, who in 1863 sold it to Jacob R. Hoffer. The "Herald" remained in the ownership of the Hoffer family from that time until 1909, when publication ceased. The pioneer paper began as a four-column folio, but was soon enlarged to six columns. In 1880 a cylinder press was installed, and the paper then enlarged to an eight-column folio. Jacob R. Hoffer died in 1892, but his son, John E., then assumed the editorship, and held that capacity until 1909, when the "Herald" went out of existence and its editor took similar connection with the Elizabethtown "Herald." Another son, Uriah E., a practical printer, continues to operate the printing plant of the Herald Printing Company, of Mount Joy.

The "Star and News" had its origin in the Mount Joy "Star," founded in 1873 and the Milton Grove "News," begun in 1875. The Mount Joy "Star" was first published in Mastersonville, under another name, by David Courtney and Joseph Stigler, the first issue being November 8, 1872. Mr. Courtney retired and the other partner brought the paper to Mount Joy in April, 1873, and renamed it the Mount Joy "Star." On May 14 that year the names L. M. and Harry Gallagher appear as owners; one year later, L. M. Gallagher is shown as editor, and L. D. Gallagher as proprietor. The paper was enlarged from five to seven columns in 1874. In 1878 Milton M. Leib became editor. In 1878 or 1879 consolidation of the Mount Joy "Star" and the Milton Grove "News" was effected, subsequent issues being under the name of the Mount Joy "Star and News." The Milton Grove "News" was founded by J. R. Missemer and S. L. Brant in 1875. In November, 1876, Mr. Missemer became sole owner, and two years later bought the Mount Joy "Star." For a number of years Mr. Missemer edited and owned a number of other papers, among them the Florin "Independent," the Bainbridge "Banner," Sporting Hill "Messenger," Salunga "Siftings," and the Landisville "Vigil." In 1888 he purchased the Steelton "Advocate," which he published for fifteen years. In 1899 he repurchased the Mount Joy "Star and News," though he did not return to Mount Joy until 1903 from Steelton, and did not discontinue to publish the Steelton "Advocate" until 1905 He resumed publication of the Landisville "Vigil" in 1905, and the next year acquired the Florin "News" from L. F. Sheetz. It was not long, however, before the subscription lists of the Landisville "Vigil," the Florin "News" and the Mount Joy "Star" were merged in that of the Mount Joy "Bulletin," and the last-named was the only paper continued.

The Mount Joy "Bulletin" was founded by John E. Schroll, on June 1, 1901, and has ever since been owned and edited by him. It began as a four-page six-column paper, printed on a hand press, in a room on West Main street. But the news service was good, and the paper soon outclassed its competitors. From 1910 the office and plant of the "Bulletin" has been at 11 East Main street, which was rebuilt by Mr. Schroll. The "Bulletin" printing plant is much larger than one would expect to find in a country town, the equipment including three linotype machines, two cylinder presses, two jobbers, and so forth. The paper is now seven-column eight-page, and the circulation is about 3,500.

Fraternal Organizations—The first fraternal organization to be found in Mount Joy was a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Mount Joy Lodge, No. 277, was chartered November 7, 1847. Its first senior officers were: John Kolp, N. G.; Robert Dysart, V. G.; Jacob L. Nagle, secretary; John Patterson, treasurer.

Otsego Tribe, No. 59, I. O. R. M., was instituted in September, 1865, with the following charter members: John M. Culp, R. P. Kelly, William R. Hartman, A. D. Reese, A. B. Culp and B. F. Eberle. Original officers were A. B. Culp, sachem; R. P. Kelly, S. M.; B. F. Eberle, treasurer.

Casiphia Lodge, No. 551, Free and Accepted Masons, was warranted September 21, 1877. The lodge began with eighteen members, among them the following first officers: J. V. Long, W. M.; Rev. William B. Brown, S. W.; R. N. Long, J. W.

Cave Lodge, No. 201, Kights of Pythias, was instituted June 22, 1871, with the following first officers: W. S. Bruckart, V. P.; Joseph A. Schlegelmilch, W. C.; M. M. Brubaker, V. C.; J. Verner Long, R. S.; J. W. Roland, F. S.; B. F. Eberle, banker. Official titles were changed in 1873. Ten years later the strength of the lodge was 112.

General Cameron Council, No. 851, Jr. O. U. A. M., was organized June 7, 1892, in Mechanics' Hall, Henry street. Thirty-six were initiated that evening, and the following were elected and installed by D. S. C. Barthold, of Manheim Council, No. 32: H. M. Kleeman, Jr. P. C.; Albert Campbell, C.; C. H. Zeller, V. C.; B. F. Grissinger, R. S.; L. P. Kuhn, treasurer.

Court Mount Joy, No. 228, Foresters of America, was instituted February 12, 1900, with forty-five charter members. It is probably the strongest of the local bodies of leading fraternal orders.

The Richland Club, a social organization, was organized in 1911, with Dr. F. L. Richards, president; and George H. Brown, Jr., vice-president.

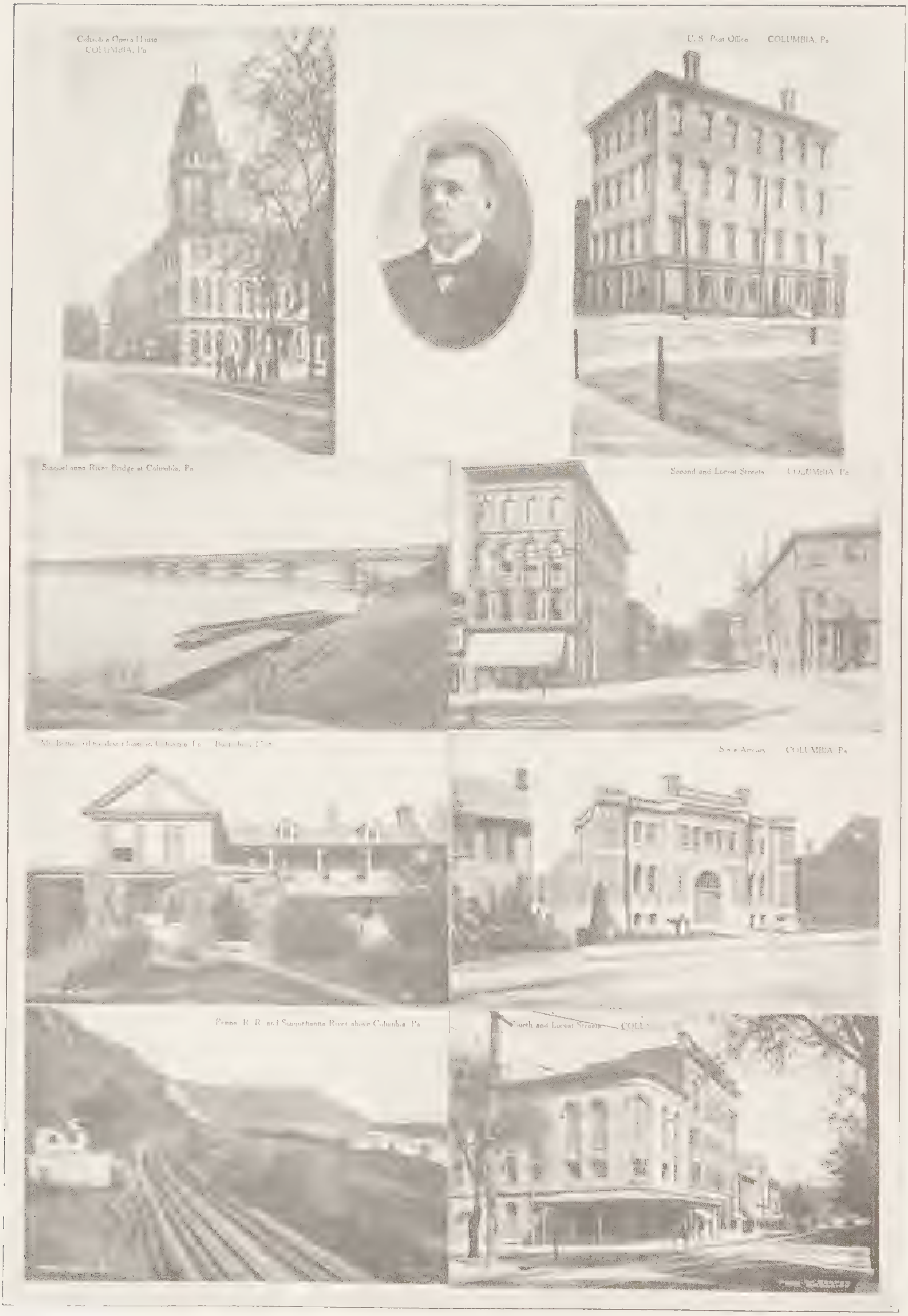
The patriotic societies are headed by Lieutenant David H. Nissley Post, No. 478, Grand Army of the Republic, which was chartered on May 4, 1885, with the following Civil War soldiers as charter members: James M. Hipple, W. W. Buller, H. A. Bookmyer, H. M. Way, John Hollowell, A. F. Buck, Penrose Frank, David L. Mooney, S. N. Warner, J. G. Metzger, L. P. Heilig, Joseph Bowman, J. Wilson, C. S. Blessing, H. H. Nissley, H. H. Peffer, H. Swords, F. G. Pennell, Jacob Shelly, Joseph Conner, F. M. Sourbeer, William Mateer, Samuel W. Shrie, E. E. Hipple, Hiram Spickler, M. Drabenstadt, Aaron Baker, D. D. Smith and Philip Dieter. The post had a strength of twenty in 1912. The present strength is four, the surviving comrades being John G. Metzgar, Christ G. Sherk, David R. Wagner and Elias Helman.

Lieutenant David H. Nissley Camp, No. 74, Sons of Veterans, was mustered March 2, 1904. Dr. W. R. Heilig became its first commander. The fifteenth annual reunion of the Central Pennsylvania G. A. R. Association was held in Mount Joy in 1911.

The organization of veterans of the World War is referred to elsewhere.

Schools and Churches—A log school house was raised in 1817, "on the southern terminus of what is now called Barbara street," wrote J. B. Hipple, in 1884. It became known as the Bell school house, later as the East Ward Bell school house. Nine years later, in the village of Richland, which is now within borough limits, another school was founded by subscription, the Richland Academy. It flourished as such for several years, but eventually became a public school, and as such was known as the West Ward Bell school house. The common school system of June 13, 1836, was amended in 1838, and was accepted by Mount Joy in 1842. In 1851 Mount Joy became a borough, and a new school board came into office. The directors were Henry Schaeffner, Samuel Ehrman and Jacob E. Cassel, for the East Ward; and David Brady, Isaac Shertzer and Alex. Patterson, for the West Ward. Their first meeting was March 25, 1853, and resulted in decision to build a large school house. At a subsequent meeting the order was rescinded, and it was not until 1872 that an additional school house was erected. The first attempt at grading was made in 1855; the old Richland Academy, as the West Ward Bell school house, was made a high school, the East Ward Bell schoolhouse was made a secondary school, as was also the brick schoolhouse on Cemetery road; and there were two or three primary schools. All were old buildings, at least one of log and another of frame construction. Notwithstanding their deplorably dilapidated state, better accommodation could not be offered until 1873. Then, "after a long-continued agitation," a school house capable of accommodating 400 children was built. It was of brick, two and one-half stories high, and "for those times was an unusual school building." Its erection and fitting entailed an outlay of $20,000; and the building has served until the present, although not without enlargement. An addition which doubled its accommodation was made in 1904.

The teachers in the Mount Joy borough schools during the first winter (1853) were M. G. Marple, F. H. Missleman, Rebecca Hernly, Sabilla Ehrman and Annie Donavon. The monthly salary of the male teachers was $28, and of the female teachers $15. The levy for school purposes was $600. Professor Douglas Patterson, a graduate of Princeton University, began to teach in the Mount Joy schools in the following year. He remained for twenty-seven years, and was the first to be appointed as principal of the borough schools. The grading of pupils was not very definitely carried out under the 1855 attempt, and it would seem that there was no formal graduation from the Mount Joy High School until 1881, when there was a class of twelve; but evidently the high school operated satisfactorily in earlier years, for there is a record of the high school, during Professor Patterson's period as principal, which reads as follows: "At one time there were attending the high school ten pupils who, the following winter, commenced to teach in the public schools in various parts of the county." Steady progress has been made. The Mount Joy school of 1922 is an eight-roomed building, with two extra recitation rooms and administrative quarters. There is also a gymnasium. Heating, ventilation and lighting are modern, and a good library is being gradually developed. A four-year high school course is to be had at Mount Joy. Further information is given in the two chapters on Public and Private Schools of Lancaster county.


Columbia Opera House
COLUMBIA, Pa
U. S. Post Office COLUMBIA, Pa
Susquehanna River Bridge at Columbia, Pa
Second and Locust Streets COLUMBIA, Pa
Mt. Bethel, oldest house in Columbia, Pa.
State Armory COLUMBIA, Pa
Penna. R. R. and Susquehanna River above Columbia, Pa
Fourth and Locust Streets COLU

SCENES IN COLUMBIA. (DR. J. H. PANNEBECKER IN OVAL)

Several of the church societies of Mount Joy are nearing a century of existence. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity reaches back to 1827; St. Mark's United Brethren to 1829, though the continuity is not definite beyond 1860; the Church of God, or Winebrennerian, to 1831; the Trinity United Evangelical Church, to 1843, or earlier; the First Presbyterian Church, to 1839. The Donegal Presbyterian Church, near Mount Joy, is of course, one of the oldest in the county; its almost two centuries of history will be reviewed elsewhere. The other churches of Mount Joy are of comparatively recent establishment.

Miscellaneous—Mount Joy had important part in early railway history. The first trial in America of a steam locomotive took place in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, in 1829, and by the end of 1830 the mileage of railway completed in the United States was only forty miles; yet, the name Mount Joy comes into railway history of only two years later, for on June 9, 1832, charter was granted to the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy & Lancaster Railroad Company to construct a railway between Lancaster and Portsmouth, at the mouth of Swatara creek, in Dauphin county. Detailed history of this enterprise has place elsewhere in this work, therefore much need not here be written. A Mount Joyan, William D. Slaymaker, was president of the railway company, and many other residents were stockholders. Construction began in 1834, and the first passenger coach drawn by an engine passed through Mount Joy on December 14, 1836, the train stopping at the Exchange Hotel, which served as the railway station until 1876. The road was leased to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company eventually, as will be narrated elsewhere. Straightening of the roadbed was done in 1896, and the station then moved from opposite the flouring mill to its present location on Delta street.

The Mount Joy Cemetery was incorporated August 19, 1863; George Wenger was first president. The Henry Eberle Cemetery was laid out in 1871, the land having then been purchased from the late Henry Eberle for $1,000. Jacob Rohrer, founder of Mount Joy, was buried in this cemetery. He died in 1839, which fact would indicate that the place was a burial ground earlier than when bought from Henry Eberle.

The last three decadal census takings show the progress of Mount Joy as follows: 1900, 2,018 inhabitants; 1910, 2,166; 1920, 2,192. In the last decade certain parts of East Donegal and Mount Joy townships have been annexed to Mount Joy borough.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HISTORY OF COLUMBIA.

The beautiful scenery along the Susquehanna river was a great attraction to early travelers, and the sloping ground on which the town of Columbia is now located had an especial charm for them. This slope was densely covered by a forest of hickory, oak and chestnut trees. This gentle slope between the hills north and south appeared like an open door from east to west. The Indians clustered here in large numbers in log cabins of very crude construction.

In 1728 Robert Barber purchased a tract of land here from William Penn, extending along the river and reaching several hundred feet from the shore. He was soon followed by John Wright and Samuel Blunston. In 1726 John Wright built a stone mansion along the Indian road, at the foot of what is now Cherry street. It is standing to-day in fine condition. About the same time Mr. Blunston erected a building about two blocks northwest, on what was later known as Mount Bethel. A part of it is still there. The main part of this building to-day is of brick, which it is said were made in England and brought to Philadelphia as ballast in ships, and hauled from there to the Susquehanna by mule teams.

In 1730 John Wright procured a patent for a ferry. He built a ferry house on the north side of Locust street, between Front street and Bank alley. Later a large brick ferry house was erected where the Pennsylvania railroad round house now is. The travel across the river was very great by persons moving west and east. Their goods were packed on horses. During dry seasons these forded the river as the water was very shallow. The ferryboats were very shallow dugouts. When wagons were to be taken across two dugouts were lashed together and the wagon placed on them. Horses and cattle were roped together and led by a boat that was rowed across the river. Travel became so great that large flat-bottomed boats were introduced, and with all possible efforts, it frequently happened that so many people arrived that some of them had to wait two days before their turn to cross came. Sometimes from one hundred and fifty to two hundred vehicles had to wait for their turn. During this time people settled along the river and back in the country. They found the land wonderfully productive. About 1830 Samuel Blunston and James Wright, son of John Wright, erected a grist mill on Shawnee run. This was the first industry in what is now a great industry town.

During the War of the Revolution many people from the war belt came across Wright's ferry to find safety on the eastern shore of the Susquehanna river. Shelter was given them, and though many of them desired to settle here, it does not seem to have entered into the mind of the land owners to lay out a town. In 1788 Samuel Wright saw that a town was needed, and he had a tract of land surveyed and laid out into building lots to the number of one hundred and sixty. These were chanced off by lottery at fifteen shillings per ticket. After deeds had been granted, extensive house building began along Front street from Shawnee run up as far as where the round house is now, in some places on both sides of the street. Shortly after that, lots were sold below Shawnee run and many small dwellings were built.

When Samuel Wright realized that a town would be built here, he gave it the name of Columbia, instead of Wright's Ferry. In 1777, after the members of the Continental Congress had been transported across the river, many of them had been so impressed by the beautiful scenery and the geographical location of Columbia that in the latter part of 1789 there was a strong movement in Congress to locate the National Capitol here. After several years of contention it was defeated by a very close vote. Later an effort was made to locate the State Capitol here, and it lost by a very close vote, Harrisburg being given the preference because it was nearer to the centre of the State.

Canals and Railroads—As early as the 9th of March, 1771, the General Assembly passed an act to appoint commissioners to clear up the river so as to make it navigable. After a careful investigation it was found impossible to do this, and commissioners were told to construct a canal from where the Juniatta river enters the Susquehanna, to Columbia. The water was let into the canal December 17, 1830. At Columbia, the end of the canal, a large basin was constructed, in which a large number of boats could be placed while they were unloaded, or loaded. This business grew wonderfully, and when the railroads were constructed the business increased most wonderfully. A few years later a canal was constructed on the west side of the river, from Wrightsville to the Chesapeake bay. To fill this canal with water, a dam was built across the river at the lower end of Columbia and the canal boats were drawn across by steamboats. When the railroad was extended up along the river, immense quantities of coal were brought to Columbia and transferred to canal boats. When the Reading & Columbia railroad was built, a very large coal wharf was built at the foot of Locust street, where large quantities of coal were transferred. This continued for many years, and gave the town many opportunities to advance in many ways. It was under this influence that Front street grew into a great business street commercially, until it was listed with Chestnut and Market streets, Philadelphia, as one of the three greatest business streets in the State.

March 31, 1823, the State Legislature incorporated the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Among the incorporators were John Barber and William Wright, of Columbia. They used all their power to cause the railroad to have great influence on their town. They were very anxious to divert trade from Baltimore, and convey the products of the richest agricultural spot to Philadelphia. On April 26 the State Legislature granted the charter for the Columbia, Lancaster & Philadelphia railroad. Jacob Strickler, John Barber, James Given and James Clyde were among the Incorporators. On April 1, 1831, John Barber was appointed superintendent of the Columbia, Lancaster & Philadelphia railroad. The road started at the ferry, went down along the river to near Strickler's run, where it turned to the left up the hill to where the Manor street school house stands now, from there on passing what is now Mountville to the north. Instead of using wood ties, they used red sand stones on which the rails were fixed by iron spikes. Many of these stones are now seen on street crossings, with the two holes in view. On Monday, March 31, 1834, three passenger cars drawn by horses arrived in Columbia. By Wednesday, April 2, in the same year, three cars were drawn by a locomotive. The expenses of drawing cars up the inclined plain by horses were too great, and in 1839 the present roadbed in the valley along Strickler's run was completed, and the tracks laid where the road is now.

Some years later the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy & Lancaster railroad was built. This induced the company to extend the railroad from Columbia along the river to what is now Middletown. Later two other railroads were built from Columbia, one of them to Frederick, Maryland, and the other to Port Deposit, Maryland. This made Columbia a great railroad center, and increased trade wonderfully. Many large store buildings were erected on

Locust street. One of these was Haldeman's dry goods store, for many years the largest store of its kind in Lancaster county.

The Reading & Columbia railroad was incorporated May 19, 1857. James Myers, Samuel Shoch, J. G. Hess, William A. Martin, Amos E. Green, Hugh M. North, Samuel W. Mifflin and M. M. Strickler, of Columbia, were among the incorporators. June 24, 1857, a public meeting was held in the old town hall to urge the citizens of Columbia to subscribe for the stock of the company. Twenty-five thousand dollars were subscribed. Very large and costly coal shoots were erected on the river shore at the foot of Locust street. Here also was a large building for the passenger station. This railroad also brought here large quantities of iron ore, and many furnaces were built that for years brought laborers here who with their families greatly increased the town's population.

Columbia having become a railroad center, it became necessary to establish large industries here, such as an extensive railroad repair shop in which engines and cars that are injured are repaired. A wreck crew also was called into service and is constantly on the watch for an alarm that a wreck has occurred. The most important thing in connection with being a railroad center is that a transfer station was found to be necessary in Columbia. From all directions cars came loaded with articles manufactured here and there. At the transfer station here they are emptied and things for a certain city are put into one car and sent directly to that city. This has made Columbia a great manufacturing town, because whatever is made here is at once placed into a car that takes it to its destination without the delay of having to be transferred to another car.

Early Events—The first newspaper printed in Columbia was "The Susquehanna Waterman." It was started by Thomas Wilson in 1811. After several years he failed in business. In 1819 William Greear started "The Columbian," for which he did not get sufficient support. Several years later, Dr. William Houston established "The Monitor." In 1823 "The Columbia Courant" was established by Schaeff & Heinitsh. They sold it to John S. Bonwell, of Conneticut, who on June 3, 1830, commenced the publication of the "Columbia Spy and Literary Register." He changed the name to "The Columbia Spy and Lancaster and York County Record."

"The Columbia Herald" was established in 1867, and George Young, Jr., was the editor. W. Hayes Grier in 1873 purchased it, changed its name to "The Independent," and published it until his death, August 26, 1915. Up to this time many other papers were published here; but none of them existed for a long time.

In 1868 "The Columbia Daily Spy" was started by A. M. Rambo, who published it for eighteen months, when he sold it to Major J. W. Yocum, of Trappe, Montgomery county. He had just graduated from Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster. After he had published it for several years, weekly, he began to publish it daily until his death, May 12, 1888, when W. E. Crist came to Columbia from Greencastle, Pennsylvania, and started the publication "The Columbia Daily News." This paper has been published regularly ever since, and has won a deserved success. After the death of the editor of the "Daily Spy," Mr. Crist purchased "The Spy" and the "Daily News" is to-day a popular paper, not only in Columbia, but in the surrounding country.

Among the calamities that came upon Columbia none was more terrible than ten days of Asiatic cholera. In September, 1854, a family of emigrants was taken from a train from Philadelphia because two of them were very sick. They were taken into an unoccupied building on Front street. Physicians were called, who pronounced it Asiatic cholera. The father and a son died next day. One day later, Francis Bradley, a prominent man, died of the disease. In less than a week 126 persons died, of all the various classes of society, rich and poor. The people fled from town, while some remained and did all they could for the sick.

Great increase in travel across the Susquehanna put it in the minds of the people in Columbia that a bridge should be built across the stream one and one-eight mile wide. Governor Snyder granted a charter October 19, 1811. Three months later the stockholders organized and elected a board of managers. Stock to the amount of $400,000 was subscribed for. The bridge cost $233,000. The balance was voted to be used for the establishing of a bank in Columbia. This resulted in the Columbia Bank and Bridge Company. In 1832 the bridge was carried away by an ice flood. It was rebuilt next summer at the cost of $157,300.

During the Civil War, when the Confederate army came to Wrightsville on their way to Philadelphia, on June 28, 1863, by an order from General Couch, of the North army, the bridge was set on fire and destroyed as a defense against the Southern army. The bank owning the bridge sold the piers to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for $57,000. The company erected a new bridge which stood until 1896, when a great storm from the south blew it from the piers. It was rebuilt by the railroad company, being made of iron instead of wood, as the former had been.

Churches—The first settlers on the east bank of the Susquehanna, where Columbia is, were Quakers, and they erected a log meeting house on Union street, near Lancaster avenue. For some reason they did not pay much attention to their meetings. On January 1, 1790, Job Scott, a celebrated Quaker, came from England, and made an extensive tour to rouse the Quakers in America to greater activity. He came to Wright's Ferry and led the Friends into a realization of their mission in the community. About 1800 a large brick meeting house was erected on Cherry street, above Third street. Here regular meetings were held until about the close of the nineteenth century, when the lot was sold, and is now occupied by dwellings and a garage.

In 1804 the members of Lutheran and Reformed churches who had settled in Columbia agreed to build a Union church, in which they would worship on alternate Sundays. In 1807 Samuel Wright donated them a lot of ground on Walnut street, between Third and Fourth streets. Here the two congregations erected a brick building. In 1850 they agreed to separate, and the congregation of the Reformed church sold their portion to the Lutherans and worshiped in the town hall. In 1854 they purchased a lot of ground at the south corner at Third and Cherry streets, and erected the brick church building now there. This building has been greatly improved and beautified. In 1868 a parsonage was erected on Cherry street against the rear end of the church building. In 1889 a new front with a high bell tower was built.

On July 13, 1806, Samuel Wright gave the Methodists a lot of ground at the corner of Alley K and South Fifth street for a church. A small frame building was erected in the alley. The congregation grew so rapidly that it was necessary to erect a larger church. In 1832 they purchased a lot of ground at the north corner of Third and Cherry streets. Here they erected a large two-story brick church. In 1851 it was partially destroyed by fire, and the congregation purchased a lot on the south corner of Second and Cherry streets. Here they erected the present church in 1852. Since then, this building has been greatly beautified and had introduced into it a large pipe organ and heating system. In 1876 the First Methodist congregation built a chapel at the east corner of Fifth and Locust streets, and held a mission, Sunday, in it for many years until there were enough persons to start a new congregation, namely, the Cookman Church, now located at the north corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets.

Salem Lutheran congregation continued to worship in what was formerly the Union church, until 1860, when they erected a large new church on the site of the old one, and they are occupying it now. The congregation grew very much in membership. They left the Lutheran church and united with the Evangelical Synod of North America, in whose connection they are.

In the year 1849 the Rev. J. H. Menges, of Mount Joy, preached at stated times in the English language in the German Lutheran Church on Walnut street. Later he moved to Columbia, and prepared the way for organizing an English Lutheran congregation. This was accomplished, and in 1850 a lot was purchased on Second street, between Locust and Walnut streets. The church was built and dedicated in 1852. In 1875 the building was enlarged and some years later a beautiful parsonage was built along side of the church. In the spring of 1881 a large number of members withdrew and organized a Lutheran congregation further up town.

In 1806 the Rev. Nathaniel Smewden, of Lancaster, a Presbyterian minister, preached occasionally in Columbia, sometimes in the Methodist church, and sometimes in private houses. The congregation was organized in 1807, and Samuel Wright donated them a lot of ground on Walnut street, adjoining the German Lutheran Church. This was not considered a suitable location for the Presbyterians. They, therefore, sold it and purchased a large lot at the south corner of Fourth and Locust streets, on which they erected a large brick church, which was dedicated on July 19, 1812. Later a Sunday school building was added to it. For many years a large congregation occupied this building. In 1888 a new stone church was erected on the place of the old church and Sunday school building. This congregation has always had an influential position in the community.

In the year 1822 John Staman gave a lot of ground at the corner of Concord and Fifth streets to build a colored Baptist church. A large majority of the members were manumitted slaves, a church was built in the alley between Union and Perry streets, called the Mt. Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church. Later they built a large brick church on Fifth street, below Union.

In 1921 that building was removed and a new modern church was erected. One of the old church buildings is used for their colored school.

In the year 1846 the first families of the United Brethren Church moved to Columbia—Christian Hershey and Solomon Von Neida. After holding services in their homes, services were held in the brick school house on South Third street, below Perry. In the year 1860 they erected a brick church at the corner of Third and Perry street. Jacob Sneath was superintendent of the Sunday school for many years. In 1886 a new building was erected on Fifth street, between Locust and Walnut, which has the largest seating capacity of any Protestant church in town.

On Sunday, March 27, 1881, members of the First English Lutheran Church withdrew from that congregation and met in St. Paul's Lutheran Church and organized a congregation. They organized a Sunday school in Schuler's Hall, opposite the Opera House on Locust street. For a while they were supplied by ministers from other towns, when in September, 1881, the Rev. Samuel Yingling became their pastor. They purchased a lot at Sixth and Locust streets, on which a building was erected in 1882, to which church building a Sunday school building was added a few years later.

The organizing of Cookman Chapel was the beginning of Cookman Church, dating back to 1876, when a committee was appointed by the First Methodist Church to organize a Sunday school. On Sunday, March 5, 1876, the first session was held in a building located at the corner of Fifth and Locust streets. Simon May was its superintendent. After nineteen years a second Methodist church was formed. On December 10, 1894, application was made for a charter, and later the property now occupied was transferred to the trustees of Cookman Church. It was at the first quarterly conference of Cookman Methodist Episcopal Church that these trustees were confirmed. On February 10, 1895, Cookman Church was dedicated by the Rev. Thomas B. Neely, D. D., superintendent of the district, assisted by the Rev. Amos Johnson, then minister of the First Methodist Church. The church began with 147 members and sixteen preparatory members. The Rev. W. H. Ford was the first regularly appointed minister. During the pastorate of the Rev. J. W. Tindall the chapel was enlarged into the present beautiful church, ground-breaking services being held Saturday, August 5, 1906. The new church was dedicated Sunday, March 15, 1908, by Bishop Joseph F. Berry. At that time a pledge of $8,000 was secured. On Sunday, October 29, 1911, another pledge of $6,000 was made for the purpose of reducing the debt. On Sunday, June 16, 1912, a Midmer pipe organ was dedicated by the Rev. Edwin C. Griffiths, D. D.

St. James' Evangelical Lutheran Church, at Tenth and Manor streets, was started by members of St. John's Lutheran Church whose homes are in the southeastern part of the town. The first service was held in the Susquehanna fire engine house, January 4, 1903. A Sunday school was organized with Rev. A. M. Mehrkam superintendent, F. P. DeMiller assistant superintendent, Harry Menchey secretary, Harry Bartch assistant secretary, Walter Lucas, treasurer. In 1906 a plot of ground was purchased at Tenth and Manor streets for the erection of a chapel. The building was consecrated November 17, 1917. November 10, 1920, a congregation was organized, and on March 20, 1921, a call was extended to the Rev. Arthur H. Getz, who became the first pastor of the congregation June 1, 1921. Since then the church building has been enlarged and beautified. It was consecrated March 19, 1922. A parsonage has been purchased. The adult membership of the congregation is 168.

Grace United Evangelical congregation was organized by the Central Pennsylvania Conference, in March, 1894. The congregation being in the territory of the East Pennsylvania Conference, it was transferred to it from the Central Conference. A beautiful church and parsonage have been erected at Eighth and Walnut streets. The present membership of the congregation is 171. The present pastor, the Rev. S. Wiest.

The eldership of the Church of God in the fall of 1869 decided to establish a mission in Columbia. Services were held in private houses and halls until 1879, when a church was erected on the east corner of Seventh and Walnut streets, where they have since worshipped. A large number of pastors have served them, and a large Sunday school has added largely to the members of the congregation. One of the pastors, the Rev. H. W. Cover, has been a missionary since 1911.

In 1862 a number of members withdrew from Salem Church on Walnut street, and organized a congregation which was recognized by the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania. For a short time services were held in the pastor's residence, and later for about two years in Trinity Reformed Church, and for two years in Washington Institute. In 1869 they erected a church on Locust street. All this occurred under the pastorate of the Rev. J. A. Darmstetter. Since the death of Rev. Darmstetter the congregation has united with the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church.

The Mennonite Mission was opened in 1907, at No. 274 South Fourth street, by Charles Byers, of Adams county, Pennsylvania. He gathered children for a Sunday school, and also found Mennonites who helped him as teachers. In 1917 he left for mission work in Tennessee, and was succeeded by Ira M. Shertzer, who labored faithfully until 1919, when he resigned and was succeeded by C. T. Martin. He was assisted by many members of the Mennonites from the country, and the attendance grew to 250, which made it necessary to have a larger building. A vacant lot opposite the original building was purchased, ground was broken for the new meeting house on January 27, 1922, and on December 9, 1922, the large building was dedicated. Since then the attendance has increased greatly. On June 10, 1923, an ordination service was held and C. Z. Martin was installed to take charge of the congregation of about thirty members.

St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church was founded in 1828 by the Rev. Bernard Keenan, of Lancaster, who was at that time the only priest in Lancaster county. The ground originally purchased was on what is now Lancaster avenue, between Cherry and Union streets. The location was then, too, far out of town, and ground was purchased on Second and Union streets. The first church was erected in 1828 and dedicated in September of that year. The first resident pastor, the Rev. Daniel Kelly, was appointed in 1842. In 1871 Father Russell, whose pastorate extended over thirty years, established the parish school in the basement of the church. At first under the care of lay teachers, the school was subsequently turned over to the Sisters of Charity, who still conduct it. Over a period of almost one hundred years the names of pastors

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, COLUMBIA

that stood out prominently are those of Fathers Russell, Hollern and Costigan. The present church was erected by Father Hollern, and the school building by Father Costigan. Though small in number, as Catholic parishes go, St. Peter's Congregation has splendid records of generosity and sacrifice, and has been a valuable asset in the civic and religious progress of Columbia. The present rector, the Rev. George W. Brown, was appointed by Bishop Shanahan in 1913.

Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church was erected in 1860, the requisite ecclesiastical appropriation having been forwarded by Bishop Wood, of Philadelphia, for the establishment of the new parish. Realizing the necessity of religion as an indispensable asset in the make-up of every good citizen, the Rev. William Pieper, pastor, in 1869 established a parochial school and placed the Sisters of St. Francis in charge. The growth of the school was remarkable. At this time there are 350 children under the sisters' instruction and training. The present rector is Fath P. G. Brueggeman, who was instrumental in erecting the new school building at Fourth and Cherry streets. The parish numbers 1,400 souls.

Services of the Protestant Episcopal Church were held occasionally by Rev. Joseph Clarkson in the Presbyterian Church as early as 1820, but the organization of a congregation was not accomplished until 1848. A very beautiful church was erected on South Second street, between Locust and Cherry streets, in 1849 and 1850. The congregation worshipped here until ——, when a new large stone church was erected on Locust street, between Third and Fourth streets, to which is added a large parish building in memory of Hugh M. North, for many years a leading member. The beauty of this church building on the main street adds greatly to the beauty of Columbia.

Educational—The first settlers at Wright's Ferry were educated people, and they taught their children at home until they needed higher education, when they took them to Philadelphia. When the population increased, school was opened in 1800 by Robert Pattan in the Quaker meeting house on Cherry street, above Third street. He was succeeded by Edward Postlethwait Page, an Englishman, in 1805. He also taught the first Sunday school in Columbia in the Quaker meeting house.

A number of prominent citizens made the first effort to establish a school for all the children in the community. On March 25, 1807, Samuel Wright conveyed to a board of trustees a tract of land on Third street, between Locust and Cherry streets, for one silver dollar, on which they were to erect a school house. They erected a brick building. The first teacher was E. P. Page. A few years later the building was enlarged and a belfry was erected, in which a large bell was hung. Many persons of prominent names were teachers in this school, such as Heath, Mifflin, Wright, Houston, etc.

While this school had grown into a high school, many private schools were opened for the younger children. Among the teachers in these schools were Mrs. Claiborne, daughter of General Ross and widow of General Claiborne, who had been Governor of Louisiana, who came to Columbia in 1818. The Columbia Select School for Young Ladies was established in 1833 by Miss E. Ely, on Second street, between Walnut and Locust streets. The Public

Ground Company in 1856 erected a large building at the east corner of what has since been a park, between Locust and Cherry and between Lancaster avenue and Sixth street. June 30, 1857, a school board consisting of five members of the board of trustees of the Public Ground Company and five men citizens of the section of the town known as Old Columbia, were elected as the board of managers of the school, to be known as Washington Institute.

When the common school law was passed in 1834, the people of Columbia began to erect school houses. A large one was built on Cherry street, between Fourth and Fifth streets. This served for many years as the building for all the schools in the town; but since the population has become so large and the town covers so large a tract of land, other buildings have been erected at Third and Poplar streets, Tenth and Walnuts streets, Tenth and Manor streets, and in the Old Columbia Park. In 1916 the Old Columbia Ground Company erected a high school building in the park, in touch with the Washington Institute. This is one of the largest high school buildings in the State, and is laid out in a way that fits it for the grades of the school and the various branches of instruction. There are at this time 385 pupils in the high school in this building. The grade of this school is such that its graduates are admitted in the colleges anywhere.

Industries—The first of the abiding industries in Columbia were saw mills. Jacob Strickler erected the first on the river shore in 1818. Another was erected in 1830 by John McKissick, Jr., John Forry, Jr., and Samuel Hise. In 1844 Jonathan Pusey built one at the mouth of Shawnee run; this was run by steam. The first planing mill was built in 1837. In 1850 another was built by Joseph Pownell, Joseph Dickenson, Hiram Draucher and John B. Bachman. A large number of other ones were erected. All this was due to the large number of rafts that came down the river each springtime. A grist mill was built on the north side of Shawnee run in 1735. The Fairview grist mill was built on what is now Strickler's run, at the southern limit of the town, about 1780, and it is in operation to-day, but by steam instead of waterpower. Large quantities of flour were sent from these mills for the Revolutionary army. Samuel A. Atlee erected a tannery on Shawnee run, near the Lancaster turnpike in 1798. John Hollinger erected another tannery on the north side of the pike.

The discovery of iron ore on Chestnut Hill, near Columbia, called for the erection of furnaces. In 1844 Shawnee Furnaces were built between Shawnee run and the Lancaster pike by Robert and James Colin. The Chestnut Hill Iron Company was incorporated in 1851. St. Charles Furnace was built in 1852 by E. B. Grubb. The Henry Clay Furnace was built by Peter Haldeman. These and several other furnaces for many years produced large quantities of iron which was shipped in all directions. These furnaces have all disappeared.

The Shawnee Rolling Mill was built in 1854. It made rails, ship and boiler plates in large quantities. The Susquehanna Rolling Mill was built in 1860. These have changed a number of times, and to-day Columbia has five rolling mills; the Reading Iron Company owns two. E. T. Edwards owns and runs the Union Street and the East End mills; one is owned and run by the Janson Steel and Iron Company. A large pipe mill did large work, but has been idle for several years. These mills employ a large number of men and produce an immense quantity of goods shipped to all parts of the country.

The Keeley Stove Company located here in 1882 and erected very large buildings on an entire block between North Second and Third streets and Maple and Linden streets. Under the incorporation the officers were: President, George W. Haldeman; treasurer, S. S. Detwiler; secretary, J. W. Zellers; general manager, William H. Pfahler. The first stoves were made February 14, 1883. The number of employees was then 100, now increased to 225. The amount of pay roll in 1884 was $52,000, now increased to $234,000. They produce 250 stoves per day. Recently a modern enamling plant has been erected at Second and Chestnut streets. The production consists of coal and wood stoves, combination coal and gas ranges, warm air furnaces, both pipe and pipeless. Taken all in all, the Keeley Stove Works are the largest stove works in the United States. The present officers are: President, Horace Detwiler; general manager, J. Edw. Shomier; secretary and treasurer, John G. Hughes.

The Columbia Lace Company, Inc., was established in Columbia in June, 1892, by Cleland Campbell & Co., of Glasgow, Scotland, who moved their machinery for the manufacture of Nottingham lace curtain goods from Scotland to the United States at that time, for the purpose of supplying the American market. The plant originally consisted of eight lace curtain looms, with the necessary auxiliary bleaching and finishing machinery, and employed about one hundred people, some of whom were skilled help who came from Scotland to Columbia with the company, the others being Columbia people who were employed to learn the business. In June, 1903, the company was incorporated under the name of Columbia Lace Company, although the ownership and management remained the same. New machinery was added from time to time, and additional buildings erected, so that at the present time the capacity of the plant is more than double what it originally was in 1892. The product manufactured consists of Nottingham lace curtain goods of various designs and styles, and 40,000 to 50,000 yards of these goods are turned out each week and shipped to different parts of the United States. At the present time the business employs about 200 men and women, many of whom have been in the service of the firm for over twenty years. Colin Thomson is president, and James Cleland is secretary and treasurer of the company.

The Columbia Wagon Company was located here in 1889 by W. T. Garrison, John B. Hutchison, manager, and Theodore Urban, treasurer. The plant is very large, and located in the southern part of the town, fronting on Plane street. Wagons, carts and dumping wagons are made. In recent years they made a large number of automobile bodies, commercial truck bodies and trailors. About one hundred men have steady employment.

The Columbia Silk Mills, situated at the corner of Third and Cedar streets, were erected in the fall and spring of 1892-93, by Ashley & Bailey, of Paterson, New Jersey. The first buildings consisted of but two wings, one of which fronted on Third street, while the other ran east on Cedar. The plant was first placed in operation in 1893 with but a few people, but this force was gradually increased and additions made to the building until in 1906-07 there were over 600 people employed. Additions to the mill increased the manufacturing floor space to about 100,000 square feet. During 1912 it was decided to dissolve the partnership and offer for sale their plants. Sale was duly held October 17, 1913 (the mill being operated up until that time), and the entire plant was purchased by the Schwarzenbach Huber Company, a New York corporation. The new owners immediately took possession and began work at once tearing out the old machinery and equipment that had retarded forward march of the old firm, and installing new up-to-date in its stead. In May, 1914, production was started in all departments. Many changes and additions have been made in the eight years that the Schwarzenbach Huber Company have owned these mills. Over 40,000 square feet of floor space have been added to the mill property. Among the other numerous additions is a all new up-to-date steam and power plant. But improvements have not been confined to equipment alone. Much also has been done for the workers. Four passenger busses carry the workers to and from the outlying districts, while a modern lunch room serves hot meals during dinner hour for a nominal sum. Taking all in all, the Columbia Silk Mill is to-day one of the modern manufacturing establishments in the district.

The Reliable Silk Manufacturing Company of New York has a large silk mill at Twelfth and Manor streets, which is now being enlarged to double its capacity. A new silk mill is at present being erected at Tenth and Blunston streets.

The Columbia Water Company was organized in 1823, with William Wright as president. Before this company came into existence, water was furnished many residences in wooden pipes from a spring on the hill north of town. After having been in operation for thirty-four years it was compelled to make an assignment. A new company was organized and a new reservoir was made at Lancaster avenue. Another new reservoir was built in Lockard's hollow, on Chestnut Hill. The reservoir is very large and is covered with concrete. In 1903 a purifying system was introduced which purifies the water obtained one-half mile from the river shore. The purity and abundance of Columbia water is wonderful.

The Columbia Gas Company was chartered April 10, 1851; the Columbia Electric Light Company in ———; and the Columbia Telephone Company on May 6, 1895.

The Standard Garment Company was incorporated January 30, 1914, and located at Third and Walnut streets. The building was destroyed by fire in February, 1917. The present building, formerly the building of the Columbia Fire Company, was purchased and work was begun at once. The capitalization is $100,000; offices and main plant at 625 Locust street. There are branches in York, Wrightsville and Millersville. Products, ladies' and children's dresses. Output, 85,000 dozens per year.

The Lancaster County Agricultural Fairs were held in Columbia until 1854, when they began to be held in Lancaster. In 1920 the men in Columbia and the surrounding townships organized the Harvest Home Association, which has annually held very large exhibitions of agricultural products, farm animals, and products of Columbia's many industries.

Columbia Hospital—For a long time it was felt in Columbia that the large number of the population employed on railroads, iron mills and other industries called for a hospital, and in January, 1894, several men called a meeting to be held in the Bible school room of Trinity Reformed Church to consider the subject. This meeting was largely attended by men of all classes, and steps were taken to secure the necessary funds, and on May 2, 1895, the hospital was formally opened in a large house on South Second street and Alley J. The people of Columbia and surrounding towns gave liberally, and under the care of Miss Johnsie W. Kell, a graduate of the Polyclinic Hospital, Philadelphia, the institution made a splendid beginning. A School for Students for Nursing was opened with two students. A Women's Auxiliary was appointed by the pastors of the churches, one woman from each church. These women at once began faithful work in furnishing the building, in overseeing household affairs, and in securing means for all the departments of the hospital. The members of the medical and surgical staff, all men of prominence in their profession, gave their services most generously with great success. The railroad men of Columbia presented the hospital with a first-class operating table.

In 1898 a building fund was started, and in 1902 the movement to erect a hospital building began. The State Legislature appropriated $7,000 for this purpose, to be paid provided an equal sum was raised by our people. This was easily accomplished. In March of 1902 a site was purchased at Seventh and Poplar streets for $4,000. In June of the same year the contract for a building was awarded to John D. Forry for $20,000. The building was completed in 1903, and the hospital moved into it, and dedication services were held on Thanksgiving Day, attended by a large number of people who were delighted with the work. In 1908 the Nurses' Home was built, adding greatly to the comfort of the pupil nurses and the superintendent. During the years of the hospital's existence about 12,000 patients have been treated within its walls. The School for Nurses has graduated forty-eight who have given the institution an honorable reputation throughout a large portion of our country by their efficiency. Ever since it came into existence, our hospital has been the very heart of our community, where sympathy with the afflicted has been practically manifested by a large proportion of the citizens of Columbia and vicinity. Many are giving liberally, and others are both giving and working to maintain its blessing for any and all who need such care as it can give.

Many more of the seventy industries deserve mention; but the limit has been reached. Not only does Columbia have a large number of industries, but they are a great variety. When strikes occur in one line of work, the town is not much afflicted, as work goes on in the others.

Columbia's most famous man was Lloyd Mifflin, one of the greatest poets and artists of America. He was a descendant of an English family, among the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania. His heart was in touch with life in a way that gave him inspiration to express the meaning of the spirit of his surroundings in a wonderful way. He was born on the eastern shore of the Susquehanna river, at a spot most strikingly beautiful. He studied painting in his father's studio, and later went to Germany and Italy, where he studied under famous artists. His paintings were exhibited in most prominent cities in America, and received great admiration. Later he gave himself to poetry, and his pen gave expression to what he felt in his heart's touch with nature and life. Publications were made in England as well as in America, and his fame is spread world-wide as a writer of sonnets of the first rank.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE TOWNSTEAD, BOROUGH AND CITY OF LANCASTER.

The town of Lancaster was laid out in the year following the erection of the county, that is, in 1730. When Lancaster county was laid out in 1729, there was considerable trouble in deciding on the location of the county seat. There were those who contended that it should be at Postlethwaite, others advocated that it should be on the Hamilton tract. Out of the hazy tradition of those early days one fact stands out clearly, namely, that James Hamilton laid out a town plot which became the central portion of the present city of Lancaster. This plot was two miles square, and the main streets ran north and south and east and west. The name Lancaster was given to the townstead by John Wright in honor of his home town in Lancashire, England.

All the early authorities agree, probably on the basis of tradition, that where Lancaster is now built, "There was once an Indian wigwam; a hickory tree stood in its centre, not far from a spring; under this, the councils met, and it was from one of these that a deputation was sent to confer with William Penn, at Shackamaxon, in 1683." On the basis of this tradition the town had been known as Hickory town, before Lancaster was laid out. Settlements had been begun as far back as 1721, and by 1730 a little cluster of houses had been gathered, and the population at the time the town was laid out is estimated at approximately 200 souls.

Lancaster City—There is considerable confusion in the accounts of the earliest settlements of what is now known as Lancaster City. The best known man in the days before the town was laid out by James Hamilton, was George Gibson, a tavernkeeper, whose place is said to have been near a spring. His tavern was called the Hickory Tree, probably because "a tall hickory stood near the public road and was said to have been a favorite with the Indians, the place of their rendezvous for many years, and the center of one of their small villages." We are further informed that a swamp lay in front of Gibson's tavern, nearly in the center of the site of the present city, known as the Dark Hazel Swamp. To the northeast, extending beyond the limits of the town, lay the Long Swamp.

All the authorities on the early history of Lancaster, including Hazard, Day, Rupp, Mombert and others, quote the Gibson story, but with decided differences in detail. Hazard's register says: "When the town was first laid out, there was one house in it, and that was a tavern, the occupant being a man named Gibson. When Lancaster was laid out Governor Hamilton offered two places, one known as High Plain or Gibson's Pasture, and the other as the Roaring Brook, which was on the west. Both sides were finally united and there was a black swamp running through it."

In Rupp's "History of Lancaster County" we are told that "Governor Hamilton made an offer of two places—the old Indian field, High Plain, Gibson's Pasture, Sanderson's Pasture; the other, Waving Hills, embossomed in wood, bounded by Roaring Brook on the west. Gibson resided near a fine spring with a large hickory tree before his door. This was the favorite tree of the Indian tribe who lived in the vicinity and were called by the whites from that circumstance the Hickory Indians."

Part of the land on which Lancaster city was laid out was taken up by a number of immigrants from the Palantinate as early as 1717. Some of these people were unable to take out patents for their lands. They were looked upon as squatters, and shrewd speculators, taking advantage of the fact that these people could not get patents for their lands, managed to secure them at almost nominal prices.

The largest plot of land within the present limits of the city was owned by Andrew Hamilton. To his original possession he added other tracts by purchase from other owners, until he had secured the larger portion of the town area. Several of the other proprietors followed his example in dividing their holdings into town lots, which they sold on easy ground rent terms to purchasers. Dr. Simon Adam Kuhn laid out forty-six lots along East King and Middle streets. Hans Musser also laid out a portion of the land he owned adjoining the Kuhn's tract. Samuel Bethel did the same with lands located in what was commonly called Bethelstown. Hamilton's land which was transferred to his son James Hamilton, lay principally in the central and northwestern parts of the city.

Gibson was evidently a squatter or Governor Hamilton could not have offered his lot tq the county for building purposes. In a very interesting account of the early settlement of Lancaster city, written by Dr. F. R. Diffenderffer, we are told that the lands offered by Governor Hamilton, for the erection of the public buildings of the newly constituted townstead, "were evidently small tracts, because we know pretty definitely that Gibson's tavern was located on east King street, not far from the Square, while Roaring brook, which was the Water street creek, bounded the second tract offered." These two offered sites were not more than two blocks distant from each other. The inference, therefore, is that these various pastures or fields were merely small clearings in the woods that then covered most of the Lancaster townsite. "There was a considerable population on the town site long before George Gibson came along. Long enough before 1729 hardy pioneers had pushed beyond, and Gibson had been supplying them with provent for man and beast years before. It was this very considerable migration, passing into the western part of the county that called Gibson's tavern into existence. A county tavern located on a high road where there is much travel would naturally attract the unsettled portion of the community, and in that way a small town was gradually built up around the locality where all the travel between the Delaware and the Susquehanna passed. It seems, therefore, a very reasonable guess that between 1720 and 1730 this town of forty or fifty houses and two hundred population had already been built when the townstead was laid out in the latter years under the auspices of James Hamilton, who was the principal owner."

The town site came into the possession of James Hamilton in the following manner: It appears that in 1682 William Penn had granted to Richard Wooler, of London, five hundred acres of land within the province of Pennsylvania, with the understanding that there was to be one shilling quitrent on every hundred acres. This property was conveyed from the Wooler family to Samuel Arnold, of London, in 1714. The patent for the land was purchased by James Steel, then surveyor-general of the province of Pennsylvania, in

February, 1732, for thirty-one pounds, ten shillings. It was later established that Mr. Steel had bought the land for Andrew Hamilton. When it was resurveyed in August, 1733, the following description was entered into the records: "Beginning at a marked blackoak at corner of Roody Moyer's land; thence by John Moyer, John Shank, Jacob Hostetter, Jacob Greiter, John Lane, and the lands of Samuel Bethel; thence by the lands of Theodorus Eby and Michel Moyer, containing 500 acres." This land was conveyed to James Hamilton on May 1, 1734, for the sum of five shillings. At this time the court house, the jail and other buildings had already been erected upon it. The tract included the heart of the city and the northwestern section. The central part was divided into lands, subject to ground rent. Upon these lots small comfortable homes were erected, especially along West King street. The northwestern part of the town was not divided into building lots until almost a century and a half later.

The first purchasers of lots in the heart of the city were Nicholas Bierly, Richard Marsden, Henry Hunt and Samuel Bethel, "the first three named becoming owners of property on King street near the center square, and Bethel of a lot on Queen street. This was on May 20, 1735. For some reason unknown, few lots were sold during the five years." The leading men of the town at that early period were Thomas Cookson, George Gibson, Sebastian Graff, Michel Bierly, Edward Shippen, Matthias Young, John Fouke, Peter Worrall, John Dehuff, Abraham Johnston, Samuel Bethel, George Sanderson, Michel Hubley, Jacob Laughman, George Hoffman, Joseph Pugh, Robert Thompson, James Webb, Casper Shaffner. Those of the inhabitants of the town who purchased lots on the ground rent basis did so with the distinct understanding that the purchaser "should make, erect, build, and finish on each and every lot, at their own cost and charge, a sufficient dwelling house, of the dimension of sixteen feet square at least, with a good chimney of brick or stone to be laid with lime and sand." It was understood that in case the purchasers neglected to erect such buildings within a period of two years, the lots would revert to the Hamiltons.

It was through James Hamilton that the village was turned into a borough in 1742. The charter of the borough begins as follows:

> George the Second, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting: *Whereas* our loving Subject, James Hamilton of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Esq., owner of a Tract of land whereon the Town of Lancaster, in the same Province, is erected, Hath, on behalf of the Inhabitants of said Town, represented unto our trusty and well beloved Thomas Penn, Esquire, one of the Proprietors of the said Province, and George Thomas, Esq., with our Royal Approbation—do grant and ordain that the streets of said borough shall ever continue as they are now laid out and regulated. And we do now nominate and appoint Thomas Cookson and Sebastion Grooffe to be present Burgesses; and that said Thomas Cookson shall be called Chief Burgess within said borough, and Michael Byerle, Mathias Young, John Dehuff, John Folkes, Abraham Johnston, and Peter Worrall, assistants for advising, aiding and assisting the said Burgesses in the execution of the powers and authorities herein given them.

The first meeting of the burgesses and their assistants in the borough of Lancaster was held on the 13th day of August, "in the year of our Lord 1742." According to the corporation book the first entry records the following action of the burgesses:

On receiving the charter from James Hamilton, and in regard for the great service done this town of Lancaster in procuring the same to be incorporated, it is unanimously agreed by the Burgesses and their assistants that they wait upon him and return him the thanks of the Corporation for his services. And also request him [in the absence of the Burgesses] to return their thanks to his Honor, the Governor, for the same.

It is taken into consideration that, by act of Assembly of this Province, made the fourth year in the reign of the late Queen Ann, for the observance of the Lord's Day, it is enacted, that no tradesmen, artificers, workmen, laborers or other persons whatever shall do or exercise any worldly business, or work of their ordinary calling on the Sabbath day, therein called the "First" day upon pain that every such offender forfeit twenty shillings to the use of the poor—Provided always, that nothing in said act extend to prohibit butchers from killing and selling their meat on that day in the months of June, July and August before the hour of nine in the morning, and after five in the afternoon—And that all constables are required to search every tavern, and if any persons are found drinking or "tippling" on the Sabbath, they are to be fined one shilling sixpense; and the keeper of such house or tavern, ten shilling for the same use with the proviso that travelers, inmates and lodgers may be supplied with their victuals, drinks for themselves only.

As the minutes continue:

But notwithstanding such act, it is only too customary for shopkeepers, tavernkeepers and others within the Borough to allow their ordinary callings on the Sabbath day—the shopkeepers by selling their goods to country people, and tavernkeepers by entertaining company—For the putting a stop to such practices for the future, it is ordered that the said act of Assembly be put into execution—And that the chief constable do publish this ordinance, and take due care that all offenders be brought to justice.

(Signed) George Sanderson,
Clerk of the Burgesses.

Thomas Cookson, the first chief burgess, came from England. In the robing room of St. James' Episcopal Church is a stone with the following inscription upon it: "Here are interred the Remains of Thomas Cookson (late of Richmond, in Yorkshire, Great Britain), Esquire. He held and discharged with integrity several of the first offices in this county of Lancaster and thereby, and by his generous Benefaction to this Church, as well as many good offices to his Neighbors, he deservedly acquired the esteem of mankind. He died the 20th day of March, 1753, aged 43 years."

Sebastian Graff (Grooffe), the first assistant burgess, was for many years prominent in the management of borough affairs. He owned the land where the Lancaster Cemetery is now located. Michael Bierly, another of the assistant burgesses, was regulator of the streets for several years. Peter Worrall, a Quaker, owned a house and lot on Centre square. He was elected to he Legislature in 1747, but resigned during the French and Indian War because he was conscientiously opposed to levying a tax to support military operations.

One of the most prominent figures in the early days of Lancaster borough was Edward Shippen, born at Boston in 1703, married to Sarah Plumley, in Philadelphia, in 1725; elected mayor of Philadelphia in 1744. In May, 1752, he moved to Lancaster, where he continued in the office of prothonotary until 1778. He was later made a county judge under the Provincial and State governments. He was one of the founders and early trustees of Princeton College. At an advanced age he died at Lancaster, and lies buried in the churchyard of St. James' Episcopal Church. His son, Edward Shippen, was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and in 1799 became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. One of his daughters became the wife of Benedict Arnold.

Lancaster continued as a borough for seventy-six years, from August 13, 1742, down to 1818. The following are the names of the chief burgesses who ruled over the destiny of the community for that period: Thomas Cookson, John Dehuff, Adam Simon Kuhn, Samuel Boude, John Hobson, James Bickham, William Bausman, James Burd, Michael Hubley, James Ralffe, William Atlee, Henry Dehuff, Paul Zantzinger, William Parr, Jacob Reigart, Henry Dering, Edward Hand, Adam Reigart, John Miller, William Reichenbach, Frederick Steinman, John Light, John Eberman, John Mesencop, Samuel Carpenter.

During these seventy-six years there were two hundred forty-eight assistant burgesses. Among these the following names stand out prominently: Sebastian Graff, James Webb, Peter Warrall, Luddwig Stone, Isaac Whitlelock, Philip Lenhere, Bernard Hubley, Michael Hubley, William Henry, Christian Voght, William Hamilton, Caleb Cope, Capser Shaffner, Charles Hall, George Ross, Jacob Kaegy, Frederick Kuhn, James Jacks, Adam Wilhelm, John Hubley, John Roberts, John Bausman, Philip Diffenderfer, Henry Pinkerton, Leonard Eicholtz, John Hoff, John Reitzel.

In going over the corporation books which served as a minute book of the burgomaster's clerk, Mr. William Riddle, a painstaking local historian, made note of the following entries which throw an interesting light upon the conditions of society in Lancaster borough in the eighteenth century. The following resolutions, passed by the burgomasters, are to the point:

> *Resolved,* As chapmen (peddlers), licensed to travel the county, have been violating the law by setting up stalls within the Corporation at times of fairs, election and court-days, in exposing their goods for sale, be it enacted that no persons except freemen, within the corporate limits of the borough of Lancaster, be permitted to display or offer their goods within this town, under penalty of five pounds to be levied by distress, and sale of the vender's goods for the use of the Corporation. And that the high constable see that this measure is carried into effect.
>
> *Resolved,* That any person within the limits of the town of two miles square who shall suffer his or her chimney to catch fire so as to flare out at the top, shall forfeit ten shillings for the use of the Corporation. And as to the burning of charcoal by blacksmiths, as this has become a nuisance and very offensive, it is ordered that no charcoal be permitted to be burned within a half mile of the town as already laid out under penalty of thirty shillings for each and every offence.
>
> WHEREAS, Frequent complaint has been made of farmers disposing of their cord wood and not giving sufficient measure, it is ordered that any cord wood so deficient in measure shall be sold for the benefit of the Corporation.
>
> It is also enacted that no firing of guns or other fire-arms loaded with bullet or shot be permitted within the inhabited parts of the town. This shall not be allowed until permission is first given. And
>
> WHEREAS, The evil consequences which formerly have arisen by people selling cider and spirituous liquors on the streets to persons in getting "drunk," be it ordered that whosoever shall expose cider, beer or intoxicants, at any time hereafter, shall pay a fine of twenty shillings for each and every offence. And
>
> WHEREAS, The assemblying of persons around the court house in playing ball, has resulted in a breech of the peace, to the injury of country people on horseback—for a violation of this order, five shillings shall be paid and collected by the clerk of the market.

During the French and Indian War, Benjamin Franklin was commissioned to secure hundreds of wagons and pack horses in order to oppose the French invasion of Pennsylvania. Many of these wagons and pack horses were obtained in Lancaster and were sent to General Braddock at Will's creek. When, after Braddock's defeat, the whole frontier was exposed to Indian molestation and the savages began to ravage both sides of the Susquehanna, a block house or wooden fort was built in Lancaster, and the cloisters of Ephrata were used as shelter for the white settlers whom the Indians drove from home.

So indignant were the people of Lancaster for a time over the neglect of the Provincial Assembly to adopt measures which would put a stop to Indian outrages that at a public meeting it was resolved that "they would repair to Philadelphia and compel the provincial authorities to pass proper laws to defend the country and oppose the enemy." It is said that the dead bodies of some of the victims of Indian massacre were sent to that city and hauled about the streets with placards announcing that these were victims of the policy of non-resistance. A mob surrounded the House of Assembly, placed the dead bodies in the doorway and demanded immediate relief for the people of the frontiers.

After a period of renewed Indian outrages, Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, held another council with the Indian Chiefs of the Six Nations at Lancaster in 1757. During the general alarm felt in the days of the French and Indian War people from all parts of Lancaster rallied under arms for the general defense and performed their duty on the border, many serving as officers and soldiers in the battalions which marched with Forbes and Bouquet to the Ohio. In this list of Lancaster county men who served in the French and Indian War are found the names of Shippen, Grubb, Atlee, Hambright, Reynolds, and a roll of five Presbyterian clergymen serving as chaplains.

The Scotch-Irish settlers in the Paxton and Donegal townships had suffered terribly from Indian outrages during the whole period of the French and Indian War. The Conestoga Indians, however, had not been at war with the whites. They were considered rather friendly. Bill Sock, a well-known Conestoga Indian, was probably an exception. In any case the Paxton boys, after vainly asking protection from the Governor and Provincial authorities, determined to strike terror into all Indians by exterminating the Conestoga tribe. On December 27, 1763, a band of sixty men called the Paxton boys came into Lancaster, stormed the jail and work house located at the northeast corner of West King and Prince streets, and mercilessly massacred the fourteen Indians confined there for protection. William Henry, Esq., describes the Paxton massacre to a friend in Philadelphia, in a letter which says:

> The first notice I had of the affair was when I saw a number of people running down the street toward the jail. About six or eight yards from there, we met from twenty-five to thirty men, well mounted on horses with rifles, tomahawks, and scalping-knives, equipped for murder. Running into the prison-yard, oh, what a horrid sight presented itself to my view! Near the back door of the prison lay an old Indian and his squaw. His name was Will Soc, and across their remains lay two children of about the age of three years whose heads were split open and their scalps taken off.
>
> After the Indians had been killed, all parties busied themselves to ascertain who was to blame. The burgesses were charged with remissness of duty, and the people with being in collusion and connivance with the Paxton men. But as history further shows, no convictions were the result.

In 1757 the corporation built the first market house. It was erected on the site below the City Hall, on West King street. A resolution was passed by the city fathers which stated that if any one was found selling or exposing for sale fish, flesh, fowl, or other market products at any other place than within the market house, other than on Wednesdays and Saturdays, he should forfeit the sum of fifteen shillings for each offense. In 1763 the burgesses ordered a hose house to be built on the northeast corner of market house, to contain three engines. In 1770 William Atlee became chief burgess, and continued in office for four years. The following minute from the corporation book is of interest:

> On the 17th day of September, 1770, William Atlee as Chief Burgess of the Borough of Lancaster did take and subscribe to the oath of allegiance, suppremacy and abjuration, and did also take his oath of office before Edward Shippen, Esquire, of the same Borough, appointed by the Hon. John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania by his Didimus Potestatem, to administer the oaths aforesaid—On the same day, 17th of September, 1770, William Atlee in pursuance of the powers to him given in and by the charter of the said Borough, did administer the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration to Christian Voght, Burgess, John Hobson, William Henry, George Mayer, Ludwick Lawman, Christian Boogh, assistants.

At the close of Burgess Atlee's term of office the minute book shows the following entry:

> In consideration of the services Mr. Atlee has done for the Borough in penning and preparing the above laws, and refusing to accept a draft on the Treasurer for the same, it is unanimously agreed (he having retired at the request of the other gentlemen present) that Mr. Henry Lowman and Mr. Hobson have some piece of plate made as shall be agreeable to Mrs. Atlee—genteel and not too expensive, and present the same to her as testimony of their approbation of Mr. Atlee's conduct in serving the Borough.

Following William Atlee, 1777, the office of chief burgess was held for four years by William Bausman, who was succeeded by Henry Dehuff and Michel Diffenderffer.

During the American Revolution, Lancaster took an earnest and patriotic part. With the enforcing of the Boston Port Bill which closed the port of that city, the resentment of every colonist in America was aroused. Among the first to take concerted action in response to this outrage were the people of the borough of Lancaster. A meeting of the inhabitants of the borough took place at the court house on June 15, 1774. Though still professing firm allegiance to His Most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, they passed strong resolutions to unite with all the other colonists to use the most effectual means to procure a repeal of the unjust acts of Parliament against the town of Boston. A committee of correspondence was appointed, consisting of Edward Shippen, Esq., George Ross, Esq., Jasper Yeates, Esq., Matthias Slough, Esq., James Webb, Esq., William Atlee, Esq., William Henry, Esq., Mr. Ludwig Lauman, Mr. William Bausman and Mr. Charles Hall.

At a later meeting held July 9, 1774, at which George Ross presided, the right of Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent was denied, and a call was issued for a close union of all the colonies to resist the oppressive acts of the British Parliament. The sum of £153 was collected for the relief of the people of Boston.

The people of Lancaster were dead in earnest in their determination to refuse importation of British goods. When two merchants were charged with violating the agreement made at that meeting by bringing in tea on which the duty had been paid, the committee at once began investigation and acquitted the men only after it was proved that no duty had been paid on tea, but that it had been seized at the Philadelphia custom house. On December

15, 1774, a Committee of Observation, consisting of seventy-six members, was elected at a meeting of the freeholders of the county held in the court house at Lancaster. The object of the committee was to see that the agreement not to import or export British goods was fully observed.

Six days after the battle of Lexington, news of the first bloodshed of the Revolution reached Lancaster. At once a meeting of the borough committee was called at the Grape Tavern. By May 1, 1775, it was resolved by the community that military companies be formed to defend our rights and liberties with our lives and fortunes. Within a week the formation of companies called "Associators" began. These troops fought throughout the whole War of Independence, in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. Col. Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen joined Washington's army at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in August, 1775. In this battalion were three officerc from Lancaster borough—Colonel Edward Hand, Lieutenants David Ziegler and Frederick Hubley. Captain Matthew Smith's company, of Lancaster, took part in the invasion of Canada in 1775. Many of Lancaster's troops endured the hardships of the encampment at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-78. Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley, of Lancaster, and the new 11th Pennsylvania Regiment formed part of Sullivan's famous expedition against the Indians in 1779.

On July 4, 1776, a military convention was held at Lancaster, composed of delegates from many Pennsylvania battalions of Associators for the purpose of forming a Flying Camp as directed by the Continental Congress. When the defeat of the army of the Americans at Brandywine, September 11, 1777, made it evident that General Washington could not prevent the victorious forces of General Howe from occupying Philadelphia, Continental Congress and the Executive Council of Pennsylvania took measures looking to an immediate removal to a place of safety. The British army, under General Howe, entered Philadelphia on the 27th of September. The last session of the Council prior to that event was held on the 23rd. Its next meeting was on Wednesday, October 1, at Lancaster, where its sessions continued to be held for nearly nine months, during which time the President of the Council, the Hon. Thomas Wharton, Jr., died. His body was interred in the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The Continental Congress remained in session in Philadelphia after the battle of Brandywine until the 18th of September, when it adjourned upon receiving a letter from Colonel Hamilton, one of General Washington's aides, which intimated the necessity of Congress leaving their place of deliberation. The members resolved at once to come to Lancaster, where they arrived on the 27th of September, the very day on which General Howe entered Philadelphia. The records and treasury were removed to Lancaster by way of Reading. One session of Congress was held here, but the members believing that they might be interrupted by the enemy, resolved to romove Congress to York.

Christopher Marshall's interesting diary gives us a delightful picture of war conditions in Lancaster during Revolutionary days. He writes:

> August 24, 1777. Wife and I stayed at home to keep the boys out of the orchard. (His home was on East Orange St.) After dinner I took a walk with Capt. Markoe to the barracks; stayed there till the English, Scotch and Irish prisoners, to the number of two hundred, marched out under a strong guard to Reading. August 25th: To the barracks; waited till our division of

Hession prisoners, consisting of three hundred and forty-five, marched out under a strong guard (with some women and baggage wagons, as the prisoners yesterday had done) for Lebanon. August 26th: News that Gen. Washington with half his army and light horse, passed through Philadelphia on First Day morning on their way to Wilmington, and that Howe with his fleet was seen off Eagle Point, but had not landed. On First Day morning the bellman went round this town, calling upon the inhabitants that had Hessian prisoners, to take them to the barracks and receive receipts for them, but very few obeyed. September 12th: I went into town, an alarm being spread that some of Howe's Light Horse had been seen at Pequea Church, about 18 miles from Lancaster. This set sundry people to pack up their goods and some sent them out of town into the country. Later we learned that the news of the morning was the lie of the day. September 17th: It is said that James Rankin who ran away last week from his habitation in York county on account of his being accused of forming a scheme to destroy all our magazines of ammunition, arms, tents, baggage, provisions, etc., in Lancaster, Carlisle, York, Reading, etc., was taken about sixteen miles from our enemies' camp, and secured, but where I could not learn. September 20th: We sat late conversing on these melancholy times. September 25th: Came into town President Hancock, and some others of the Delegates. September 29th: Took leave of sundry of the Congress, who were setting off for Yorktown. Many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia came (to Lancaster) to-day and yesterday, as did our President or Governor, the Executive Council and the members of Assembly, who met here this day in the Court House.

Many of the Hessians captured by Washington at Trenton and many others made prisoners by Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, were confined at Lancaster. Among the prisoners here was the unfortunate Major André. While here he signed a parole which read: "I, John André, being a prisoner in the United Colonies of America do, upon the honor of a gentleman, promise that I will not go into or near any seaport town, nor farther than six miles distant from Lancaster, without leave of the Continental Congress or the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, and that I will carry on no political correspondence whatever on the subject of the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies so long as I remain a prisoner." On these conditions he became a member of the household of Caleb Cope, on North Lime street, on the north side of Grant.

Not only prisoners of war, but a great many wounded American soldiers were brought to Lancaster from the battlefield of Brandywine. Over 500 were taken to Ephrata where 150 of them died.

The story of Lancaster's part in the American Revolution would not be complete without reference to Lancaster's signer of the Declaration of Independence, George Ross. This son of an Episcopal clergyman, born in Newcastle, Delaware, settled in Lancaster in 1751 and became prosecutor for the King. He became a representative in the Pennsylvania Assembly and later was elected to Congress. That Lancaster appreciated the services of George Ross is evidenced by the fact that at a public meeting held in the borough it was resolved that £150 be presented to George Ross, and that he use the same to purchase "a genteel piece of plate, ornamented as he thinks proper, to remain with him as a testimony of the esteem this county has for him, by reason of his patriotic conduct in the great struggle for American liberty." Mr. Ross graciously and modestly declined this liberal and honorable present. A few months after he signed the Declaration of Independence, ill health compelled him to leave Congress.

When the Ross farm, now known as Rossmere, was laid out into town lots, the old Ross mansion was torn down. It stood on Ross street between Shippen and Plum streets. The site is marked by a pillar and tablet erected by the proprietors of Rossmere, and presented to the Lancaster County Historical Society on June 4, 1897. The tablet bears the following inscription, "Here stood the house of George Ross, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, born 1730, died 1779, Lawyer, Statesman, Patriot." A stained glass window in St. James' Church also commemorates his memory.

Another son of Lancaster who brought distinction to his native soil in Revolutionary days was David Ramsay, the historian. Born in Lancaster county in 1749 he began the practice of medicine in South Carolina, where he ardently espoused the cause of the patriots, became active in the provisional free government and when the Revolutionary War broke out he became a surgeon in the military service. He was among the prisoners captured in Charleston in 1780, and was closely confined to the fort at St. Augustine. Dr. Ramsay was a member of Congress from 1782 to 1786 and was president of that body for a year. Both his "History of the Revolution in South Carolina" and his "History of the American Revolution" were translated into the French language and published in France. He also wrote and published a "Life of Washington" and a "History of the United States" to the close of the colonial period. Dr. Ramsey, because of his intimate associations with General Green, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington possessed greater facilities for procuring materials for the history of the Revolution than any other individual in the United States.

William Henry was another of Lancaster's distinguished sons in Revolutionary days. For many years he conducted a gun factory at the southeast corner of Centre square. He became one of the most active men of Lancaster to espouse the cause of the colonies. He was engaged by the general committee of safety to manufacture and repair arms for the Continental army. During the Revolution the house of Mr. Henry was a place of resort for men of culture and prominence. While the British held Philadelphia, David Rittenhouse, the philosopher, then State Treasurer; Thomas Paine, author of the "Rights of Man;" John Hart, a member of the Executive Council, were guests at the house of Mr. Henry. It was during the time that Thomas Paine was stopping at the house of Mr. Henry that he wrote No. 5 of his celebrated political treatises, the "Crisis." Mr. Henry was commissary of the regiment of troops raised in Lancaster county, and was destined to reinforce Arnold at Boston. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1786. It was said of him that he first recognized in the youthful Benjamin West a genius of high order, and that he suggested to West his first masterpiece, "The Death of Socrates." When West confessed that he knew nothing of Socrates, Mr. Henry went to his library and took down a volume of the English translation of Plutarch and convinced the artist of the fitness of the theme which afterwards made West famous.

Judge John Joseph Henry was the son of William Henry. In the fall of 1775 he secretly joined a regiment raised in Lancaster county for the purpose of joining Arnold, who at that time was stationed at Boston. When the boy was but seventeen years of age, his regiment entered Canada and endured hardships there which young Henry has immortalized in his history of the campaign against Quebec. He was later appointed by Governor Mifflin judge of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania, and held the position for seventeen years.

The most widely-known military figure of Lancaster during the Revolution was General Edward Hand. This native of Ireland, surgeon in the Royal Irish regiment, sailed with his regiment from Cork in 1767 and arrived at Philadelphia. In 1774 he came with a recommendation to Lancaster in order to practice his profession. In 1775 he entered the Continental service. In 1777 he was chosen colonel of the first regiment of Pennsylvania riflemen, famous for its exploits during the Revolution. He was raised to the grade of brigadier-general and subsequently to that of adjutant-general. He fought in the battles of Trenton and Long Island. He succeeded General Stark in command at Albany in 1778 and accompanied General Sullivan in the expedition against the Six Nations in 1780. He was a member of Continental Congress in 1784 and 1785. A man of soldierly presence, a fine horseman, an able commander, General Hand was a distinguished figure. His home, "Rockford," still stands on the Conestoga river in the southeastern part of the city. Under the roof of this hospitable mansion, many of the soldiers and civilians famous in the early annals of our nation found shelter and congenial companionship.

Edward Hand was elected chief burgess of Lancaster in 1789. It is from a famous letter that he wrote during this period that we get our real light on the status of Lancaster at the time our national government came into existence. He put forth the claims of Lancaster for the honor of the nation's capitol. It must be born in mind that Lancaster in 1789 was the largest inland town in the United States. General Hand wrote to Congress:

> Should the general interests of the Union point out an inland, central situation as preferable to a seaport for the future residence of your Honorable Body, We humbly offer ourselves as candidates for that distinguished honor. As an inland town, we do not consider ourselves inferior to any within the Dominion of the United States. The Borough of Lancaster is a square encompassing a portion of ground one mile in length from the centre (the court house) by the main streets which intersect at right angles. We have five public buildings, including an elegant court house, fifty by forty-eight feet. There are several places of worship besides a temporary synagogue, belonging to the respective societies of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutherans, Reformed Church of Heidelberg, Moravian, Quakers and Catholics. Within the compass of the borough an enumeration of dwellings was actually taken in 1786 and the number thein built was 678. Many of the houses are large and elegant, and would in our idea, accommodate Congress and their suite at this period without inconvenience. Boarding and lodging are to be had at very easy rates. According to the best computation we can make there are within this borough about 4,200 souls.
>
> The industries of the town are (1789)—14 hatters, 36 shoemakers, 4 tanners, 17 saddlers, 25 tailors, 22 butchers, 25 weavers, 25 blacksmiths, 12 public bakers, 30 carpenters, 11 coopers, 6 dyers, 7 gunsmiths, 5 ropemakers, 5 tinners, 2 brass founders, 3 skindressers, 1 brushmaker, 7 turners, 7 nailors, 5 silversmiths, 3 potters, 3 coppersmiths, 3 breweries, 3 brickyards, 3 printing presses, and 40 houses of public entertainment within the borough.

The old log court house at Center square, erected in 1730, was destroyed by fire in 1781. A second structure, built of brick, was erected on the same site in 1783. The latter is described as follows:

> It was quadrangular in shape, two stories high, with four gables, and large bell, surmounted with a steeple in which was placed a good clock with four faces and time-piece, which struck out the hours of day and night. There was a door in the center of each front, facing entrance to the four principal streets. The door on the North Queen Street front was never opened, that part being occupied by the Judges' Bench. The west door was opened only when there was a great crowd; the east door was used principally by lawyers and court officers.

In 1794 the movement was begun which resulted in the building of city hall. The corporation of Lancaster granted a spot of ground (part of the ground alloted for a market place), the same to be used for the erection of public buildings. The court concurred with the grand jury on this matter of erecting public buildings on the site of the market house. The burgesses agreed that the public offices should be erected on the east end of the market house site. At the time the burgesses met a committee from the F. and A. M., No. 43, requested the privilege of erecting a superstructure upon the market house for the use of the Free Mason lodge. The following proposals were handed to the corporation by the committee:

> The Corporation to erect pillars and arches sufficiently strong to support the superstructure and roof, which pillars and arches are to be at the expense of the Corporation; the Lodge to build the superstructure and roof the building from floor and ceiling; the Corporation to grant the right to erect this superstructure and the direction of its uses of it to such trustees as may be appointed by the Lodge—But a room shall always be reserved for the use of the meetings of the Corporation—All other public uses of the rooms to be at the option of the Lodge.
>
> If the Corporation should think it proper to erect pillars in the Square, beyond the extent of the main market building for the use of the country market people, the Lodge will extend the roof over the same, floor, ceil, paint and finish it in a neat manner. [This was never done.]
>
> We on the part of the Lodge and on the part of the Corporation agree to the above proposals—By order of the Corporation: Paul Zantzinger, C. B. By order of the Lodge: C. Smith, Henry Dering, John Miller, Jr., L. Lauman.
>
> At a meeting, March 22 following, at the house of Philip Diffenderfer, the erection of the market house being under consideration, it is agreed that the market house shall be built agreeably to the proposals this day signed by the Chief Burgess on the part of the Borough, and on the part of the Mason's Lodge, No. 43, by Charles Smith, John Miller, Jr., Lewis Lauman and Henry Deering:
>
> Agreed that Paul Zantzinger, John Hubley and Jacob Krug or any two of them are appointed to procure materials and workmen for the building of the above mentioned market house, in conjunction with any person or persons that the Lodge 43 will appoint for the same purpose.

The result was that the market house was erected in 1798, including the superstructure which was to be used as a lodge room. The ownership of the present city hall was a bone of contention down to 1847. It was occupied by prominent State officials until 1854. For a long time councils tried to get possession of it, and finally purchased it from the county.

In the spring of 1791, George Washington, then President of the new Union of the United States, left his home in Philadelphia to make a tour through all the Southern States. On his return he stopped at Lancaster. His visit fell on the fifteenth anniversary of American Independence, so on July 4, 1791, he joined with our city fathers in the celebration of that important event. Although much feted and elaborately entertained by public demonstrations, Washington found time in the afternoon to visit his old friends, General and Mrs. Hand, at their home, "Rockford."

On the 14th of December, 1799, when George Washington died, there was a solemn procession through the streets of Lancaster as soon as the news arrived here. While the entire nation was mourning the loss of Washington, the State of Pennsylvania was called upon to lament the death of its first Governor, Thomas Mifflin. This splendid ex-Governor and Quaker general of the Revolutionary army died in Lancaster, while serving as a member of the Legislature, this city being then the capital of the State. Mifflin was buried on the 22nd of January, 1800, just outside the west wall of Trinity Church, beneath the humble tablet placed there, at a later date, to transmit his memory and mark his resting place.

Lancaster was the capital of Pennsylvania from 1799 to 1812, when the State Capital was removed to Harrisburg. The State Legislature met in the court house, which at that time was also known as the State House. The present court house at the corner of East King and Duke streets is the third court house Lancaster has had. Even before the first one was built, the courts were held at different taverns. The first court house was begun in 1736 and finished in 1739. It was a two-story brick structure and stood in the center of the square where the soldiers' monument now stands. The floor was laid with brick. There was a steeple on it and about 1756 a clock was placed in the belfry. This court house was destroyed by fire in 1784. A new and more imposing structure was at once built on the site of the one destroyed. It was in this second court house that the State Legislature met. The third and present court house was built in 1852 and completed in 1854.

During the War of 1812 a large number of soldiers from Lancaster county entered the service. When there was a general apprehension that the British were preparing to invade Maryland and Delaware, a Lancaster county battalion of several companies marched to Elkton, Maryland. Among the troops on that expedition was the Lancaster Phalanx commanded by Captain James Humes. Captain John Hubley also commanded a company from Lancaster. During the British invasion of Maryland and attack on Baltimore, Governor Simon Snyder called out the militia of Lancaster and neighboring counties to the number of 5,000 men. The capture and burning of Washington brought out many volunteers from Lancaster county, but the services of many of the troops were not required for actual fighting.

On petition of the citizens, Lancaster after a period of seventy-six years under burgess rule, was incorporated as a city by a charter granted by Act of the State Legislature in 1818. The meeting of the burgesses which for three-quarters of a century had been held at the house of one Jacob Frey, forthwith ceased. Fifteen members of Common Council and nine members of Select Council were elected, and John Passmore became the first mayor of the newly incorporated city of Lancaster. The Old had passed away and there was great promise for the New.

Lancaster City Incorporated—Lancaster was incorporated as a city on March 20, 1818. The Act of Incorporation passed by the General Assembly in March, went into effect May 13 of the same year. John Passmore was appointed by Governor Snyder as the first mayor. The first Council was composed of the following named gentlemen: Select Council—John Hubley, Samuel Humes, Robert Coleman, William Jenkins, William Kirkpatrick, Samuel Slaymaker, John F. Steinman, Jacob Lemon and William Dickson. Common Council—Adam Reigart, Jeremiah Mosher, Jacob Scherer, George Musser, Jacob Duchman, Jacob Eicholtz, Luke Brown, George Brungart, Ingham Wood, John Reynolds, Philip Heitshu, John Weaver, John Burger, Jasper Y. Smith and John Christ.

The city charter creating Lancaster as a new corporation to succeed the old borough established by James Hamilton in 1742, declares in the language of the State "that the inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster, in the county of Lancaster as the same extends and is now incorporated, are hereby constituted a corporation and body politic by the name and style of the mayor, alderman and citizen of Lancaster.

When Lancaster was incorporated as a city, it had about 1,600 taxables and a population of between 6,000 and 7,000 souls. The central feature of Lancaster in 1818 was the court house in Centre square. From this court house there radiated the several streets as one still finds them to-day. At the northeast corner of West King and Prince streets was the branch Bank of Philadelphia, which had been opened in 1803. On East King street was to be found the Farmers' Bank of Lancaster. This property at the corner of Duke and East King streets had been purchased from Mr. Philip Reigart in 1814. The Demuth tobacco store, the oldest of its kind in the United States, had been doing business at 114 East King street since 1770. Just a few doors west of the Farmers' Bank, J. F. Heinitsh was advertising "Fresh and Genuine Drugs and Medicines, Dye Stuffs." John Frederick Steinman was conducting the hardware store on West King street, which had been opened as far back at 1744, and which is still in existence. Across the street, C. Hager and Co. was advertising "Fresh Fall Goods, Queensware and Groceries." On West King street the Lancaster "Journal" was printed by John Reynolds. On East King street, the Pennsylvania "Gazette" was published every Tuesday by Hugh Maxwell; books and stationery were also for sale at the "Gazette" office. The Lancaster "Intelligencer" was published weekly on North Queen street by William Dickson. Books, pamphlets and handbills were to be had at the Lancaster "Journal" office, sign of Franklin's Head, West King street.

The most pretentious building in the community was probably the four-story stone house commonly called the Lancaster cotton factory, seventy by forty feet, on the Conestoga creek, one mile from the center of the city. George Hoff advertised himself as clock and watch maker on East King street, while his wife sold an assortment of leghorn and straw bonnets for ladies, in the same store. Hats and shoes could be bought on West King street next door to the Sign of the Lamb. On the northeast corner of Centre square, next door to the post-office, John Getz, the coppersmith, sheet iron and tin plate worker, sold stills, copper and brass kettles. A starch factory had been started by John W. Field, just arrived from England. This factory was opened in the house next to that formerly occupied by Dr. Daly. John Riddle had a barber and hairdressing establishment next door but one west of Mr. Slaymaker's inn on East King street. Hoffnagle and Hubley, commission merchants, were to be found on North Queen street, near the court house. John Moderwel, coach and harness maker, was located at King and Lime streets. At the southeast corner of Centre square, Ober and Kline were selling fresh juniper berries and dyestuffs. John Doersh, bookbinder and paperhanger, was located on South Queen street, directly opposite Robert Wilson's tavern. George Bomberger's store was to be found on East King street, three doors below the Sign of the Ship, nearly opposite the house of Dr. Abraham Carpenter. Mr. McMillan, on North Queen street, near the court house, was handling spectacles and whips. Augustus J. Kuhn informed the citizens of Lancaster that he had just procured machinery for preparing seltzer and soda waters. The principal improvement "consists in extracting the atmospheric air from the water, rendering it more salubrious and pleasant." Soda with syrup, six and one-quarter cents; soda, plain, three cents. Another ambitious business man informed the inhabitants of Lancaster that he had just returned from Philadelphia with the latest fashions, and that he could make a suit of clothes in five hours, if required. One of the stores advertised superior quills and neat small pewter inkstands. Thus it is seen that there were a goodly number of stores in Lancaster in 1818.

A number of private schools were in existence in Lancaster during this period. Many of them were of a rather primitive nature. A self-appointed teacher would advertise, for example, that "he proposed to teach the young ladies and gentlemen of the community the polite art of writing." Another offered to teach the art of penmanship in verse, and English grammar to be imparted in verse. John Webb opened his school April 3 on South Queen street, and offered to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, bookkeeping, geography; terms of tuition per quarter were two and three dollars. Edward Clark, long a teacher in Philadelphia, opened a school in September on North Prince street. Mr. Williams had a penmanship and drawing academy on North Queen street. A Mr. and Mrs. Quinan opened an English and French school. A special school for young ladies was conducted by Sarah Armstrong on Queen street, second square north of the court house. The Thomas School for young children was to be found "half a square east of Metzgar's Tavern." A circulating library was conducted by Miss Jordan in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Joseph Smith, coachmaker, East King street; the library fee was three dollars a year. Franklin College seems at this period to have been in a more or less moribund condition. Within a few years, however, the Lancaster County Academy was founded, which once more gave Lancaster a classical school. A lot of ground was procured at the northeast corner of Orange and Lime streets on which the academy building was erected. The Lancaster County Academy was later merged in Franklin College.

In speaking of the early schools of Lancaster, of course mention must be made of the Moravian schools of Lititz, of the Seventh Day Advent schools of Ephrata, of the Episcopal Church School at Caernarvon, of the Presbyterian classical schools in Salisbury, Donegal and Drumore, and of the parochial schools of other denominations. A public school on what was known as the Lancaster plan was opened in the city of Lancaster in 1823. It was considered an institution of high repute in its day. General Lafayette visited it when he was lionized in Lancaster in 1825. The building is still used to-day for school administrative purposes. It stands at the corner of West Chestnut and Prince streets.

Young people seem to have had plenty of amusement in Lancaster in 1818. There were always the simple games that our forefathers knew—corner ball, rail pitching, sledge tossing and quoits. Then there were the singing schools during the winter. For those who were more frivously inclined there were the balls and the cotillion parties. Then there was the annual festival of harvest home, "where the sons and daughters of freedom and those who are friendly to innocent pleasure and festive gaity are invited. The tavern-keepers," so reads the notice, "have provided themselves with everything that can render the hilarity of the day agreeable." Or there was what was known as the yearly market, when long rooms were cleared for the lightsome dance, and a goodly assortment of gingerbread, raisins, figs and pickled oysters were served to festive guests. Or one could attend the Lancaster Theatre on Orange street. One of the plays given in the Lancaster Theatre was called "Point of Honor," or a "School for Soldiers." In the third act there was a military procession preparatory to the execution of a deserter. After the three acts of this melodrama, there was a musical farce in two acts, called "Lock and Key," with songs and duets. Two songs that were sung were entitled "When Freedom on the Foaming Main;" and "When Left to Themselves, Girls are Mischievous Elves." The doors opened at 6.30 and the curtain rose at 7.00.

Or, if the devotee of pleasure in the second and third decade of the nineteenth century in Lancaster wanted to see something even more exciting, he could go to the Lancaster Museum and see the "Wonders of Nature and Art." This institution was brilliantly illuminated on Tuesday and Friday nights, the nights of illumination. There for twelve cents and a half, he could see shells from the West Indies, and a number collected by the proprietor, John Landis, "on his late visit to the sea-shore." Aquatic and other birds, fish "well worth the attention of the curious," insects some of which were singularly interesting, a large elk, a wild cat, an African ape and a bear added to the value of the museum. There were also a number of wax figures depicting Biblical scenes. The fatal duel between Decatur and Barron was staged in wax, the group representing the parties immediately after they had fired, Decatur mortally wounded in the arms of his friend Colonel Bainbridge, and Barron dangerously wounded in the arms of Captain Elliott. In place of "movies" they had a magic lantern show, advertised as a "Phantasmagoria." Opposite the Lancaster Museum was Allen's Lottery and Exchange Office. Here tickets could be bought and shares in a variety of numbers of the Grand State Lottery. On Washington's Birthday the lottery distributed the sum of $250,000, including a first prize of $100,000.

The means of transportation was by stage coach. A line connected Chambersburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, Lancaster and Philadelphia. The stage left Red Lion Market House, Philadelphia, at half past six in the morning for Lancaster, and another left Mr. Cooper's sign of the Red Lion for Philadelphia every morning at half past six. Three times a week the stage left Mr. Cooper's for Harrisburg and the following days left Mr. Schock's Harrisburg for Lancaster at seven in the morning. The fare from Philadelphia to Lancaster and from Lancaster to Harrisburg was two dollars.

The winter of 1821 was considered a hard winter. One citizen writes: "That the times are hard, the taxes heavy, money scarce and that the improvement of the city ought not to stand still are truths which we admit." The Lancaster Benevolent Society in acknowledging a rather modest contribution in November, 1821, says: "At a time like the present, when we are surrounded with so much sickness and distress, and such repeated applications are made to charitable citizens, the society felt a delicacy in obtruding themselves upon the notice of the public, and they almost began to despair of being able to provide any flannel or wood for the approaching winter."

The accounts of the treasurer of the city of Lancaster, George Weizel, show that from January, 1821, to January, 1822, he received a total of $3,600.92, of which sum $12 was received for licenses granted for exhibiting strange animals, $118 for butchers on account of shamble rent, $6.08 from clerk of market, for butter underweight seized and sold. The expenditures consisted of pay for night watchmen, rattles for use of night watchmen, lamp-posts, wicks, torch yarn, fuel for watch boxes, paving gutters and footwalks, painting and lettering index boards.

What was known as the American System of Henry Clay was making itself felt all over the nation just one hundred years ago. It was a demand for home manufacture. That demand was echoed in Lancaster in the following statement found in one of the Lancaster newspapers of that period: "We continue to purchase manufactures from Europe because we think we can buy them cheaper than make them. This policy cannot last. The period is rapidly hastening when we will be obliged to abridge our wants or supply them from other resources. We will have to work our own iron mines, grow and manufacture our own wool and flax and by these means create employment for our citizens and a home market for our agricultural products." This demand for home manufactured products made itself strongly felt in Lancaster at an early date.

There was another way in which patriotism manifested itself a hundred years ago. That was by the public demonstrations of the military companies. Throughout the city and the county there were to be found many military organizations, frequent parades, and annual election of captain and lieutenants. There was the Leacock Phalanx, the City Guards, the Lancaster Greens, the volunteers and enrolled militia composing the First Brigade of the Fourth Division of Pennsylvania, the Strasburg Independent Blues, the Lancaster County Light Dragoons, the Volunteer Troop of Cavalry formed in the bounds of the 35th Regiment, and the Union Troop. These State and local military companies were necessary. For in January, 1820, the whole United States army consisted of only 8,184 men.

The Fourth of July celebrations were the occasion for wonderful demonstrations and enthusiastic banquets in those days. In George Washington's diary there is an interesting account of a Fourth of July he spent in Lancaster 130 years ago. He arrived here from York at 6 o'clock on the evening of July 3, escorted from Wright's Ferry by General Hand and many of the principal characters of Lancaster. It was a rare honor for Lancaster to entertain His Excellency, The President of the United States, on the Anniversary of American Independence. Washington wrote in his diary: "At Lancaster: July 4, 1791. This being the Anniversary of American Independence and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for the celebration of it. In the forenoon I walked about the town. At half past 2 o'clock I received and answered an address from the Corporation and the Compliments of the Clergy of different denominations—dined between 3 and 4 o'clock—drank tea with Mrs. Hand." According to Claypoole's "Daily Advertiser," "At three o'clock President Washington and a very large number of citizens sat down to an elegant entertainment, provided for the occasion, in the hourt-house."

The following are a few records of Independence Day celebrations one hundred years ago. The "Paradise Hornet"—strange to find a hornet in Paradise—records that the "Union Troop of Cavalry, commanded by Captain J.

Moore, met at the house of Mr. Isaac Smoker, on the turnpike, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of American Independence, where they partook of an elegant repast. After the cloth was removed toasts, accompanied by cheers and plaudits of the company were drank, when the members of the company returned to their respective homes in perfect harmony."

The toasts drank on the Fourth of July of each year were generally considered as indication of popular feeling on political subjects. One of the cleverest toasts ran something like this: "The Army which never pulled a trigger or pushed a bayonet against the rights of man—the Army of the United States." Another to the fair sex ran: "Let them give us their affections, and we will protect them with our arms." Among the toasts given at the Fourth of July banquet of the Lancaster County Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Diller, was one to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which was worded thus: "While taking care of themselves may they not forget to take care of volunteers and militia. Lexington and New Orleans have proved their worth." Two other toasts ran as follows: "Lancaster County, The Garden of America, May her agriculturalists reap the benefit of their labors." "Kosciusko of Poland, De La Fayette of France and Washington of America, a trio of freemen engaged in the cause of American Independence."

Fourth of July was really the great day of the year. When the clock struck seven a merry peal from the cotton factory bell proclaimed the breakfast hour. In a little time, discharge of cannon and volleys of musketry followed. Then came martial music and the parades. At one o'clock dinner with copious libations.

These dinners were usually held at some of the numerous taverns which had helped to give Lancaster a far spread fame for hospitality. There was the Indian Queen, the Black Horse, the Sign of the Fox Chase, Cross Keys, Rising Sun, Sign of the Lamb, Sign of the Wagon, The Swan, the Leopard, the Grape, Sign of the Anchor. Lancaster had many famous hostelries in the olden days. The landlords and innkeepers were often men of prominence and intelligence. During the Revolution the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and the Committee of Correspondence and Observation met at "The Grape Inn." Tradition also says that Washington was a guest at the "Grape" when in Lancaster. Buchanan always made it his headquarters. The "Cross Keys" was the resort of the Quakers. Lafayette stopped at the "State Arms," of which Henry Slaymaker was proprietor.

These are some of the elements entering into the life of the city of Lancaster in the first years after her municipal birth. "A map of busy life, its fluctuations and its vast concerns"—this was the motto of the newspaper in those comparatively quiet times. Life was neither busy nor were the concerns vast. And yet men laid solid foundations in those earlier days in business, education, religion and government, for the development of what was destined to become an influential city. When the Federal census of 1820 was taken the population was 6,633; ten years later it was 7,704; in 1840 it moved up to 8,417; and another decade found it 12,369. In 1860 the population had advanced to 17,603; in 1870 to 20,233; in 1880 to 25,769.

Within a few years after Lancaster became a city there were marked signs of public improvement. In 1823 the following ordinance was passed: "From and after July 1 it shall be the duty of the inhabitants of the city of Lancaster to pave their sidewalks with brick." From this time on there are frequent records of the building of bridges and grading, turnpiking, paving and the extension of streets. The streets, of course, kept their English names, relics of royalty, King, Queen, Prince, Duke. It is an interesting fact that in 1846 a resolution was adopted by Councils "to consider the propriety of altering the names of the streets of the city so as to give them more of an American or republican stamp." But the change was never made.

The beginning to secure a regular water system for the city was made in 1822. Efforts were made for several years to discover a water supply. A committee was appointed to "search for water." In 1829 the Lancaster Water Company was incorporated, and in 1831 a number of progressive and public-spirited citizens seeing that nothing was being accomplished urged the formation of a new company and the trial of a new plan. A town meeting was held and the appointment of an engineer urged, but still nothing was definitely accomplished until 1836, when the mayor was authorized to borrow seventy thousand dollars in order to carry the project into effect. Eight acres of land at the east end of King street were bought as a sight for a reservoir, contracts were entered into for building a dam, trenches were dug in the streets, pipes laid, and by February, 1837, water was brought into the city. In 1851 another reservoir was built, in 1882 a standpipe was erected for serving the higher parts of the city, and since then continuous improvements in the way of pumping stations and filtering plant have made the Lancaster Water Works a credit to the city and adequate to its needs.

In days of yore a man's loyalty to his fire company was one of his chief sources of interest. There is a reference as far back as 1744 to the use of ladders, hooks and buckets in the extinguishing of fires. In 1761 an engine house stood on West King street, between Water and Mulberry streets. In 1765 the burgesses agreed that a house be erected to contain three fire engines on the northwest corner of the market house. At the suggestion of the committees of the three fire companies, the Sun, Union and Friendship, an engine was imported from England. Active and public-spirited citizens did their best to defend the town from fire, in spite of crude and ineffective implements. Volunteer fire companies were in existence for over a century and formed the center of a great deal of the social and political life of the citizens of the community. There was great rivalry as to the honor of priority between them. The quarterly banquets, which after 1830 were changed into yearly banquets, were fixed institutions in Lancaster for many years. In 1820 the Washington Company was organized, in 1836 the American, in 1839 the Humane, in 1852 the Shiffler, in 1856 the Empire. In 1882 a paid city fire department was substituted for the volunteer system, and has since kept pace in equipment and efficiency with the development of the city and the needs of modern life.

Among the great events of historical note in Lancaster in early days was the visit of General Lafayette. The citizens of Lancaster, not behind the rest of the nation in the expression of their gratitude toward this illustrious defender of liberty, invited him when he came to the United States in 1824-25 to honor their city by a visit. On July 27, 1825, he came to Lancaster and was elaborately entertained by the people. In the morning of the halcyon day

General Lafayette was met in Chester county by a committee of citizens from Lancaster. "Three elegant barouches, each drawn by four fine horses, had been secured for conducting the General and his suite to Lancaster." As he entered Lancaster county he was received by an escort of cavalry and formally welcomed as the guest of the county. Two miles east of Lancaster city a battalion of city infantry and the "Strasburg Blues" received him. Young men with sashes and badges and cockades ranged under separate banners, troops of citizens on horseback, farmers with ears of wheat in their hats as emblems of plenty, thousands of citizens of all ages, joined in the welcome. There was a salute of thirteen guns as he entered the city and the band played "Hail Columbia."

On King street an immense floral arch had been erected. At the corner of King and Duke streets, Lafayette was saluted by fifty veterans of the Revolution, lined up on a platform in front of the Farmers' Bank. The historian says, "As the General gazed on the veterans he said, 'These are the wrecks of that gallant band that in the vigor of youth and full strength of manhood, stood by me, side by side in the hour of their country's peril: That country—that grateful country—will smooth the pillow of their declining years.'" On another arch on King street was inscribed, "Hail, Friend of Liberty" and "Brandywine, 1776—Yorktown 1781." There were a number of arches on West King street, some of them decorated with portraits of Washington, Wayne, Hand, Montgomery and Franklin. The procession then moved to Franklin College on the west side of North Queen street, between Lemon and James, the same building formerly known as "The Old Store House," built by the State of Pennsylvania early in the Revolutionary period for the housing of military supplies. From there Lafayette went to the hotel where he was welcomed by Mayor Lightner and given a dinner prepared by the ladies of Lancaster. In the evening a complimentary ball was given in his honor in Masonic Hall. He left the ball to attend a dinner given to him by the veterans of 1776 at the house of Leonard Eichholtz. There Lafayette drank a toast to the memory of General Washington and then to the memory of Generals Warren, Montgomery, Mercer, Nash, Greene, Hand, Wayne, Gates, St. Clair, Morgan and "our departed female patriots." Next morning Lafayette visited the Lancastrian School at Prince and Chestnut streets and was greeted by several hundred boys and girls, who arose and sang as he entered the door,

Hero Hail! all hail to thee
Champion of our liberty.

Later Lafayette dined with George Ross, son of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, who lived at the northwest corner of Prince and Prague streets. At four o'clock he went to the court house and was given another banquet by a hundred citizens "in the same room in which General Washington dined on his visit to the city." After a number of toasts to Lancaster and a variety of patriotic themes, Lafayette concluded with a classic toast to "Our Fair Countrywomen:"

Woman, the happiest pledge of Heaven's good will,
Woman, the perfect picture of its skill;
Woman, who all our noblest thoughts employs,
Woman, the center of all earthly joys.

The next day he left for Baltimore on an elegant traveling carriage drawn by four gray horses, after which he went to Washington, where he was the guest of the President of the United States. When the death of Lafayette occurred in 1834, no community felt the loss more keenly than did Lancaster. City council ordered its halls to be draped in mourning for a period of six months.

It was during the period under consideration that rapid improvements were made in transportation which finally ended in bringing the railroad to Lancaster. In very early days, of course, pack horses were used as a means of transportation. The bridle paths were usually Indian trails. These were soon superseded by the King's highways, one of the most important of which was the "great road" from Philadelphia to Lancaster. Then came the turnpike period with the incorporation in 1792 of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company, and for a time the travel by stage line became enormous. This turnpike to Philadelphia, 62 miles long, was one of the earliest and most important enterprises in the State, and was the first road of the kind made in the United States. There were sixty taverns on the route between Lancaster and Philadelphia, almost one for every mile.

This, too, was the period of the Conestoga wagon. It is not known who first made a Conestoga wagon, but it is given to Lancaster county to claim the honor. The wonderful breed of horses raised here, powerful draught horses, and the unique canvas-covered wagons were the special pride of the owners. The Conestoga wagon of the Revolution and post-Revolution period, known as "The Ship of Inland Commerce," was said to be far superior to anything of that date in England. Witmer's bridge, which was erected in 1799, and spans the Conestoga a short distance east of the city, was one of the direct wagon routes from Philadelphia to the west part of Pennsylvania. The ponderous Conestoga team was superseded by the canal boat and railway car. Previous to this change the turnpike presented a busy scene—an almost unbroken procession of these wagons, "each of them drawn by six strong large horses, and many of the teams having a row of bells hanging over the collar of each horse." After the loss of their occupation, because of the inroads and canals and railroads, the wagoners got up a song which ran as follows:

> Oh, it's once I made money by driving my team,
> But now all is hauled on the railroad by steam,
> May the devil catch the man that invented the plan,
> For it ruined us poor wagoners, and every other man.

Then came the experiment of the Conestoga Navigation Company, a canal scheme to use the waters of the Conestoga for receiving and sending goods to Baltimore and Philadelphia. By means of nine locks and slackwater pools, communication eighteen miles in length was secured from Lancaster to Safe Harbor on the Susquehanna at the mouth of the Conestoga. By means of the tidewater canal to Port Deposit a navigable communication was opened to Baltimore. This work was completed in 1829. Reigart's landing was a busy place in those days. Pleasure and packet boats, some sixty and seventy feet long, drawn by horses, conveyed passengers and merchandise to and from lock to lock.

The slow and safe transportation by packet boat was soon displayed by the coming of the railroad. As early as 1826 the State Legislature granted a charter for the Columbia, Lancaster & Philadelphia railroad. Preliminary surveys were made by Major Wilson and Joshua Scott, of Lancaster, who was considered one of the best civil engineers and draughtsmen in the State. By 1828 the engineers reported they had located twenty miles of the road east from Columbia, running in an almost straight line from Little Conestoga to Big Conestoga creek, by way of what is now known as the "Cut-off." Progressive citizens protested, obtained an appropriation of sixty thousand dollars from the State and had the survey changed so as to have the railroad run through Lancaster. The change necessitated the building of several important bridges. On the last day of March, 1834, three passenger coaches drawn by horses arrived at Columbia from Lancaster, and three days thereafter the locomotive made its first trip. On the day appointed for the opening of the road from Columbia to Philadelphia, Governor Wolf, members of the Legislature and other distinguished guests arrived at Columbia by way of canal from Harrisburg. "The cars were in waiting," says the historian, "with locomotive attached and steam up. The cars were taken to Lancaster in one hour. When the distinguished party passed over the road from Lancaster to Philadelphia on April 16, 1834, they were met at every station with crowds of people who came from their farms and workshops to see the novel sight." W. B. Wilson in his history of the Pennsylvania railroad, says that the first two locomotives commissioned on the same day were called the "Lancaster" and the "Columbia." The weight of the "Lancaster" was eight tons and was capable of drawing fifty-six tons. It took eight hours to run from Columbia to Philadelphia, the expense for the trip being $14.60, of which the engineer and his attendants received $4. In 1835 an act was passed authorizing the company to extend the road to Mount Joy and Harrisburg. In 1857 the Reading & Columbia railroad was incorporated.

Around 1850 a group of municipal public buildings were erected in Lancaster, including the present court house, the prison at the east end of the city, Odd Fellows' Hall, Fulton Hall and Franklin and Marshall College. It seems to have been a period of rapid growth for the city. It is said that a thousand residences were erected within a few years. By the inevitable march of progress the venerable historic court house in Centre square was outgrown, and in 1852 a site was secured at Duke and East King streets, contracts made and the present structure completed at a cost of $166,000. The Odd Fellows had been meeting in a room rented in the old Museum building, corner of Chestnut and North Queen streets, until 1846, when lots were purchased from ex-Judge Ellis Lewis, one of which was occupied by the old Quaker church, and the other used as a burial ground by the same society. Here a handsome building was dedicated in 1852 by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. At that time there were 2,500 members of the fraternity in the city.

The building of the present Fulton Hall in 1852 on the site of the old Lancaster jail on Prince street was an event of great significance in the development of Lancaster. The Lancaster County Commissioners sold the site to Peter G. Eberman and Christopher Hager for $8,400. Later Christopher Hager became the sole owner. He at once began tearing down the old prison, and procured Samuel Sloane as architect, and John Sener as builder of Fulton

Hall. Later Christopher Hager sold his interest to the Fulton Hall Association. The "Examiner and Herald" of May 5, 1852, says: "The new opera house to be erected is to be called Fulton Hall in honor of Robert Fulton, the discoverer of the power of steam as applied to navigation, a native of Lancaster county. The proprietor has evinced a laudable pride in the commemoration of one whom Lancaster county may feel pride in claiming as one of her most distinguished sons." Fulton Hall was formally opened to the public on October 14, 1852, the principal address of the occasion being made by Judge Hayes. The speaker referred to the fact that new life was being infused into the city of Lancaster by the erection of many buildings and that 5,000 inhabitants had been recently added to the population. The wooden image of Robert Fulton which still stands above the doorway was carved by a Mr. Cannon, of Philadelphia, and is an interesting, if not highly artistic, piece of work. In Fulton Hall a long line of distinguished actors, orators and musicians have appeared in the past seventy years. Ole Bull with his matchless violin, Joe Jefferson, Booth, Barrett, Madame Modjeska, Horace Greeley, Wendell Philips, Henry Ward Beecher, John B. Gough, Adelina Patti, Woodrow Wilson, Sarah Bernhardt, Nazimova, and a host of other notables have appeared in this historic old structure.

The leading citizens of Lancaster in the period immediately preceding the Civil War were President James Buchanan and the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, both of whom linked the name of the city to National affairs. The careers of these two eminent sons of Lancaster are fully discussed in another part of this work.

The heaviest vote ever given for any candidate in Lancaster county up to 1860 was cast for Abraham Lincoln in November of that year. Out of nineteen thousand votes cast by Lancaster county for the presidency in 1860, Abraham Lincoln received over thirteen thousand. It was, therefore, of more than usual interest when the citizens of Lancaster were informed on February 20, 1861, "It is now certain that Mr. Lincoln will be in Lancaster on Friday next. He will arrive about noon and remain but a short time, but probably long enough to make a speech to the citizens of the Old Guard." On his way from the White House from Springfield the President-elect passed through New York, Trenton, Philadelphia, Lancaster and Harrisburg. From the "Examiner and Herald" of Wednesday, February 27, 1861, we take the following account of Mr. Lincoln's stay in Lancaster:

> Previous to leaving Philadelphia the committee appointed on behalf of the citizens of Lancaster had an interview with Mr. Lincoln and were supplied with tickets which enabled them to travel on the special train. The committee consisted of Messrs. O. J. Dickey, Bartram A. Shaeffer, C. M. Howell, Robert H. Long, John F. Huber, H. W. Hager, Dr. T. Ellmaker, A. H. Hood, J. M. W. Geist, D. Fellenbaum, and E. J. Zahm. At all the stations large crowds has assembled to look at the President-elect. As the train neared Lancaster a national salute was fired from cannon stationed near the locomotive works. The train arrived at about noon. The crowd in attendance was immense and had it not been for the arrangements made by Captain Hambright it would have been impossible for Mr. Lincoln to have made his way to the Caldwell House (The Brunswick).

Mr. Lincoln passed from the cars to the balcony of the Caldwell House, where he was introduced to the crowd by Mr. Dickey and made the following brief and characteristic speech:

> Ladies and Gentlemen of Old Lancaster: I appear not to make a speech. I have not time to make a speech at length, and not strength to make them on every occasion, and worse then all, I have none to make. I come before you to see and be seen, and as regards the ladies I have the best of the bargain, but as to the gentlemen, I cannot say as much. There is plenty of matter to speak about in these times, but it is well known that the more a man speaks the less he is understood,—the more he says one thing his adversaries contend he meant something else. I shall soon have occasion to speak officially, and then I will endeavor to put my thoughts just as plain as I can express myself,—true to the constitution and union of all the States, and to the perpetual liberty of all the people. Until I so speak there is no need to enter upon details. In conclusion, I greet you most heartily, and bid you an affectionate farewell.

It was indeed Lincoln's farewell to Lancaster, for when he passed through here again on April 21, 1865, his body rested in a heavily draped funeral car, and the sorrowing crowds stood with uncovered heads while the train passed. But between these two events Lancaster showed its loyalty to Lincoln and his cause by a remarkable response to the call of the Union for troops in the War of the Rebellion. When Sumter was fired on, and Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, the enrollment in Lancaster commenced at once. Within less than a week the Lancaster Fencibles and the Jackson Rifles went to Harrisburg and were made a part of the First Regiment. Within a month thirty-two companies were formed in the city and county. All through the war at every call there was a ready response. The well known 79th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Hambright, was composed wholly of volunteers and took part in the battle of Chickamauga, and in Sherman's march. Soldiers from Lancaster county were found in sixty other regiments from Pennsylvania. They were found also in the militia regiments called during the Confederate invasions of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

The greatest excitement prevailed in 1863 just before the battle of Gettysburg. On the 27th of June, General Early reached York with a force of Confederate soldiers and the next day a brigade was sent to hold the bridge at Columbia. Several companies from Columbia crossed to Wrightsville, but having no artillery they were compelled to come back. Colonel Frick set the bridge on fire in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Southern army. Great alarm was felt. Detachments of the Southern army had reached the Susquehanna and no one could tell how soon they might enter Lancaster. Long lines of refugees passed through the city, leading horses which they sought to save from the invaders.

Then came Gettysburg and men breathed easier. But alas the news came that at Gettysburg, Lancaster's great war hero, Major-General John Fulton Reynolds, was killed. This worthy son of Lancaster was educated in the schools of his native city, graduated with honors from West Point, was breveted captain for bravery at Monterey, and advanced to the position of major for gallantry at Buena Vista in the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was appointed-brigadier-general of volunteers and was given command of the First Brigade of the Pennsylvania Reserves. General Pope said of him in his report: "Brigadier-General John F. Reynolds, commanding the Pennsylvania Reserves, merits the highest commendation at my hands. Prompt, active and energetic, he commanded his division with distingushed ability and performed his duties in all situations with zeal and fidelity." He was called to Harrisburg to organize the 75,000 men called out by Governor Curtin in 1862. After joining the Army of Virginia, he fought at the battle of

Fredericksburg. On the opening day of the battle of Gettysburg he was in command of the left wing of the army. He knew that General Meade wanted to fight a decisive battle, so he pushed forward to secure an advantageous position. This brought on prematurely perhaps the great battle of Gettysburg. General Reynolds' riding at the head of Wadsworth's division, at the head of the column to direct and encourage the troops proved to be a conspicuous mark for the bullets of skirmishers. He was shot through the neck, fell mortally wounded and died before he could be removed from the field. His biographer says: "General Reynolds was one of America's greatest soldiers; the men he commanded loved him dearly; he shared with them the hardships, toil and danger of the camp, the march and the field. He nobly laid down his life a sacrifice on his country's altar, at the head of his brave troops that victory might crown the efforts of those who followed him to fight the great battle of the Nation." His body was carried to Lancaster and buried in the family enclosure in the Lancaster Cemetery on the 4th of July, 1863, where a handsome monument was later erected to commemorate his patriotic services. Every visitor to Gettysburg knows of the handsome statue erected to the memory of General Reynolds on that immortal battlefield.

The work of the noble sons of Lancaster on the field of battle in the days of the Rebellion has been treated in this history by one who himself took part in the great conflict. The blood of the sons of Lancaster was shed on every battlefield of the Rebellion. As to the citizens at home, they gave their support to the army on the field with wonderful enthusiasm. To the women of Lancaster belongs the honor of organizing the first society to help in the relief of the soldiers during the period of the Civil War. Similar societies later came into existence in all part of the country, but so far as is known, none preceded the one formed here on the 22nd of April, 1861, only ten days after the attack on Fort Sumter. On this date a meeting of the women of Lancaster was held in the court house, at which it was resolved, "that an association of ladies be formed under the style and title of 'The Patriotic Daughters of Lancaster' for the purpose of ministering to the wants of our heroic volunteers from Lancaster City and County." The necessary committees were appointed at once, all details arranged for the successful carrying out of the plans of the association, and without delay the benevolent work of the patriotic girls and women began, which continued steadily throughout the war to provide the soldiers in the field and the sick in distant hospitals with those comforts which the government was unable to furnish. For a time, too, the government used the buildings of Franklin and Marshall College and the Halls of the Goethean and Diagnothian Literary Societies as hospitals for the wounded.

The veterans of the Union army upon their return from the Civil War already found a project on foot among the citizens for the erection of a monument in honor of the soldiers and sailors of Lancaster county who fell in the service of their country. The Patriotic Daughters of Lancaster took the lead in this project. It was not, however, until 1874 that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument of Lancaster County now standing in Centre Square was dedicated. On the four pedestals of the monument are four statues representing the several branches of the service—the infantry, artillery, cavalry and navy. The names of the following battlefields are carved in high relief: Gettysburg, Antietam, Malvern Hill, Vicksburg, Wilderness, Chaplin Hills, Chickamauga, Petersburg. The shaft is surmounted by a figure representing the genius of Liberty, with a shield of victory, bearing the arms of the United States and grasping a drawn sword. The inscription reads: "Erected by the people of Lancaster County to the memory of their fellow-citizens who fell in the defense of the Union in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865."

The more recent history of Lancaster city relates to the development of so many diversified industries that it has been found necessary to discuss them in separate chapters. From a small inland rural community, Lancaster has developed within a generation into an enterprising city of 55,000 inhabitants. The story of Lancaster relates not only to seven generations of men and women who for the past two hundred years have tilled the fields, turned the wheels of industry, founded institutions of learning, made laws, planted churches, and developed successful building enterprises, but it is also a story of men and women who are planning greater things for the morrow.

The spirit of industry in the city is seen in the rapid strides made by the hundreds of manufacturing industries that ship over a hundred million dollars' worth of Lancaster manufactured goods annually, paying over $16,000,000 in wages every years, to thousands of employees, ninety-six per cent. of whom are American born. These industries are made possible largely by two factors —the Holtwood dam, and excellent transportation facilities. The Holtwood dam is probably Lancaster county's greatest achievement in applied science. By harnessing the Susquehanna, more power is produced than by any other single plant east of the Mississippi and south of Niagara. As far as transportation facilities are concerned, Lancaster is located on the line of two railroads, has the Lincoln highway passing through it, and is the center of a network of 180 miles of trolley lines which extend to every part of the county, and connect with Philadelphia, Reading, Harrisburg and Lebanon.

During the great World War, Lancaster county gave 5,787 men to the service and contributed over $43,000,000 in support of the great struggle, a per capita equivalent of $260 for every man, woman and child. The treasure in blood and money given by the citizens of Lancaster will some day be written in the records of a great war memorial building.

Lancaster has the spirit of good will and hospitality. Nowhere is there a more energetic response to every worthy appeal for the help of humanity. The charity of the people of Lancaster county is proverbial. Public spirit and philanthropy is manifest in such gifts as those of Mr. H. S. Williamson, a prince of good will, whose name will live as long as Lancaster exists, in the names "Williamson Field" and "Williamson Park." Then there is the name of Catharine H. Long, associated with what is destined to become one of the most beautiful parks in the State, and with a home for the aged which has already proved a blessing to many.

There is to be found in Lancaster a love of education and a spirit of culture that is the result of generations of growth. Besides thirty-four school buildings and four parochial schools, we have in the city Franklin and Marshall College, a Theological Seminary, Franklin and Marshall Academy, Shippen School for Girls, Thaddeaus Stevens Industrial School and Yeates School. The Bowman Technical School of Watchmaking, Engraving and Jewelry is thirty-two years old, has 115 students and over 2,000 graduates. It has given vocational training to a large number of disabled soldiers. Lancaster has two handsome high school buildings of modern construction.

From the days when the old Juliana Library in Lancaster was named after the wife of Thomas Penn, to our own time, a taste for books has prevailed among all orders and ranks of people in Lancaster. There are in the city at present the A. Herr Smith Memorial Library, the John Watts DePeyster Library, and the library of the Theological Seminary. These three contain at least 100,000 volumes. The printing establishments of Lancaster turn out more books and magazines of a scientific nature than those of any other city of her size in the country.

In the social and literary life of Lancaster there are a number of organizations of interest and permanent value, such as the Cliosophic Society, which for forty-two years has promoted congenial literary study and refined social intercourse between a number of persons of kindred tastes. The Travel Club, the Fortnightly Club, the Present Day Club, the Liberal Club, the Musical Art Society are other organizations of similar character. The Iris Club has for twenty-five years been of great value to the higher life of Lancaster. More recent additions to the cultural life of Lancaster are the Association of Organists and the Lancaster Municipal Orchestra.

The Lancaster Chamber of Commerce has recently been reorganized with over a thousand members. The Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and Quota clubs have rendered great service to the community. The Manufacturers' Association has undertaken a program of Americanization.

Lancaster has to-day sixty-three churches, representing practically every denomination. The city has two hospitals, equipped with modern appliances, maintaining a high record of efficiency. There are homes and asylums which provide for young and old who need assistance. The charities of the city are organized under the leadership of Dr. A. V. Hiester, president of the Lancaster Community Service Association. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have large and beautiful buildings. They are both bee-hives of activity. The Y. M. C. A. celebrated a year ago its golden jubilee. The efficiency of the organization owes a great deal to the services of the late James Shand who for many years was the president of the Board of Trustees. Throughout the great war the Y. M. C. A. building in Lancaster was the civic center and rallying point of the community. On the site of the old historic shippen home on East Orange street the citizens of Lancaster erected a few years ago a handsome building for the use of the Y. W. C. A. This organization has proved one of the most valuable assets to the higher and better life of the community.

Lancaster has many beautiful residences and many handsome suburban homes. A large per cent. of the population own the houses in which they live. There are also a number of handsome apartments in the city. Among the hotels are to be noted the Brunswick on the site of the former Caldwell House, the Stevens, named after the great commoner, the Wheatland and the new Weber. In the corridor of the Brunswick is a tablet presented by the late W. U. Hensel and unveiled by the Lancaster Historical Society to commemorate the fact that from the balcony of the former hotels on the same site Abraham Lincoln, Horace Greely, James Buchanan, Winfield Scott Hancock and

Theodore Roosevelt had delivered addresses. It appears that Lancaster has entertained seven men who at the time of their visit here or shortly thereafter became President of the United States, and at least three others who were nominated for that high office but failed of election.

The city owes much of unalloyed joy to its five beautiful parks. These breathing places provide air, sunshine and the enjoyment of nature for the people of Lancaster. The most recent of these parks, known as Rodney Park, in the southwestern part of the city, has been made possible by the generosity of eight public-spirited citizens.

In the one hundred and five years of its history as a city, Lancaster has been governed by the following mayors:

John Passmore, 1818-20; Samuel Carpenter, 1821-23; Nathaniel Lightner, 1824-30; John Mathiot, 1831-42; M. Carpenter, 1843-51; Christian Kieffer, 1852-54; Jacob Albright, 1855; John Zimmerman, 1856-57; Thomas Burrowes, 1858; George Sanderson, 1859-68; William Aug. Atlee, 1869-71; Frederick S. Pyfer, 1871-73; William D. Stauffer, 1873-77; John T. MacGonigle, 1878-84; D. P. Rosenmiller, 1884-86; William A. Morton, 1886-88; Edward Edgerley, 1888-90; Robert Clark, 1890-94; Edwin S. Smeltz, 1894-98; Simon Shissler, 1898-1900; Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg, 1900-02; Chester W. Cummings, 1902-06; John P. McCaskey, 1906-10; Frank B. McClain, 1910-15; Harry L. Trout, 1915-20; Horace E. Kennedy, 1920-22; Frank C. Musser, 1922.

The present city government is constituted as follows:

Mayor—Frank C. Musser.
Secretary to Mayor—E. H. Zellers.
President of Select Council—M. T. Garvin.
President of Common Council—Richard M. Reilly.
Controller—Simon Shissler.
City Clerk—August Krimmel, Jr.
City Treasurer—Samuel J. Shubrooks.
Receiver of Taxes—Samuel J. Shubrooks.
City Solicitor—Harry L. Raub, Jr.
Collector of Delinquent Taxes—A. L. Barr.
City Engineer—James J. Malone.
Superintendent of Water Works—Edward L. Ruth.
Street Commissioner—A. Ray Freeman.
Chief Engineer Fire Department—Charles Kegel.
Building Inspector—Joseph P. Breneman.
Sealer of Weights and Measures—Frank Shindle.
Board of Health—Medical Officer, Dr. Chas. P. Stahr; Health Officer, J. H. Deen.
City Chemist—J. E. Goodel, Woolworth Bldg.

This quaint old town of two hundred years standing is indeed an interesting and beautifully located spot. As you walk the streets of Lancaster, a thousand busy thoughts rush on the mind, a thousand images of the past come up before you. Whatever faults the community has—and like all other types, it is irregular in its development—the stranger will find here no lack of the atmosphere of friendliness, the visitor will feel the pervasive influence of hearty cordiality. There is a mingling here of the old and of the new, of the yesterday and of the to-morrow; there is a softness in the sky in May, a mellowness in the air in October. If you will look into the soul of this old city, you will find there a spirit of hospitality and brotherliness which will make you feel at home at the ends of the earth. There are handsomer, cleaner, richer, and more intellectual cities than Lancaster, but there is none which has more thoroughly developed the resources of simple and genuine friendliness.

SECTION FOUR

PROVINCIAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GERMAN PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA—LANCASTER COUNTY

By Professor George W. Richards, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in United States, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

I. National Elements in America in the Eighteenth Century. II. Early German Migrations to America. III. The German Pioneers in Pennsylvania. IV. The German Pioneers in Lancaster County.

It is not my purpose to take the part of a eulogist, an apologist, or a satirist, in the discussion of this subject. A plain, unvarnished tale of their character, conflicts and achievements is the best vindication of a people. Of the Germans in Pennsylvania, Hildreth, the historian, has said: "The result of their labors is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell their story exactly as it was."

To understand the significance of the German emigration to America and to estimate its contribution to Republic and Commonwealth, we must view it in its relation to the larger historic movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A prophet in the middle of the eighteenth century would have confidently predicted that North America was destined to be a Catholic country. The French had built their trading posts from Nova Scotia to the headwaters of the Mississippi. They had the key to the two great water courses of our country. The Spaniards had established a line of towns and missions from Florida to California. True, England had begun her work of colonization, but it was overshadowed by the continental powers and the papal missionaries on the north and on the south. After thirteen years of the second half of the eighteenth century had elapsed, the map of America had to be reconstructed. In the Treaty of Paris, signed February 10th, 1763, France ceded to England, Nova Scotia, Canada, and the country east of the Mississippi as far as Iberville. A line drawn through the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, was henceforth to form the boundary between French and English territory in the west. The town and island of New Orleans were not included in this cession. Spain ceded to Great Britain, Florida and all districts east of the Mississippi, recovering the Havana and all other British conquests. An appeal to Providence is usually satisfactory to the appellant only, and not to the plaintiff. But the enthusiastic Protestant or the champion of Anglo-Saxondom can hardly pass by the Paris treaty without pointing to the hand of God in history.

From the St. Lawrence to the Gulf the New World was now in Anglo-Saxon hands and under Protestant influence. Though the Swedes and the Dutch experimented in colonization and left permanent marks on our national history, Great Britain was the dominant power in the colonial period. The Teuton found his Canaan in the lands discovered by the romance explorers. Far be it from us to undervalue the greatness of brave little Holland, and the heroism and chivalry of Sweden; yet no one will deny that the two nations which were the bone and sinew of the Teutonic stock were those which speak the German and the English language. These two to-day, more than any others, shape the destinies of two continents. These two are the leading elements in our national history.

After Hengst and Horsa had led their warlike bands across the English Channel, they drove the Highlanders from England; but, after the manner of Englishmen, they remained masters of the country. They became the nucleus and formative principle of the British nation. Cut through the national strata of Britain and you will find Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Danish layers. Out of this congeries of tribes the English people have sprung. The controlling element in the development of the nation was Anglo-Saxon, though the tribes which preceded and followed wielded no small influence. The English Channel did not flow in vain between Britain and the Continent. From the earliest times a distinct civilization and religion flourished on the Isles. Among Europeans their people represented a distinct national genius. Continental Protestantism passed through the British people, and became a distinct product in Cavalier and Puritan, Catholic and Quaker. Located on the borders of the western ocean, Britain became naturally a leader in colonization, an empire on whose dominions the sun never sets.

But, while the tribes of the Isles crystalized into a homogeneous nationality, the heterogeneous hordes on the Continent also assumed national forms. About the close of the third century a multitude of tribal names disappeared from history, absorbed by four dominant nations: the Alemanni, the Franks, the Saxons and the Goths. Many kindred characteristics still bound them together, chief of which was that of language. But in the course of centuries, under the influence of natural environment, of molding personalities, and of the intermixture of blood, they became distinct nations, representing various types of the Teutonic stock. The Franks overran Gaul and became the ancestors of the French. The Goths dwelt in the regions north of the Danube and were a menace to decadent Rome. The Saxons settled northward on both sides of the Elbe and westward as far as the Lower Rhine. Their name is perpetuated in modern Saxony. The Alemanni, chiefly of Suevic origin, with an admixture of smaller tribes, occupied the territory extending from the Main to the Danube. They enlarged their borders westward beyond the Upper Rhine into Alsace and Lorraine, and southward into the adjacent sections of Switzerland. The Alemanni became the progenitors of many of the Germans who eventually settled in Pennsylvania. They repeatedly repulsed the Roman legions. When the latter had spent their force, the former became conquerors, and in German history maintained an influential and independent political existence. In the twelfth century the political State of the Palatinate was founded under the royal house of Hohenstaufen. Prince Conrad was invested with the electoral dignity by his brother, the Emperor Frederick I. For seven hundred years, until 1801, it remained a distinct realm. By the Treaty of Luneville, dictated by Napoleon, the Rhenish Palatinate was parcelled out between Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Leiningen-Dachsburg and Nassau, while the Rhine itself became the eastern boundary of France until the downfall of the Man of Destiny.

Thus the Teutonic tribes were differentiated by the intricate process of history into the nations from which were destined to come the founders of the United States. The leaders among them were the English and the Germans. The English received valuable recruits in the colonies from the

Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh. With the Germans we must associate their kinsmen, the Swiss, the Dutch and the Swedes. We observe that they all belong to the Aryan family, and were therefore sufficiently related to Greece and Rome to become the heirs of their civilization and culture. They were Teutons, and therefore of such kinship that they might be welded into a united republic. They were distinct nationalities, and could therefore contribute specific ideals for a new nation—the child of them all.

It is beyond our scope to follow the migration of the English into the New World. Suffice it to say that they preceded the Germans by almost a century. They had precedence not only in the order of time, but they were supported also by a mother country and a mother church. They did not come into a foreign land, but into a land of their own possession. They occupied the Atlantic border from Maine to Georgia. They differed in creed, but were largely of British blood.

The German came as a stranger into a strange land. He had to take an oath of allegiance to a foreign government. He settled in the provinces by the grace of God and the English proprietors. Though there were German groups in a number of the colonies, Pennsylvania seems to have been the goal of their pilgrimage and the circle of their influence. We read of German glass blowers sent to the Virginia colony as early as 1608 for the glass works which were there established. A small band was led to New York by the German Joshua, Kocherthal. About the same time a company of seven hundred was sent to North Carolina. Both in Virginia and in New Jersey there were German settlers. Yet, if we would understand the way in which the German nation entered the territory of the Union and found the earliest center of influence in this country, we must follow the Pennsylvania pioneers. Dr. Seidensticker says: " Should it be asked when the German immigration in America had its beginning, the answer must be in the year 1683, the year of the Crefelders' arrival in Germantown." Whether the German landed on the coast of Massachusetts or New York, Virginia or Georgia, he gravitated to the land of Penn. When the lands beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies invited the more restless and adventurous spirits of the coast, Pennsylvania again was the distributing center for the Germans in the United States. John Fiske says: "But for Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, Pennsylvania was the door for immigrants. Pennsylvania was the temporary tarrying place and distributing center for so much that we now call characteristically American." The key, therefore, to the history of the German life in the Union is the history of the German pioneers in the Keystone State. What they have done in a small way in the building of a single commonwealth they have done in a large way in the construction of a nation. Though they came without form and comeliness, despised and rejected, men of sorrows and acquainted with grief, they were none the less the slender thread drawing after it the bonds which bind us inseparably to a German Fatherland. They were the bearers of a spirit and a message which were to aid in the nurture of unborn millions. Dr. Rush, in his booklet on the "Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," in 1789, exhorts the legislators as follows: "Do not contend with their prejudice in favor of their language. It will be the channel through which the knowledge and discoveries of the wisest nations in Europe may be conveyed into one country. * * * Invite them to share in the power and offices of the government; it will be the means of producing a union in principle and conduct between them and all those enlightened fellow-citizens who are descended from the other nations." These words were prophetic then; they are actual history of the contribution of the Germans to the nation now. Through them we, their descendants and followers, have received an invaluable heritage in philosophy, science, art, and domestic economy. Through them has been effected an organic union of the two great branches of Teutonism in the New World which are separated by a stubborn and unruly channel in the Old.

To define the character, of the German pioneers and their relation to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, we shall briefly answer three questions, viz: Why did they come? What did they bring? What have they done?

II—Early German Migrations to America—We are told that colonies are planted by the uneasy. In a general way, poverty and financial reverses, political changes and religious troubles, a thirst for novelty and a love for adventure, all these combined, are the causes for the great migrations of history. The motives in individuals and groups vary according to circumstances. Now the dominant cause may be religious persecutions, again political tyranny, and then economic distress. The general unrest and discontent in Germany were the cumulative products of centuries. Since the Reformation, Europe was in a state of religious, political, and social ferment. The Protestant was arrayed against the Catholic, the Lutheran against the Calvinist, Protestant and Catholic against the Anabaptist, the Humanist against the Reformer, and the peasant against the noble. The reason for it all was that the principles of Protestantism, which had been discerned in a German monastery and practiced in a Swiss pastorate, had to be fought out on fields of blood before they could become the common possession of mankind.

In the name of religion, though for anything but for the good of religion, Germany became the seat of devastating wars. For thirty years hostile armies, some of them foreign and some native, ravaged the provinces, turned the Rhinelands into a desert, and decimated the population. At the close of that inhuman struggle, two-thirds of the German nation had perished. The Palatinate was reduced from 500,000 citizens to 50,000. University halls became army barracks. Fields ripening for harvest, blossoming orchards, vine-clad hills, towering castles, happy hamlets and busy cities fell before the ruthless blows of the invader. It is said that "the Elector Palatine beheld from his castle at Manheim six cities and twenty-five towns in flames where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword." The treaty of Westphalia in 1648 was only a temporary respite from the desolation of armies. Scarcely had the industrious peasants and burghers of the Rhine healed some of the wounds of a generation of war and recovered some of the former glory of their country, when the armies of Louis XIV began their work of destruction. That most Christian king said to his marshal, Melac, "Ravage the Palatinate!" In obedience to orders twelve hundred towns and villages went up in smoke and fell in ashes. The former scenes of horror and crime were reënacted, and with an occasional intermission they continued through the war of the Spanish succession, ending with the peace of Utrecht in 1713.

The effect of these disasters was not only to impoverish Germany's resources, but also her manhood. Peasants in their desperation became robbers, murderers, cannibals. "Freemen became serfs; rich burghers became narrow-minded shop-keepers; noblemen, servile courtiers; princes, shameless oppressors." The internal political and social conditions of southwest Germany were as ruinous as foreign foes. "The provinces were full of misgovernment and of sectarianism, filled with tiny principalities, old religious foundations, secularized or still remaining, free cities of the moribund empire, and even free villages; courts, princes and lords of all kinds, who caricatured Louis XIV, sometimes by the dozen to the square mile, and kept the fruitful land in an artificial condition of perpetual exhaustion."

The general conditions were at hand for the operation of specific causes which brought about a German exodus into America. To understand the immediate reasons for early German immigration, it is necessary to study the history of the several groups which composed it. For our purpose the popular division into sects and church people is most satisfactory. We might add a third class and call it the nondescripts. In each of these groups there was a dominant motive, not, however, to the exclusion of the other motives mentioned above.

III—The German Pioneers in Pennsylvania—The sects who came to Pennsylvania were the Mennonites, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders, and a number of lesser bodies, such as the Solitaries at Ephrata, the Woman in the Wilderness on the banks of the Wissahickon, and the Labadists. Baron von Reck, who visited Philadelphia in 1734, wrote: "It is the abode of all religions and sects—Lutherans, Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Seventh-day Baptists, Separatists, Boehmists, Schwenkfeldians, Tuchfelders, Wohlwuencher, Jews, heathen, etc."

Their relation to the Church and the State in Europe was one of dissent. They were the oppressed people of Christ. By the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed were given legal recognition. They were known as the Churches by law established. But the Anabaptistic and Quietistic sects were equally obnoxious to Catholics and Protestants. Princes and bishops, priests and preachers, united in destroying these supposed children of perdition. They were accordingly driven from one country to another, finding a temporary asylum here and there until they had to flee elsewhere from the wrath of a capricious prince. A company of Mennonites had settled in peace in Crefeld, Germany, where they were employed as linen-weavers. While not in immediate danger, these children of persecution always had the sword of Damocles suspended overhead. They welcomed the offer of an asylum beyond the seas, where they might worship God without further molestation. On the ship *Concord*, October 6th, 1683, came thirteen Mennonite families who became the founders not only of Germantown, but of German colonization in Pennsylvania. Until 1710 the German immigrants came as individuals or in small groups, "partly for conscience' sake and partly for temporal interests," says Proud. Dieffenderfer estimates that there were about three or four thousand Germans in Pennsylvania in the year 1709, making an average of about one hundred immigrants a year since 1683. The Quakers, Schwenkfelders, and the lesser groups came after the Mennonites, migrating largely for religious reasons, and attracted to Pennsylvania by the tolerant policy of Penn.

The second period of German immigration began with the arrival of the Lutherans and the Reformed, who were accompanied by a third class, the nondescripts. They did not leave their homeland because of religious persecutions at the time of their departure, for among them, especially in the Palatine band in England, were representatives of the three Established Churches. The chief reason for their discontent at home was the economic distress resulting from continuous wars, from a desolating winter, and financial reverses. The first company of Palatines came by way of London, whither they went in large multitudes. They reached Pennsylvania after sore hardships and cruel treatment by way of the Schoharie Valley in New York. In an address to the English people in 1710, the Palatines plead their own case. They say: "We, the Poor, Distressed Palatines, whose utter ruin was occasioned by the merciless cruelty of a Bloody Enemy, the French, whose prevailing power, some years past, like a torrent, rushed into our country and overwhelmed us at once; and being not content with money and food necessary for their occasions, not only dispossessed us of all support, but inhumanly burnt our houses to the ground, whereby being deprived of all shelter, we were turned into open fields, there with our families to seek what shelter we could find, were obliged to make the earth our repository for rest and the clouds our canopy or covering." These were the conditions, not only of the Palatines who came to London, but doubtless of a large proportion of those who went directly to Pennsylvania. The winter of 1708-09 was so severe throughout Europe that hundreds died of cold and starvation. Birds froze in mid-air, beasts in their lairs and men fell dead on the way. Of their financial troubles an eye-witness wrote: "Nobody was paid. The people of the country, in consequence of exactions, had to become insolvent. Commerce dried up and brought no returns. Good faith and confidence were abolished." Thus gradually the ties of home, country, and society were loosened, and the newly established colony of Penn became a refuge for the distressed Germans, called, regardless of their provincial origin, Palatines.

The nondescripts fled from prison more than from religious persecutions or social troubles. They were criminals and felons and the scum of the population, which the mother country dumped upon the new province. The jails were emptied of their inmates and sent to the colonies. So threatening did this element become that the Provincial Assembly, in 1722, imposed a tax upon every criminal landed in the province, and held the ship-owner responsible for the future good conduct of his passengers. A promiscuous element was gathered also by the Newlanders, or soul-sellers, who went over Germany enticing men, women and children to the paradise of a new world.

The Moravians alone profess to have come to America for purely missionary purposes. One of their historians, Paul De Schweinitz, writes: "Their sole object was to provide the red men and the white men with gospel privileges. The Indians they endeavored to make Christians. The Lutherans they endeavored to gather in Lutheran congregations and provide them with pastors of their own mode of thought. They tried to do the same for the Reformed; and the Germans scattered about, who would acknowledge neither of these faiths, they tried to gather into free congregations, served by an awakened pastor, without defining church connections." We do not question this high motive of what was itself one of the greatest missionary churches in the Kingdom. Though coming comparatively late, about 1740-41, from Georgia to Bethlehem, they added a strong German element during the formative period of the Commonwealth.

While these various causes constrained the Palatine to leave his fatherland, there was a specific reason for his entrance into Pennsylvania. One of the first pamphlets published by the German pastor, Kocherthal, and circulated in two editions, 1706 and 1709, among his kinsmen, was entitled, "Full and Circumstantial Report Concerning the Renowned District of Carolina in English America." He advocated the Carolinian region as the most favorable district for the German. But his plea for the South was not recognized. Other American provinces held out tempting inducements on the continent for settlers within their bounds. But none of these made a favorable impression. The man who gave direction to the tiny rivulet which later became a stream and almost a torrent of German pioneers into Pennsylvania, was William Penn. He, too, was a dissenter, a sectarian, and a martyr. His religious views were so nearly like those of the German sects that Barclay said: "So closely do these views (referring to the Mennonites) correspond with those of George Fox, that we are compelled to view him as an unconscious exponent of the doctrines, practices, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites." He was half a Hollander through his mother, could speak the German language, and found the Dutch and German sects good ground for Quaker missions. After he received the Province of Pennsylvania, he at once sent his agent, Benjamin Furly, into the Rhineland, who organized land companies, one at Crefeld, the other at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Pamphlets recounted the advantages of the new Province, and in a short time the sectaries were convinced that Penn's land was the haven of peace for them.

But he was not limited to the Quakers in England or to the sects in Holland and Germany in his benevolent designs. The spirit of the men and of the religious policy of his province is expressed in his own words when he says: "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account." The "Great Law," as the modified code was called, not only established religious liberty, but "extended the suffrage, reduced the death penalty to a minimum, secured the people against oppression, simplified all legal processes, and made an attempt to establish a perfectly moral State." Sharpless says: "Peace, liberty, and fertile soil were the great arguments which brought in the English of the Quaker counties, the Germans of the central belt, and the Scotch-Irish of the frontiers in unprecedented numbers." With the way opened by the tolerant Penn, with the ground broken by the earliest German settlers, and with the land companies active in the heart of the Palatinate, it was a comparatively easy matter to turn the tide of future immigrants to the land of their prosperous kinsmen. It also explains the reason why, in three years after its settlement, Philadelphia gained more than New York in half a century.

IV—The German Pioneers in Lancaster County—1. The earliest German pioneers in Lancaster county were Swiss Mennonites from the cantons of Zurich and Berne. Here they suffered bitter persecution on account of their religious beliefs, especially for their refusal to conform to the state church, their advocacy of separation of church and state, and their unwillingness to bear arms. Their forerunners in Pennsylvania were the Mennonites of Crefeld and Kriegsheim, Germany, who, led by Pastorius, founded Germantown in 1683. Indeed, these were the first pioneers of all German settlements in America. Through reports by letters written to friends at home and by persons who returned to the Fatherland, others were induced to emigrate and make their home in the New World.

Thirty years elapsed before the Swiss Mennonites, some of them having found a temporary abode in the Palatinate, came to Pennsylvania and located in the Conestoga region, now Lancaster county. They were liberally aided by the more prosperous Mennonites of Holland. The latter took a lively interest in their unfortunate brethren in Switzerland and in Germany. To render aid in a systematic way, they organized a "Committee on Foreign Needs." They gave large sums of money for the relief of the exiled Swiss Mennonites in the Palatinate. When the opportunity came, they encouraged and liberally supported the Mennonites of Berne to seek an asylum in America. In the year 1711 we have records of the settlement of Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster county. There is a letter of thanks in the archives of Amsterdam, dated June 27, 1710, and signed by Martin Kündig, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Oberholtzer, Martin Meili, and Jacob Müler. The letter states that they are about to start for America. That they arrived safely and came to Lancaster county is proved by a patent for ten thousand acres of land on Pequea creek, Conestogoe. The warrant for this was recorded and the land surveyed to them October 23, 1710. Hans Herr and Martin Kündig, acted as agents for their kinsmen, some of whom had already come and others of whom came later on. A quaint account of their manners and customs is given in an early document as follows:

> The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around their head to keep the hair from the face. The dress both of female and male was domestic, quite plain, made of coarse material, after an old fashion of their own. Soon after their arrival at Philadelphia they took a westerly course in pursuit of a location where they could all live in one vicinity. They selected a rich limestone county, beautifully adorned with sugar-maple, hickory, and black and white walnut, on the border of a delightful stream abounding in the finest trout. Here they raised their humble cabins. The water of the Pequea was clear, cold, transparent, and the grapevines and clematis, intertwining among the lofty branches of the majestic buttonwood, formed a pleasant retreat from the moonbeams of a summer sun. (cf. Martin, "The Mennonites," p. 8).

After they had successfully coped with the necessary difficulties and dangers of a new settlement in a wilderness and were beginning to reap the fruit of their toil, they remembered their brethren at home. They called a council of the whole group, over which their pastor, Hans Herr, presided. After due deliberation they decided that one of their number be sent to Europe to urge the others of their faith to join them in Pennsylvania. Martin Kendig undertook the journey and succeeded in bringing with him a company of Swiss and some Germans. Among them were Peter Yordea, Jacob Miller, Hans Tschantz, Henry Funk, John Houser, John Bachman, Jacob Weber, Schlegel, Venerick, Guldin, and others. With this accession the settlement numbered about thirty families. They lived among the Mingoe or Conestoga, Pequea, and Shawanese Indians, who were always hospitable and respectful toward their white neighbors. Rupp says: "The little colony improved their lands, planted orchards, erected dwellings, and a meeting—and school house, in which religious instructions on the Sabbath and during the week, knowledge of letters, reading and writing, were given to those who assembled to receive information." Other and more numerous groups of colonists of the same faith followed these pioneers in 1711 and 1717; a large settlement also was made in the northern parts of Lancaster county, extending into the borders of Lebanon county, in 1727.

2. A second and most unique group of German pioneers in Lancaster county was the Ephratah Community, "*Das Lager der Einsamen*" (the Camp of the Solitary). They were the virtual successors to the Mystics on the Wissahickon who in 1694 came to Pennsylvania under the leadership, and continued to live under the superintendency, of Johann Kelpius, "a man of great learning tho full of vagaries."

> Painful Kelpius from his hermit den
> By Wissahickon, maddest of good men,
> Dreamed o'er the chiliast dreams of Petersen.
> —Whittier, "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

Conrad Matthai, the last magister of the Hermitage on the Ridge, advised Conrad Beissel, 1722-23, to go to the wilds of Conestoga, to live there a life of contemplation and solitude. In the "Chronicon Ephratense" (p. 41), we are told by Israel Ekerlin, who afterwards became prior of the Brotherhood of Zion on the Cocalico, that Matthai advised him, his mother and three brothers to leave the regions of Germantown, "because the people there lived in vanity, and to move up the county to Conestoga, where the people lived in great simplicity." They accepted this counsel, and in August, 1727, moved to Conestoga. The same "Chronicon" (p. 64) tells uus that "a Solitary Brother, Elimalech (Emannuel Eckerle) was the first to build on this barren spot." Reference is made to Ephratah called by the Indians *Koch-Halekung*, that is, Serpent's Den, on account of the many snakes found there. The Europeans kept the Indian word but pronounced it "Cocalico."

The new community was composed of "Solitary Brethren" and "Spiritual Virgins." Celibacy was required of those who lived in cloisters, but only recommended to the larger community beyond the cloisters. In 1732 a house was built for the Solitary Brethren—Jethro (Jacob Gast), Jephune (Sam. Eckerlin), and Martin Brenner. In May, 1733, another house was completed for the "Sisters" or "Virgins"—Anna and Maria Eicher, where they lived until the Sisters' Convent was erected. In 1740 the cloisters contained thirty-six brethren and thirty-five sisters. These with the rest of the adherents swelled the number to nearly three hundred. The two most notable leaders of the Ephratah Community were Conrad Beissel (Father Friedsam Gottrecht), and the Reverend Peter Miller (Prior Jabetz). The buildings of these people are still standing and are annually visited by hundreds of people.

3. Another group of sturdy German pioneers in Lancaster county were the adherents of the Reformed and Lutheran Church, "Churches by law established" in European lands. They differed widely in their doctrines and life from the Mennonites and the Mystics whom we have considered above. Doubtless Reformed and Lutheran families were scattered in this region in the first two decades of the 18th century, 1700-1720, but we have no records before the third decade, 1720-1730.

a. The first congregation of Reformed people in Lancaster county was organized in 1725, originally known as Hill Church, and now identified as Salem, (Heller's), in Upper Leacock township. The organizer of Reformed churches in the Conestoga Valley was the pious tailor, John Conrad Templeman from Heidelberg, Germany. After 1721 and before 1725, he and his wife and two children came to Pennsylvania and settled in the region of the Conestoga. In a letter, written by him to the Synods of North and South Holland, under date of February 13, 1733, he tells the story of the beginnings of the Reformed Church in Lancaster county.

> The church at Chanastocka had its origin in the year 1725, with a small gathering in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon and with song and prayer, according to their High German Church Order upon all Sundays and holidays, but, on account of the lack of a minister, without the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper.
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> Thereafter Dom. Boehm served them, at first (1727) voluntarily at the request of the people, later, after being fully ordained, he administered baptism and communion to them for the space of two years (1730-1731), upon a yearly call, although he lived a distance of twenty-one hours (about 63 miles) away from them, being satisfied with their small voluntary gifts. Subsequently he also established a church order (constitution) among them and the congregation chose elders, and he himself (Templeman) exercised a strict and careful supervision, so that all things went on in a good order in this congregation.

Further, the writer reports that the congregation, on account of enlargement and great distance between the members, has divided itself into six meeting places in Chanastocka, three of which places are served by a Reformed minister, Johann Peter Müller by name, by whom also another strong congregation is served about seven hours (21 miles) distant, called Dalbenhacken (Tupehocken).

A list of the other Reformed churches in the county before 1750 will help the reader to trace the localities occupied by German Reformed settlers: Cocalico, founded in 1730, now Bethany, near Ephrata; Muddy Creek, about 1730, in East Cocalico township; Lancaster, 1730-1732, now First Reformed Church; Seltenreich, about 1732, near New Holland, Earl township; Reyer's Church, about 1732, now Zions, near Brickerville, Elizabeth township; Donegal, 1743, now Christ Church, Elizabethtown, Mount Joy township; Whiteoak, about 1747, now Jerusalem Church, at Penryn, Penn township; Little Cocalico, about 1749, now Swamp Church, near Blainsport, West Cocalico township.

b. The history of the German Lutheran pioneers in this county runs parallel to that of the German Reformed. The members of these two Churches usually came together from Germany and remained in close relations in Pennsylvania. Many of them intermarried and frequently they united in building a church which was for the use of both the Reformed and Lutheran congregations.

In the "*Hallesche Nachrichten*," I, p. 145, is quoted a document, dated October 7, 1748, and written by a Lutheran pastor, Handschuch, residing in Lancaster. In it the author describes the town as having about four hundred houses, occupied mainly by Germans. He adds that there are in it "a pretty large Lutheran, a not yet completely built Anglican, a Reformed, a small Catholic, and a Zinzendorfian (Moravian) Church."

There is much uncertainty about the exact time of the beginning of the Lutheran congregation in Lancaster. Like the Reformed, the Lutherans were scattered throughout the Conestoga Valley during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century. They doubtless began to organize churches about the same time, from 1720-1730. The date of the founding of the town of Lancaster is 1730. The first Lutheran church register dates from the autumn of 1733, and was begun by the Rev. John Caspar Stoever. He recorded baptisms and weddings of the year 1729. He landed in Philadelphia, September 11, 1728, and located in Lancaster county, near Carltown (New Holland) about 1729-1730. Before he was ordained to the ministry, he gathered Lutheran people into congregations and served them as pastor. In 1732 the Rev. John Christian Schulze, pastor of the congregations at Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover, came to Lancaster to invite Stoever to take charge of his congregations while the former went to Europe in the interest of the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania. Thereupon we are informed that Stoever was ordained at New Providence by Schulze, and when Stoever returned to Lancaster in September, 1733, he opened a church register at Modecreek, New Holland, and Lancaster. These are the earliest records of the still earlier settlements of German Lutherans in the Conestoga region or Lancaster county.

4. A German sect of the early part of the eighteenth century were the "Tunkers" or "Dunkers," also called the Brethren. Their founder was Alexander Mack, of Schwartzenau, Germany, who in 1780 gathered like-minded souls about him and began a new communion. On account of the persecutions and disabilities to which they were subject as dissenters from the State Church, they sought refuge in America. In the decade from 1719 to 1729 all of them came to Pennsylvania. They found their way into the interior counties, and many of them located in Lancaster county. Here they have prosperous congregations at present with a growing college at Elizabethtown.

5. A fifth group of German pioneers in Lancaster county were the Moravians. They came to Pennsylvania in 1741. The mother congregation in America was begun in this State at Bethlehem in 1741, and organized in 1742. A Moravian church-settlement was started at Lititz, Lancaster county, in 1743. In December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf came to the home of Jacob Huber, in Warwick township, and delivered an address in the evening. The Count came to Lancaster on the following day and preached in the court house. The outcome of the work of the itinerant Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem and of the preaching of Zinzendorf was the association of small companies of "awakened souls" in and about Lititz and Lancaster. These were later organized into Moravian congregations. A log church was built in 1744 on George Klein's land, a neighbor of Jacob Huber in Warwick, now Lititz. The persons who built the church attended the services of the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg, a Swedish Lutheran preacher at Lancaster. He leaned more and more toward the Moravians, and finally

became a member of the "Brethren Church" in 1748. The church in Warwick was dedicated by Nyberg on the festival of St. James, July 25, 1744, and called St. James' Church. In September, 1745, the Rev. Daniel Neibert became the first regular Moravian pastor. They erected, in 1746, a *Gemeinhaus* (community house) to serve the purposes of a parsonage, a schoolhouse and a meeting-house. George Klein donated three and three-quarters acres for this house and for a garden and a meadow. The Rev. Leonard Schnell, successor to Neibert, on May 24, 1748, opened a school in the Gemeinhaus with four boys and three girls, his wife teaching the latter. This may be considered the first beginning of a widely patronized seminary for young women at Lititz, which is still in a prosperous condition.

Moravian intinerant ministers from 1746 on preached from time to time at Muddy Creek, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Donegal and "beyond the Susquehanna." Among the ministers mentioned were Christian Henry Rauch, Leonard Schnell, Samuel Utley and Abraham Reinke.

The congregation in Lancaster was organized in 1745, though there was preaching in the town by Moravians as early as 1742, when Zinzendorf spoke in the court house. Reichel in his "Moravian History," 1734-1748, p. 190, says: "Those among the Lutherans who were favorably inclined to the Brethren and who had sent their children to a school, commenced by Brother J. G. Nixdorf, now requested the authorities at Bethlehem to send them a minister; which request led to the organization of a Moravian congregation at Lancaster, at a somewhat later date."

What Macauley said of the German emigrants in general may be said of the German pioneers and their descendants in the history of Lancaster county. They were "honest, laborious men, who have once been thriving burghers of Manheim and Heidelberg, or who cultivated the vine on the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. Their ingenuity and their diligence could not fail to enrich any land which should afford them an asylum."

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

By Henry Kulp Ober, Former President of Elizabethtown College. Pennsylvania.

Introductory—The Mennonites—The Amish—The Reformed Mennonites The Church of the Brethren—The Brethren in Christ—The United Zion's Children—The Yorkers.

The meaning of the phrase "The Plain People" which has been chosen as the heading of this chapter, is locally well understood, but when one comes to set down just what is included in this rather common expression it is not so easily done. There is a group of religious organizations composed of several denominations in Lancaster county, to which this appellation has been applied by common consent. The group at present includes the Mennonites, the Amish, the Church of the Brethren (often called Dunkards or Dunkers), the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren), the United Zion's Children (Brinserites), the Yorkers, the New Mennonites or Reformed Mennonites.

It is the purpose of this chapter to set forth in a sympathetic and unbiased manner the brief history of these organizations together with a description of their respective beliefs and practices. In no sense is there any desire to criticise or condemn. Even where one would find himself in disagreement with some of these beliefs or practices, there is no less respect and reverence for those who hold these views. There is no question but that these sturdy people, by their pious lives, the practice of their simple faith, their strong devotion to what they believe to be right, by their self-denial, and by their integrity and frugality, have made a large contribution to the social, religious, economical and industrial life of our great county, and have added to the solidarity of its citizenship.

The appellation, "The Plain People," most likely derives its largest share of meaning from the fact that these people are simply and plainly dressed, in many cases maintaining rather a distinctive cut of dress which they believe is a means to the end of simple Christian life. In addition to plainness of dress, however, they are also non-resistant in doctrine, which they have maintained throughout all these years. The spirit of these conscientious people, whether Mennonites, Amish, Dunkards, and other similar sects, is clearly breathed forth in the following memorial which is extant and was presented by the Amish Mennonites to William Penn under date of May 20, 1718. Perhaps this should more accurately have been placed in the part of this chapter which is devoted to the discussion of the Amish, but it breathes forth so clearly the fervent spirit which in so large a manner has animated these "Plain People" and illustrates their principles and aims so generally, that for this reason it is given here in the introduction.

To the Most Worshipful and Respectable Proprietor of the Province, William Penn, and His Deputy Governor:

We came to Pennsylvania to seek an asylum from the persecution to which we had been subjected in Europe. We knew the character of William Penn, and rejoiced God had made such a man. We had been told that the Indian right to the soil had been extinguished by purchase, to enable the conscientiously scrupulous to settle and enjoy their religious opinions without restraint. It was with primitive notions like the Patriarchs of antiquity we removed to the land of promise, but to our grief and surprise and mortification the government had neither the conscience of the proprietary nor the faith of the Amish. We were invited to settle in this land by William Penn.

Listen to us; if you do not, who will? We are required to obey laws in whose making we cannot participate (the Amish differing from the other Mennonites at that time in not voting). We are governed by the laws of God, you by the laws of man. Those of human authority cannot control us in opposition to His will declared in the Holy Scriptures. We do not attend elections, we enter not your Courts of Justice, we hold no offices either civil or military. We did not object to the payment of our land, because it was purchased by William Penn, and you are entitled to remuneration, but we hold it to be a grievance that, entertaining nearly the same opinions as the respectable Society of Friends, we should like them to be subjected to Military and Civil Jurisdiction, especially when it is recollected that the head proprietor, whom we now have the honor through you to address, is himself a member of that society. The Society of Friends at least ought to have escaped such treatment. We are not a *little people,* for our neighbors, the Mennonites and the Dunkers, are also liable to be insulted by the tyranny of authority.

We came to Pennsylvania to enjoy freedom of mind and body, expecting no other imposition than that declared by God. As we have been taught to hurt not our neighbors, so do we expect that our neighbors will do us no injury. As we cannot contract debts, we require no law for their recovery.

If we should be so unfortunate as to have indigent neighbors, we shall provide for their wants. The same inclination that tends to the preservation of our children prompts to the care of every member of our flock. Conscience, the voice of God, deters us from the commission of crime. As we commit no crime, hard is it for us to suffer for those of others. We ought not to be compelled to pay for the maintenance of convicts.

We ask you for permission to pass our lives in innocence and tranquility. Let us pursue our avocations unmolested. We respect your rights, respect our customs. We ask nothing of you but what the Word of God can justify.

The Mennonites—Brevity of space prevents us from entering into the full discussion of the European history of these people. They bear their name from the well known sturdy martyr, Menno Simon. Among the first settlers that came to American we find them located at Germantown, from which place early, a small colony of Mennonites located on the banks of the Pequea, which is one of the prominent creeks of our county. On a warrant dated October 10, 1710, for a tract of 10,000 acres north of Pequea creek, in what is now Lancaster county, we find the names of John Rudolph Bundley, Martin Kendig, Jacob Muller, Hans Graf, Hans Herr, Christian Herr, Martin Oberholts, Hans Funk, Michael Oberholts, Weyndel Bowman, "Switzers lately arrived in the Province." It further appears that on April 27, 1711, 6,417 acres of land were distributed, being divided among later comers to this colony.

In the year 1717 many other Mennonites came into Pennsylvania, and at this time the Mennonite settlement occupied the southern half of what was then, in 1718, Conestoga township. In 1722 other Mennonites arrived from Europe, led by Nicholas Erb, and some time later settled on the Hammer creek, in what is now Warwick township. These colonies soon spread until the greater part of the fat valleys surrounding were being "taken up" by the Mennonite people, and formed so large a part of its sturdy life during these years.*

The Mennonites of to-day are the direct lineal as well as the spiritual descendants of the European Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. Most of them trace their ancestry through the centuries to the days of the early reformers. Mennonite names to-day are almost identical with the names of the Anabaptists of 1600. In faith, in doctrine, in religious practice and in their social spirit, they differ little from their ancestors. The Anabaptist doctrines of non-resistance, non-swearing of oaths, non-participation in civil government, and rejection of infant baptism and seclusion from the world are just as rigidly maintained by the main body of the Mennonites in America as ever they were by Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock in the early sixteenth century.

In religious practices also as well as in doctrine, the Mennonites have perpetuated the teachings of the Anabaptists. Among the customs which the latter introduced into their religious worship was that of feet-washing, in connection with the communion service. This practice was common among some of the Anabaptists of Europe and was in vogue in some form also among other religious organizations. The Pope still practices the observance on certain occasions of religious ceremony, as do also some of the officials of the Greek Catholic church. The practice was also common at one time among some branches of the Baptist denomination as well as among other offspring of the Anabaptists. The "Primitive" Baptists still observe the custom. Among the Mennonites of Europe there was no uniformity of practice. The custom was not observed everywhere in Holland, nor as we have seen, in Switzerland. With the exception of the Mennonites of Germantown and Franconia, it was introduced by the early immigrants into America, due perhaps partly to Amish influence. It is now still rigidly maintained among all Mennonites in America with the exception of the General Conference branch of the church.

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*For a statement of the faith and practice of this denomination we have drawn very largely from a volume entitled, "The Mennonites of America," written by Dr. C. Henry Smith, who is a member of this church and one of their leading educators, holding the chair of History in Goshen College.

Another religious custom which is now confined almost exclusively to the Dunkards and the Mennonites is the wearing of the prayer head covering among the women of the church. The practice of wearing a covering of some sort on the head during religious worship was common among the Anabaptists, and if one may judge from the portraits of the women of past generations, it was not unusual among later Protestant denominations. This covering, which at first was perhaps some sort of veil, finally developed into a small cap made of light material and just large enough to cover the head. The custom is common among most of the branches of the American Mennonite church, but has been discarded by the General Conference Mennonites and other of the more liberal elements of the denomination.

The bonnet, once in common use among the Quakers, is a relic of a form of head dress which was once common among the wives and daughters of many of the pioneers of the country. The first German immigrants were usually of the poorer people, and the women wore a sort of shawl or kerchief on their heads. This was soon replaced by the home made bonnet. The next stage in the evolution of woman's head dress was the hat which admitted of more ornament, but the majority of Mennonites never adopted that form of head gear.

In their social spirit the Mennonites have ever been exclusive. This spirit also has been a bequest from their Anabaptist ancestors. It was a development which resulted partly from the conception that the world was corrupt and the Christian must remove himself from it as much as possible, and partly from the persecutions which they suffered during their early history. For centuries in Europe they were hounded from one hiding place to another, and it was but natural that they should develop the feeling that their rights in this world were few. These circumstances together with the fact that they came largely from the ranks of the common people engendered within them a humble and seclusive spirit. When they immigrated to America they always settled in comparatively new regions where it was possible for them to form small colonies and thus perpetuate their own religious and social environment. Disintegrating infiuences from without were guarded against by a rule of the church which forbade intermarriage with members of other denominations. And thus as a result of these various forces which have been operating for more than three centuries, the main body of the American Mennonites has been able to maintain and perpetuate not only the religious principles, but the customs, the language, the spirit and in a few cases almost the style of dress of their European ancestors of the sixteenth century. Nowhere else in American can one get so near to the spirit and the customs of the common people of Switzerland and Germany of three hundred years ago as among the Amish and some of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania.

This exclusive spirit engendered conservatism. The Mennonites have always been slow to change their habits and opinions. This tendency is manifested especially in their attitude toward the adoption of new forms of dress. They have always been among the last to discard old styles for the new. This has been due in part to a commendable desire to escape the changing whims and vanities of fashion, and in part to their conservative instincts, which suspected everything "new" as worldly. Both men and women have always been exceedingly plain and modest in their style of dress. The significance attached to plain dress is well typified by the phrase "turned plain," which in Lancaster county always means to join church. In recent years a considerable change has taken place in many localities on the subject of dress restrictions. To-day, with the exception of the most conservative branches of the church, most of the restrictions regarding the style and cut of dress have been discarded so far as the men are concerned, but the women are still required to wear the cape in Lancaster county; and with the exception of several of the more liberal branches of the church they are still required to wear the bonnet instead of a hat.

In church government, the Mennonites have always followed the congregational type. Robert Brown, the Englishman, is often called the father of congregationalism, but long before Brown was born small bands of Anabaptists were found in the cities along the Rhine, in Germany and Holland and in southeastern England. These communities were self-governing so far as religious matters were concerned, and claimed absolute independence both from the state and outside ecclesiastical organizations.

Toward higher learning, the American Mennonites have never until recently been well disposed. This was due in part to their inherited prejudices, in part to their form of occupation and in part to their experience. The leaders of the Anabaptists, Grebel, Hubmeir and Denk, and Dirck Philip, were all men of learning. But the rank and file of their followers were of the common people, with little learning outside of a more or less thorough knowledge of the Bible. And even these leaders, although educated men themselves, taught that university training was not necessary for preaching the Gospel. As a consequence, after these early leaders died, learning disappeared from among the Mennonites. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that it was again revived in Europe and educated leaders once more began to direct the work of the church.

The early immigrants to Pennsylvania, being pioneer farmers, had neither opportunity nor inclination to devote any time to higher learning. The early pioneers of Germantown, many of whom were Hollanders, seemed an exception to the general rule, for here the Mennonites and Quakers together established in 1701 the Germantown Academy, with Pastorius as the first teacher. Here a number of the Mennonite youths of the community received their first school training.

But while opposed to higher learning, the Mennonites favored such elementary instruction as seemed practical to them. Consequently they established private subscription schools where reading, writing, and some work in numbers were taught. In many cases the meeting house also served as a school house. By 1718 Christopher Dock had begun a school in the Skippack settlement which was soon held alternately in the meeting houses of the Salford and Skippack congregations. Wickersham in his History of Education in Pennsylvania says that before 1740 the Mennonites had established schools in Upper Hanover, in Montgomery county, and in the church houses near Coopersburg, and Upper Milford in Lehigh county. The latter he says was built of "logs and divided into two apartments by a swinging partition suspended from the ceiling. One apartment was used for religious, the other for school purposes." The early meeting houses in Lancaster county were made to serve a like purpose. Schools were kept during the eighteenth century in the houses at Willow Street, Mellingers, Strasburg, two in the northwest part of Manheim township, three in Warwick, and one in Brecknock township.

When the free public school system was inaugurated in Pennsylvania in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Mennonites together with the other German sects, were at first opposed to the movement, because it would take the education of the youth out of the hands of the church and would substitute the English for the German language. But after they had once adjusted themselves to the new system none supported it more heartily than they.

While Mennonites everywhere encouraged instruction in the elements of learning, none of them favored higher education until far into the nineteenth century. This does not mean that none of their young men ever wandered from the trodden paths, for occasionally one would find his way to some college or university where he invariably made a good record as a student. Scores of men who hold high positions in other churches, in colleges and in every walk of life claim a Mennonite ancestry. But these men at the end of their college career had been trained away from many of their earlier religious beliefs, and finding little inducement to return to the church under whose wing they had been brought up, drifted into other denominations. This only intensified the prejudice against such training, and at the same time robbed the church of the very element which ought to have helped it most to higher ideals of service and culture.

It finally began to dawn upon a few of the leaders of the denomination that if this process were to continue indefinitely, the Mennonites must ever play an insignificant role in the religious world. The first to awaken to this fact was the General Conference branch of the church, which in this as in several other lines of progress took the lead among the various branches of the denomination. J. H. Oberholtzer was one of the first to advocate a more thorough training for the ministry. His efforts were warmly seconded by Daniel Hoch of Canada, Daniel Krehbiel of Iowa, and Ephraim Hunsberger of Ohio. At the suggestion of Oberholtzer the first preliminary conference which was held in Iowa in 1860, discussed the need of a theological seminary.

The conference of 1863 decided to establish a school which was to be known as the "Christian Educational Institution of the Mennonite Denomination," and appointed a committee to collect funds and choose a suitable location. On January 2, 1868, the school was opened at Wadsworth, Ohio, with Christian Showalter of Iowa as the first principal, one other instructor, and twenty-four students. Its purpose was primarily to train young men and women for Christian work, although secular subjects were also taught. Most of the instruction was to be conducted in the German language. The school never prospered. The attendance scarcely ever went beyong that of the opening day. Although there were only three teachers, expenses could hardly be met. C. J. van der Smissen who had been called from Germany to the chair of theology did not always agree with Principal Showalter as to the management of the school. The latter finally resigned and the former was given entire control of the institution. Finally, the churches of the West and those of Pennsylvania fell into a quarrel over certain matters of policy. As a result of these conflicting interests, the institution had to be closed in 1878, just ten years after the first students entered its doors for instruction. They have since established Bluffton College in Ohio, Bethel College in Kansas, Goshen College in Indiana and at Harrisonburg, Virginia.

No sketch of the secular and religious life of the Mennonites would be complete without at least some reference to their habits of thrift and industry. Throughout their entire history they have everywhere been spoken of as an honest, industrious and prosperous people. Mosheim, the historian, says of the Mennonites of Holland in his day that they "owned the finest land, drove the finest equipages, lived in the best houses, and were in every way the most industrious people in Holland." This characterization might be applied with just as much truth to almost any of the settlements in America. The Mennonites of Lancaster county, and the Amish of Woodford county, Illinois, have attained perhaps, to as high an average of material prosperity as any other farming community in the entire country.

With the other virtues which enter into the composition of true character the Mennonites as a whole are endowed to an unusual degree. While as a denomination they may fall behind others in their attainments in the world of culture, yet in the possession of the sounder virtues they are surpassed by none. They are sober, honest, industrious, peaceable and religious,—withal among the most useful citizens of the land.

The Amish—This denomination takes its name from one Jacob Ammon, (Amman), a Mennonite preacher who resided in the canton of Berne in Switzerland. He is reported as having been a man of strong conservative tendencies and of decided opinions. In 1693 he is found visiting the Swiss churches, advocating especially a more rigid observance of the practice of "Avoidance" or "Shunning" of all such who had been excommunicated from the church. At this time it was the practice of the Swiss church to "shun" a member who had been expelled from their body at the communion table, only, but this was far too lenient a practice on this important principle in the mind of Ammon. He insisted that this practice be extended to numerous social and even domestic relations. The wife and children of an expelled member, if they were members of the church, according to his notion, must not be permitted to eat with him at the same table. The usual conjugal relations between husband and wife were also to be suspended until proper penitence had been manifested on the part of the one expelled and until full restoration into the church had been secured.

Throughout the region of the Oberland and Emmenthaler territories much bitter discussion on this subject was provoked. Ammon soon gained some followers who espoused his views and took up enthusiastically the practices as advocated by him. Hans Reist was his principal opponent in the Swiss church. These two factions held numerous conferences with a view of settling these difficulties and controversies but it seems without any success. The result was that Ammon headed one faction and Reist headed the other.

The Ammon branch became known as the Amish, and they were often spoken of as the Amish Mennonites. As a special mark of distinction and a sign of separation from the "world" and even other churches, Ammon introduced the use of hooks and eyes instead of buttons on the clothes of men. He also introduced the practice of feet washing, which the Swiss church at this time seems to have dropped. The practice of "avoidance" was also very strenuously emphasized. It is claimed that in 1700 Ammon and a number of his leading followers wrote a letter to Reist asking forgiveness, but Reist refused to be reconciled, and thus the division continued and remains to the present.

The Amish church in Europe has been small in number. It began in the canton of Berne and from here it spread to small settlements in Alsace, Lorraine, and the Palatinate, where a few small congregations are reported in existence to-day. Just when the first Amish came to America is not fully established. There is a large likelihood that in 1711 a few immigrants arrived in America. The names of now prominent Amish families are found among the early settlers of Lancaster county as early as 1725. By 1750 the names of many persons of the best known families were found in the Amish colonies of Berks and Lancaster counties. About 1740 an early congregation was established on the land near the headwaters of the Conestoga and Pequea creeks in Lancaster county. While about the same time or a little earlier another settlement was formed in Berks county near the location of the town of Hamburg. The settlement in Lancaster county in the regions of the Conestoga and Pequea creeks have continued to be prosperous Amish communities, and to-day this region is claimed to constitute one of the largest settlements in America. It is claimed at the present time these people are organized into fifteen congregations with a membership of about 1,200. This includes the three branches of the church.

The Amish people have always been known for their strong conservatism in all matters pertaining to religion. The early settlers worshipped in private homes and believing that to erect houses of worship would be a tendency toward worldliness, that is, would be becoming too much like other people of the world, they have continued this practice of worship almost uniformly until quite recently. In recent years they have split into several factions differing on some of these points. The branch which is known among them as the "Old Order," or Conservatives, still continues to worship in private homesteads, while a more liberal element have earned the appellation of "The Church Amish," by building church houses for use in public worship.

One of the most outstanding features marking the conservatism of the Amish manifests itself in their personal appearance and manner of dress. They believe that pride manifests itself most conspicuously in bodily adornment, and, therefore, in order to be "unworldly," which to these people seems to mean to be unlike other people, they have set up a certain form or standard of dress which they believe should not change. Their clothes are homemade, consisting of plainly colored material and usually it is cut the same way for all the members. The men are permitted to wear homemade suspenders but no others. They continue to practice the use of hooks and eyes instead of buttons on their coats and vests. Every man as soon as it will grow, is required to wear a beard but is not permitted to wear a mustache, even with a beard, and much less to wear a mustache alone. The men wear their hair long and comb it straight down over their heads, cutting it off in front in "bangs" style and in the rear on a line parallel with the lower part of their ears, from ear to ear. The regulation hat is a low crown, broad brimmed hat. The women likewise are dressed in extremely plain clothes. Their dresses of plain color are made with a cape over the shoulders, always wearing an apron. Usually the clothes of the women are of a variety of plain colors, (there being no objection to different colors but the dress is supposed to be of the same color throughout). Also in a number of cases the feminine members of the church wear capes and aprons of black cloth. As a shelter-covering, the women wear a shaker type of plain bonnet. The prayer-covering that the sisters wear is a white cap made out of muslin and tied with two ties under the chin. The young sisters from early childhood on wear the white cap until they are about fifteen or sixteen years of age when they change to wearing the black cap, keeping on wearing this black cap until about their marriage. Sometimes they continue to wear the black cap until after their marriage, although it is the usual practice that they change again to the white cap. It is a uniform practice among these people that *the children are always clothed in the same manner, style and cut as the adults.*

In their homes and in their every day life these people are equally plain and simple. Pictures on the wall for embellishment are not seen. Brightly colored carpets or stripes in the carpet would be considered too "worldly." Even many of the present day conveniences are not permitted on the basis that all such things like modern improvements and conveniences would be too "worldly." They usually drive in a special type of carriage which is easily distinguished by its quaint square top and its oddly colored cloth that is used to cover the same. The use of telephones, electric lights, organs, piano, other musical instruments, bicycles, and automobiles were considered entirely too "worldly."

These people have stood strongly opposed to higher education. They are thoroughly in sympathy with such elementary training as would enable their children to read and to write. In spite of these peculiarities, the Amish have kept abreast with the latest methods of agriculture and have taught their children to mind their own business as one of their fundamental virtues. They have been regarded as thoroughly honest, upright in all their transactions. They have always proven themselves to be industrious, hard working, frugal, honest, thrifty and usually prosperous. They own some of the finest and most fertile farms in our county. They have always been exceedingly religious. Whenever a new colony is founded there a church was at once organized.

They have practiced the doctrine of non-resistance. believing conscientiously that it is wrong to go to war They are also opposed to using the oath, and are taught to settle all their disputes among themselves. If two of the "brethren" fail to adjust any disagreement between them, they are at liberty to call upon the church as a tribunal to adjust their difficulties. They still practice the doctrine of "avoidance" or "shunning" although not quite as severe in their method of discipline as in earlier years. They believe that this practice of refusing to associate is the best means to win an erring brother from the error of his ways and thus restore him to his full membership after full repentance and restitution have been made. They do not practice teaching the Bible by means of Sunday Schools, nor do they have special revival meetings, and do not hold evening services. However, some of the more progressive element called the "Church or House Amish" are taking on some of these "newer" practices.

It is very readily understod that in any denomination where the principle of separation from all other people is so strongly stressed that naturally when it comes to the consideration of matrimony, this church could recognize only the marriage of members in the church and, therefore, anyone marrying outside the church would have to be disowned and placed under the ban of "avoidance" until such time as they would see the error of their way, and would repent of their sin to the extent that both would make application to be received into the church. This makes the matter of intermarriage between nearly related families almost imperative in the course of a number of succeeding generations. Those who claim to be competent to judge are rather sure that some of the present generation in our own county are suffering from this rather close intermarriage with near relatives.

The weddings among these people are usually a matter of large gatherings of relatives and friends at which time a great deal of frivolity and even intemperance in strong drink is sometimes too prevalent to be consistent with principles of temperance which one would expect to be more fully adhered to. However, this church never has taken a strong position on the doctrine of temperance, altho a member of continual intemperate habits will be excommunicated.

Some of the practices on funeral occasions among these people have been rather largely misunderstood. It has been the practice for many years for the friends and relatives of the deceased to return to the house of mourning after the interment of the departed one for the purpose of eating with the sorrowing family in deep sympathy. Sometimes the meal is served before the funeral service. The custom has so grown upon them that instead of having a simple meal as was the earlier practice, they have a full meal, consisting of many varieties of food, and it is claimed on some occasions this becomes almost a revelry of feasting and drinking. The origin of this custom did not foster this spirit from the beginning, but it has simply grown step by step because one family does not wish to have any less than another one had on a similar occasion and thus there is more and more added until one feels that there is considerable extravagance at such times.

When one understands the fundamental principles on which the founder tried to build this institution, and thinks of the times in which the conditions were so different, there is not so much room for unkind criticism. In many of the finer, deeper and larger virtues of life, these people have usually high standards. On the charge that they are rather clannish in their attitude toward other folks, there is small ground for defense, since the very nature of their practices tends towards this end.

However, their neighbors testify to their kindly hospitality and charitable attitude assumed toward neighbors in their communities. In the main, they have been a quiet, conscientious, hard working religious people, who, in their own way, have made and are making their special contribution to the citizenship of our own great county.

Reformed Mennonites (New Mennonites)—This organization dates back to the followers of Menno Simon and shares in its early history the same principles. Aside from a strict adherence to the doctrine of "Avoidance" and "Shunning," they hold very largely to the same principles as the Mennonites. If ever there was a church that believed they and they alone are right, this is the church. So strict are they in this observance of the principle of "Avoidance" that they will not attend the funeral of some of their nearest relatives because they are taught that one must not even listen to any other preacher than their own. As far as we are able to analyze their faith and practice it is almost identical with that of the Mennonite church. They lay great stress on the statement in the New Testament that says that "Every tree that beareth not good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire."

The beginning of this organization is traced to one Francis Herr, who settled in what is now West Lampeter township in Lancaster county, who was a farmer by occupation and who believed firmly in the doctrine of the Gospel as set forth in the writings of Menno Simon. He was for a time a member of the Mennonite church. Some claim he was expelled from the church and others claim he withdrew. After his withdrawal from the Mennonites, he held public meetings at his house, freely exhorting and instructing those who assembled. He was frequently called to speak and exhort at funerals. However, he never claimed to be a full minister of the gospel, never having been fully ordained as such. He did not assume the position of a preacher, by standing up to address his audience, but to indicate on what plane he esteemed himself, he kept his seat as an exhorter. Quite a number of sympathizers associated with him, and out of this nucleus grew a final organization of this denomination, of which John Herr was elected pastor and bishop, after having been baptized by Abraham Landis, who was appointed by the group to administer this rite. They claimed that they could not find any organization which they could recognize as the church of God and, therefore, they were compelled to organize one, seeking to do everything that the Scriptures teach. They copied so fully the faith and practice of the old Mennonite church that the main distinction between these two organizations lies in a strict observance of the doctrine of "Shunning" and "Avoidance." This is based on the idea that one must withdraw from disorderly brethren, and to this end they certainly place the ban on anyone who was once a member and who for any reason had withdrawn or is disowned. They practice the communion as well as the act of feet washing. They hold the marriage relation as a divine order instituted by God, sanctioned and encouraged under the law and regulated under the Gospel. To them divorce is impossible. It is needless to add, of course, that a member of this church can marry any one other than a member of this church, as such union could not be regarded as holy. All proposals of marriage are strictly inquired into to the feelings and exercises of the parties; and if nothing is known or revealed, which is inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, the parties are joined in marriage. To avoid as far as possible all carnal influence in bringing about marriage, it is not considered becoming for the unmarried members to meet together in private company. Proposals of marriage are usually made through a third person, and the parties themselves do not usually converse with each other on the subject until such proposal is made; and then, generally, not unless there is a disposition manifested on the part of the party proposed to, to accede to the wishes of the other party, after this they visit each other and confer privately with each other. When the marriage is determined on the banns are published in the church, and after some time the rite is solemnized usually at a public meeting.

This organization sets forth in no uncertain terms their definite position on the matter of non-resistance, either in self-defense for property, personal defense or being sued or suing at the law. They set forth very clearly their belief in the sinfulness of war and their inability to participate in any sense in carnal warfare. So far as can be learned, this sect has adhered most unflinchingly to this doctrine, as well as the strict observance of refusing to listen to preaching to any other than their own ordained minister, even to the extent of absenting themselves of the funeral services of some near relative.

To the sturdy quality of these quiet, peaceful people none can testify more completely than their neighbors who touch elbows with them, that they believe firmly in the things which they practice no one doubts. They have made their contribution in like manner with these other "plain people" to the solidarity of the citizenship of Lancaster county. These people do not support a special school for their children. They favor elementary education and are encouraging some of their young people to complete the regular high school courses. A well built commodious brick building located near the west boundary of the city limits in Lancaster on the north side of the Millersville pike is being maintained as a neat quiet "home" for their homeless and infirm or aged members of this body.

Church of The Brethren (Dunkers)—The Church of The Brethren was earlier known by the name of the German Baptists. It, like all these other "Plain" denominations, is an outgrowth of the Pietistic Movement, the discussion of which this limited space allotted here does not permit. Following the treaty of Westphalia, Europe was divided into two classes, those who believed in the union of Church and State and those who contended for the separation of Church and State. This great fundamental principle, together with the principle that faith is essential as a preparatory step to baptism, developed what sometimes is called the Anabaptist Movement. Out of these varying attitudes grew groups of people who were called Separatists or Pietists. The Pietists were bitterly persecuted by the Reformed and Catholic churches and were driven from place to place until finally Count Cassimir of Wittgenstein opened a place of refuge for the persecuted "brethren" in his Province. It was in the village of Schwarzenau in this Province that Alexander Mack and others similarly minded met to read and to study God's Word. They mutually agreed to lay aside all existing creeds, confessions of faith, and catechisms, and to search for the truth of God's Book, and, having found it, to follow it wherever it might lead them. They were led to adopt the New Testament as their creed and to declare in favor of a literal observance of all the teaching of the Son of God.

In 1708 a small company, eight souls, repaired to the river Eder and were buried with Christ in baptism, trine immersion being the mode used. The church was organized and Alexander Mack was chosen as its first minister. The infant church increased in numbers rapidly, but even in Wittgenstein their peace was soon disturbed, and, although they lived peaceful and harmless lives, the hand of persecution was laid heavily upon them. Mack, in company with Hochmann, preached the Word of Truth in many parts of Germany, visiting Holland also. Here they met and formed the acquaintance of William Penn, who was at that time much interested in his colony in the new world. The Church of the Brethren was invited to settled in Pennsylvania, and, as she was sorely persecuted, the invitation was accepted. In 1719 the members commenced emigrating to America, and within ten years the entire church found itself quietly settled down in the vicinity of Germantown and Philadelphia. From this nucleus, formed in the New World, the church spread southward and westward, and flourishing congregations are now found in most of the States. From this settlement in Germantown, Pennsylvania, migrated to the Conestoga Valley, the early pioneers who founded the Church of the Brethren in our own great county of Lancaster.

We give here a brief statement of the faith and practices of this denomination, most of which is taken verbatim from an authorized history of the Church of the Brethren, in pamphlet form, which is distributed by the General Mission Board of this church, and sets forth so definitely the main characteristic doctrines that we have chosen to give most of it, with few omissions and with few additions as found in these pages.

The Church of the Brethren holds the Bible to be the inspired and infallible Word of God, and accepts the New Testament as her rule of faith and practice. In the subtleties of speculative theology the church takes little interest. She is chiefly concerned in giving willing and cheerful obedience in life and service in harmony with the plain, simple teachings of Christ Jesus. Her faith is in every respect evangelical. She believes in the deity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the sin-pardoning value of the atonement, the personal and visible return of the Lord, and the resurrection of both the just and unjust. Faith, repentance, baptism, and the infilling of the Holy Spirit are fundamental to true conversion.

The method of baptism used by this denomination is universally that of trine immersion. The officiating minister leads the applicant into the water, having the applicant kneel in the water, when the following three questions are asked:

(Minister)—Dost thou believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that He has brought from heaven a saving Gospel?

(Applicant)—Yes.

(Minister)—Dost thou willingly renounce Satan, with all his pernicious ways, and all the sinful pleasures of this world?

(Applicant)—Yes.

(Minister)—Dost thou covenant with God in Christ Jesus to be faithful until death?

(Applicant)—Yes.

After the officiating minister says "thou shalt be baptised for the remission of thy sins in the name of the "Father" the applicant is immersed once forward, "and of the 'Son'" the applicant is immersed the second time, "and of the 'Holy Ghost'" the applicant is immersed the third time. After this the administrator lays his hands on the head of the one baptized while still kneeling and offers a prayer in his behalf; after which the new member arises, to walk in newness of life.

The Brethren follow closely the practice of the apostolic church and admit none into fellowship until they have been baptized. In the language of Peter to the Pentecostians, they tell all believers to "repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:38). They hold that baptism is only for believers and those who have repented. Infants can neither believe nor repent, hence they are not proper subjects for baptism. Until they have reached the period of moral accountability they are safe in Christ.

In defense of trine immersion they hold that the great commission, given by Christ, and recorded in Matt. 28: 19, Revised Version, "Baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," teaches a threefold action. As there are three Persons in the Trinity, each one of the Divine Three is honored in this form of baptism. As the three Persons conutstite one God, and a belief in each of these one faith, so the three dippings constitute one baptism. In favor of this practice the church has the testimony of Greek scholars who have examined the subject, the practice of the entire Greek church, and reliable history. These all show that trine immersion was the almost universal mode of baptism for centuries succeeding the apostolic age. Changes were gradually made from trine immersion to sprinkling, but the church that made the change, the Roman Catholic, still retains the three actions in applying water to the candidate. Nearly all the Protestant churches that practice sprinkling retain the same form, thus testifying to the truth that the commission teaches a threefold action in baptism. The baptism as practiced by the Church of the Brethren is accepted as valid baptism by practically all Christian denominations.

The evening before his death, our Blessed Master, after having washed his disciples' feet, ate a supper with them and instituted, in connection with this sacred meal the Communion—the bread and cup. The apostles, led by the Holy Spirit, followed the example of their Great Leader and introduced the agape into the apostolic church. This feats of love, of which all the Christians partook, was a full meal, eaten in the evening, and is called by the apostle Paul the Lord's Supper. The Communion of the bread and wine was given in connection with this meal. The love feast was kept up in the primitive church for four centuries, but as the church grew in numbers and wealth the feasts of love were discontinued. The Church of the Brethren, in her reformatory movement in 1708, restored these love feasts, and in this particular still follows the example of Christ and the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians, and keeps the feast of love. A meal is prepared and placed upon tables used for that purpose, in the church, and all the members partake of the supper.

Before eating supper, the religious rite of washing feet is observed. Their authority for this practice is found in John 13: 1-17: "He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. . . . If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." The Church of the Brethren does not stand alone in the practice of this rite. The Greek church, with its ninety million communicants, has adhered to feet-washing, as she claims, ever since the days of the apostles, and the patriarch of Jerusalem engages in feet-washing to-day near the place where Jesus himself gave the example and the precept.

In her practice of the ordinance of feet-washing at love-feast occasions the Church of the Brethren follows very closely the example of the Master. Water is poured into a basin, a brother girds himself with a towel and washes and wipes his brother's bared feet, and in turn has his feet washed. The rite is in this way performed over the entire congregation. The sisters wash the sisters' feet and all the proprieties of the sexes are most rigidly observed. By this ordinance the gospel principle of humility is set forth and by its observance all are placed on a common level. The rich and poor stand alike together in the great brotherhood established by Christ.

After observing the ceremony of feet-washing, a blessing is asked upon the simple meal spread on the tables, and it is eaten with solemnity. It is held to be typical of the great supper at the end of the world, when Christ himself will serve. The important lesson is taught that we are all children of one common family, members of one common brotherhood, having one common purpose, and the bond of fraternity and loving fellowship is shown by eating together this sacred meal as did Christ and his disciples and as did the primitive Christians.

The Communion is then observed. This consists in partaking of the bread and wine in commemoration of the sufferings and death of our adorable Redeemer. In the Lord's Supper we are pointed forward to the evening of the world, to the great reunion of the saints. In the Communion we are pointed back to the cross. The emblems are passed from hand to hand by the brethren, and in like manner by the sisters. After this a season of earnest devotion follows, and then a hymn is sung and the services are closed for the evening. Love feasts are held in each congregation usually once or twice a year, but as the members visit from congregation to congregation, during the lovefeast season, they engage many times in this service during one year.

In compliance with the instruction of the apostle James, 5: 14, 15, the Brethren anoint the sick with oil. This rite is administered upon the request of the sick. The elders are called and anoint the head of the sick with oil in the name of the Lord. Then they lay their hands on the head of the sick, and offer a prayer for the anointed one, that he may be healed, and also that he may be fully prepared for whatever is the will of the Lord.

The Church of the Brethren holds the marriage bond to be very sacred and binding. Divorce and remarriage are permitted only for the one scriptural reason, as found in Matt. 19:9. The church holds, with Paul, that "The woman which hath a husband is bound by law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband" (Rom. 7: 2).

Her members are not allowed to go to law with one of their own number, nor with others, without first asking the counsel of the church, and it is rare indeed for a brother to be engaged in a lawsuit. Among themselves differences are adjusted personally or by the church in accordance with the Christian law of trespass given by the Master (Matt. 18: 15-20). The Fraternity is strictly non-resistant, as well as non-litigant. It is held that Christ is the "Prince of Peace," that his Word is "The Gospel of Peace," hence his servants cannot go to war to fight. They may do such non-combatant service in war as will contribute to human welfare and comfort, but not such service as will contribute to the destruction of life or property. They cannot consistently take up arms, "for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds" (2 Cor. 10: 4).

The church is opposed to all forms of swearing. If called upon to testify in the courts, members simply affirm. Thus they literally obey the command of Christ who said, "Swear not at all. But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil" (Matt. 5: 34-37). It is not in harmony with the principles of the church for members to belong to oath-bound secret societies. Such membership involves a violatoin of gospel teaching. The church, as the body of Christ, is sufficient for human needs.

On the question of temperance and prohibition the Church of the Brethren have, for more than a century given no uncertain testimony. It is one of the oldest temperance organizations in the United States. More than one hundred years ago a decision was passed, forbidding any of the members to engage in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants. The church forbids the use of all alcoholic or malt liquors as a beverage, in public or private. It discourages the use of tobacco, and the rule is that no brother can be installed in office who uses tobacco, without making a promise to quit it. All applicants for baptism, who are addicted to the tobacco habit, are advised to abstain from its use before they are received into church fellowship.

The members of the Church of the Brethren claim to be, and are, generally, a plain people. Plain dressing is taught, and a general uniformity is encouraged, but this is regarded as a means to an end. They believe that the New Testament teaches plainness in attire (1 Tim. 2: 9, 10; 1 Pet. 3: 3), and that by a general uniformity of habit, marked enough to distinguish the church from the world, the gospel plainness may be made a living fact instead of a dead letter, as it has become in many other churches whose discipline strongly insists on plain dressing. Members should appear in worship as taught in 1 Cor. 11: 3-16.

The church keeps her poor, each congregation looking after her own who may become needy. If a single congregation becomes burdened, she may call for assistance upon her sister congregation, and in this way the needed help is obtained. A number of State Districts have homes for the aged. As members of one common family, all are held by the Fraternity as brethren and sisters entitled to support, both moral and physical, in time of need. The are generous in their hospitality and show much of the spirit of the Master in the practice of this Christian virtue.

This church since 1776 has had some higher institution of learning. Juniata College located at Huntington, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1776. In 1900 the members of this persuasion in eastern Pennsylvania founded Elizabethtown College, which is located within the boundary lines of Lancaster county. The doors of this institution swing open to adherents of any creed, however, in the minds of its founders the main purpose to establish this school was to afford a place where young people in this church could secure a liberal education under the influence of teachers who hold this faith and practice.

A large brick three-story building, two hundred feet by fifty feet, with a large addition, located along the Lititz Pike near Neffsvills, has been erected and is maintained by this church for the purpose of caring well for any homeless or aged and infirm members, admitting those of other faiths if space is available. Adjoining the above large plant for the home for the aged and homeless is a tract of a little more than one acre in size on which is erected a fine brick three story building, used for the purpose of housing orphans and homeless children until a good Christian home can be found by the committee in charge. This house is occupied by the steward and matron and their family, so that the children are kept as near in Christian home surroundings even while in this place, as can well be found. It is the aim of this institution to keep them only here until a proper Christian home can be located. There are a few cases where children are boarded by parents since they are unwilling to release full claim upon the child. The care and management of the orphans is administered through a board of Trustees, who are elected by the district convention of the district of eastern Pennsylvania of the Church of the Brethren. Thus the entire church organization of this territory is back of the project and gives it permanency and definiteness in plan and purpose.

The Church of the Brethren has a representative form of church government. Each congregation is independent in the management of its local affairs, such as the election of deacons, ministers, elders, or bishops, and in matters of local church discipline; but is subject to the entire Brotherhood through District and General Conferences. A number of congregations, usually in the same State, conveniently located, are formed into a District, and these hold annual Conferences, to which each congregation is entitled to send two or more delegates, according to its membership, either lay members, or officials. Questions, local to the District, are discussed and settled by the District Conference, but those of a general character are sent to the General Conference, or Annual Meeting, as it is commonly called. This is also a delegated body. The districts each elect one delegate, who must be an elder, to serve on the standing committee. Districts that have over 3,500 members may elect two delegates of standing committee. Each congregation with a membership of two hundred or less may elect one delegate to serve in the general body. Congregations with a larger membership may send two delegates. The delegates may be selected from the laity or the church officials. The standing committee and delegates form the official body of the Conference. Any member present may take part in the discussion of questions, but the voting is confined to the delegates, two-thirds of the votes cast being required for important decisions. The General Conference is also a great annual reunion for the Church. Her members come together from all pars of the Brotherhood, and thousands of them assemble at the place of meeting.

The decisions of the Conference are to be adhered to by all the members of the church. An examination of the Book of Minutes of the Annual Meeting shows that questions referring to church doctrine rarely come before the Conference, proving that there has been a firm adherence to the principles of the Gospel, as originally adopted by the church. But the application of those principles, in special cases, and the best means to carry them into effect, have been subjects of frequent discussion and decision by the Conference. The tendency of the Conference and the associated reunions is to unify the membership in all their church work, and it is a fact that there is rarely found so large a body of religious people so closely united on the doctrines and principles to which they hold.

The officers of the church are elders, ministers, and deacons. Elders are ordained from the ministers of the church by action of the elders of the district. The elder in charge of a congregation usually asks the elders of the district at the District Meeting for the ordination of a minister or ministers to the eldership. If there are no objections the elders assembled authorize the ordination, and a committee of elders is sent to ordain, subject to the consent of the church. Ministers and deacons are elected by the church, each member having a right to cast a vote for whomsoever he or she wishes, in council assembled for the purpose. A two-thirds majority is usually considered necessary to effect an election. A young man who feels called of the Lord to preach may express his wish to the elder, or to a minister of the church, and the church may qualify him by giving him a license to preach. When he has shown faithfulness and ability the church is expected to advance him to the ministry. A member of the District Ministerial Board is usually present at this advancement and installation. Sisters may also be licensed by the church to preach. But they are not authorized to administer the ordinances of the church. While many ministers give their service free, there are many also who serve churches as pastors, and missionaries as well, who give all their time to the work. These are supported.

The Church of the Brethren is well organized for missionary endeavor and tract distribution. Each district has its own local board to work its home field. A General Mission Board consisting of five appointed by Conference, directs the general and foreign work. Under this same General Board is the control and directing of the publishing interests of the church, and eighty per cent of all profits arising from the publications is used in mission work at home and abroad. The headquarters of the General Mission Board and its publishing department, the Brethren Publishing House, is Elgin, Illinois. Its periodicals cover the various needs of the church, are ably edited, and their circulation goes into nearly every State of the Union and into many foreign lands.

The members of the Church of the Brethren are well known as a quiet, peaceable, unassuming people. Habits of strict economy prevail amongst them, and, by their adherence to plainness in dress and living, they are, as a rule, well-to-do, and are able to meet their obligations. They enjoy an enviable reputation for honesty in the communities where they live. They manifest a strong devotion to the Bible and are consistently laboring to live out the principles and spirit of our Lord and Saviour. Rich and poor, high and low, meet alike as one common family in Christ, and the fraternal sentiment is largely developed in her membership. The church has been richly blessed of God and is in a prosperous condition; and before her there is opening a great field for work, in promulgating the principles of primitive and apostolic Christianity, and thus holding up to the world the great doctrine of Peace which the Prince of Peace taught and practiced.

Brethren in Christ (River Brethren)—In the minute book of the General Conference of this denomination under date of 1904, is given a brief history of the Brethren in Christ, and from this authentic source we state briefly the history of this denomination.

In November, 1753, a number of emigrants, largely, if not entirely, of the Mennonite persuasion, came to America, among which there were John and Jacob Engle, who finally located in the northwestern part of Lancaster county, somewhere near the eastern banks of the Susquehanna, and out of the colony and community grew the organization, which to-day is known by the name as above given. We quote here from their own records the following: "Tradition has it, that somewhere about 1785, there were revival efforts made in the western part of Lancaster county, Pa., conducted principally by the united efforts of Otterbein, Boehm, Bochran, the Engles, and others. These laborers were men formerly representing the Lutheran, Mennonite and Anabaptist faiths, who were led out into a deeper work on account of the cold formalism that seemed to pervade the Christian fraternity at that time. Their labors were abundantly blessed with numerous confessions of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as their Savior and of the remission of their sins. It, however, seems that there was some contention concerning the method of baptism which then confronted them; and as some contended that the applicant should make choice of the method, others contended that nothing else but *triune* immersion was a proper method for a qualified applicant; hence the laborers in this effort mutually agreed to work independently according as they understood the Scriptures."

The work of these evangelistic efforts seemed to more or less continue, and as it became necessary to have some one to officiate in ministerial duties the lot fell on Jacob Engle, who became the first minister of the Brotherhood, who, with his co-laborers, John Engle, John Gish, John Stern and a number of others effected, as they then called it, an organization; and it would appear that for the time being, they had not selected a name for themselves; however, as they continued in their labors, the work spread inland in different directions, and while it was necessary that some distinction must be given to the organization, those living at a distance from where the Brotherhood took its first active form, referred to the originators as the Brethren at the River; (River Brethren). While these brethren were designated as the Brethren at the River, those who were not connected with the Church singled them out as River Brethren. There are isolated records such as letters, etc., that bear testimony that the work begun in Lancaster county was not only confined to the southern and western part or any part in Lancaster county, but that it spread to other localities in the State, and that wherever mention was made of the Home Church, it was referred to as the Brethren at the River; hence the name. As the Brotherhood grew in number, and the organization spread to other localities, it became necessary to effect a more efficient organization, such as establishing the office of Elders or Bishops, ministers and deacons.

While God seemingly blest the efforts of the Brotherhood, it is evident that the enemy was also on the ground, from the fact that about the year 1843, there was a division; the receding branch being commonly known as Yorkers, who are still holding forth under the same name, and conducting their organization, as they claim, according to the primitive methods of the Brotherhood. About the year 1852 there was still another division, which was general in the State of Pennsylvania; this receding branch were commonly known as Brinsers, who have later adopted the name of United Zion's Children.

During the Civil War of 1860-65, while the Federal Government of the United States took drastic measures to raise an army to cope with the Rebellion, some of the members of the Brotherhood having been drafted for service, who proclaimed their non-resistant faith, it became necessary for the Brotherhood to go on record with the National Government at Washington as a non-resistant religious organization, and at a formal Council held in the city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, it was decided to have the name of the Brotherhood recorded as a non-resistant religious organization as Brethren in Christ, hence the present name, "The Brethren in Christ (formerly known as River Brethren").

The principles of faith and practices are so nearly alike with those held with the Church of the Brethren that we do not deem a restatement necessary save a few distinguishing features.

Baptism is administered by trine immersion, same as described under the form of the Church of the Brethren. However, this denomination does not baptize "for the remission of sins," it being their view that one's sins are forgiven before baptism, and that baptism is simply the act of sealing the applicant's acceptance by the Father into the Family of the Kingdom. This denomination practices the washing of feet in exact duplicate as described by the

Church of the Brethren. They do not observe a full meal. The Communion service consists of breaking of the bread and taking the cup, following after feet washing.

On the matters of anointing the sick, marriage and divorce, going to law, war, swearing, temperance, plainness of dress and care of the poor, these people hold the same views in communion with a number of the other "Plain" denominations.

Until quite recently, this denomination did not believe in Sunday Schools and education, but for a number of years they have organized Sunday Schools and have established a missionary and Bible training school at Grantham, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, to which a number of their young men and women are sent for higher education.

Their church government is almost an exact duplicate in principle and practice of that of the Church of the Brethren, consisting in holding annual General Conferences, whose actions constitute the highest source of authority known to the church.

The United Zion's Children—(The Brinserites)—Numerically, this denomination is one of the small organizations that falls under this group of religious organizations known in our county as "The Plain People." We give here a brief history of its organization, the larger part of the data of which we were fortunate enough to gather from the son of the organizer of this brotherhood. The technical name which has been adopted by this organization, is virtually a literal translation from the German, (Die Ziones Kinter), meaning "The Children of Zion," to which they added the idea of unanimity, hence their name, The United Zion's Children.

Reverend Mathias Brinser, who was born on May 10, 1795, in Londonderry township, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, about two miles northwest of the Conewago station on the Pennsylvania railroad line, was the organizer of this persuasion. His grandfather, named Yoeman Christian Brinser, came to America from Baden, Germany, in 1749; his naturalization papers were dated April 10, 1761. He had a son born June 23, 1750, who was named John Brinser, and this John Brinser became the father of the founder above named, and died in the year 1820.

John Brinser was a faithful member of the denomination known as "The Brethren in Christ," (River Brethren), and during the latter part of his life his homestead had become a regular meeting place for preaching services of this denomination as was their uniform practice to meet for worship at some homestead. After his death, his son Mathias married Miss Kathryn Heisey, a daughter of Peter Heisey, residing near Bainbridge, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and located on the old Brinser homestead.

It appears that at the time of the death of John Brinser, his son Mathias was not converted to any religious faith, and it is related that after his father's death one of the Bishops of his father's church inquired of the son, Mathias, whether the preaching appointments at the homestead were to cease, but he insisted that they should not cease and requested that they continue as they did during his father's life. Shortly after his father's death, Mathias became converted and became a member of his father's church, known then as "The River Brethren." In 1829 he was ordained to the ministry and later on was ordained a Bishop of said church. He became a prominent minister in his denomination and was noted for his remarkable memory and his eloquence.

He was called to preach at many funerals throughout the community and officiated at many marriages.

In these early days church houses dedicated to worship were unknown by the church of his choice, it being the practice of this denomination to hold its services at various well established homesteads which were occupied by the members of this denomination. These limited accommodations were frequently quite inadequate to comfortably house the large audiences which would gather at the time of these appointments, and especially so in this particular locality. Therefore, Mathias Brinser, with a number of his brethren and neighbors, conceived the idea of erecting a very plain one-story frame meeting house, which was to be used for religious services only. It appears that this act was deemed very unwise on the part of many of his brethren. On account of building this house for the purpose of worship, dissension arose, especially in Conoy township in Lancaster county, which finally ended in the excommunication of Mathias Brinser and quite a number of his followers.

It appears that during February, 1853, a number of members of the "River Brethren," who resided in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, called a meeting to consider the advisability of building a meeting house. After due deliberation they decided to do so, and as there were no objections raised then, they began to build a meeting house in the vicinity of Bishop Mathias Brinser. Following this, the members of this church, who resided in Lancaster county, held a council meeting with Jacob Engle, to consider this invasion upon the practices of this persuasion, and after due deliberation they decided to "warn them not to build the house." They wrote their conclusion in the German language in the letter which follows, which is being translated as nearly as possible, into the English and sent it to Mathias Brinser, Conoy township, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.

> Conoy Township, Lancaster County,
> May 16, 1853.
>
> Beloved Brethren:—We wish you the peace of God and the love of Jesus Christ with heart-felt greeting, we the undersigned brethren have held a council, concerning the contemplation of building a meeting-house in your neighborhood, and have unanimously concluded to ask of you that you shall not build it, as such a building we believe would become an open door to a great evil, and would make heavy hearts for many brethren; therefore, we request of you, out of heart-felt love, that you will accept our council.

The names of the members who had affixed their names to the foregoing conclusion are withheld for various reasons.

It further appears that some time during the summer of 1855 another council meeting was held with John B. Engle in Conoy township, at which time they decided to excommunicate Mathias Brinser and all his followers from the church, of which the following conclusion again is translated:

> This notice or letter shows you, Mathias Brinser, that a unanimous conclusion has been reached, that the council, which was held at Jacob Engle's, will be carried out with you. * * * "If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," and you have not heard, therefore, you can no longer be a Brother, until you become conscious of the wrong and the fellowship will cease that exists with those that believe as you do; and it was seen, that the church failed, inasmuch as it did not carry out the council in the beginning, which you did not hear.

At this time Bishop Brinser was about sixty years old. A meeting was held at his house shortly afterward to discuss this matter, and his followers agreed that he should continue to hold meetings and to preach the same as before this expulsion. This, of course, implied that these followers would stand by him and give him their support. He continued preaching, and out of these followers grew finally, the organization called the "United Zion's Children," this name having been suggested by a German brother at the time of their conference, who said, "we are all children of Zion," and out of this expression the name was coined, with the addition of the idea of unity.

The church building, which was the point of contention, was erected near Mathias Brinser's home, by him and his followers. It was a small frame building about twenty-five by forty feet in size, with the weather boarding attached vertically and stripped. It was dedicated for religious purposes only, and is reported to have been crowded to the point of overflow frequently. It appears that the principle for which the original church "River Brethren" contended, was based on the fear that if their denomination began to build churches for their regular places of worship, they would soon desire to excel each other, and therefore, develop a spirit of pride in their respective houses of worship. The builders of this house nearly all lived to see the day that the church from which they were expelled followed in like manner the same course, and began to believe in and to build regular houses of worship.

We attempt to give below a brief but accurate statement of the fundamental beliefs and practices of this persuasion. It is said that when Bishop Brinser was asked how he intended to proceed after he was disowned, he remarked: "With the Word of God I was received into church fellowship and with the Word of God I intend to keep house. (By "keeping house" here is meant methods of procedure of the church in its government and discipline). What is a command shall be treated as such and what is forbidden in the Word of God shall be forbidden, and what is between command and forbidden, let Romans fourteen (Rom. 14) decide. Hence, the word of God and Christ, the foundation, law and discipline."

From a little pamphlet which was gotten out by a committee of this church, composed of the following three members, Bishop S. H. Brinser, (a son of the organizer of this organization), Bishop H. G. Light and Bro. Philip Singer, which was presented to their conference of March 21, 1917, and was ordered to be printed by the same conference, we have set forth in their own language their brief statement of their faith and practices:

> We believe in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Three in One, and that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has power on earth to forgive sins.
>
> We believe that both the Old and New Testament is the inspired Word of God. The fall of man in Adam, and the redemption through Christ are plainly taught therein.
>
> We believe that through repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, we will become regenerated and by being obedient to Christ and His Word, we will become and remain Christians.
>
> We believe in a holy church, the communion of the saints, the resurrection of the dead and everlasting life.
>
> We believe in Baptism, by triune immersion, washing the Saints' feet, and communion as taught in 1st Corinthians, 11 chapter, 23rd to 34th verses.
>
> We believe in the non-conformity of the world, and in the doctrine of non-resistance in a qualified sense. That it is not the Christian's privilege to take up the sword or fight with carnal weapons; yet it is his duty to be strictly loyal to the Government under which he lives in all things that do not conflict with or are not forbidden by the Word of Christ.

The officers of the Church consist: First, of Elders, or Bishops; Second, of Ministers or Preachers; Third, of Deacons or Visiting Brethren; Fourth, of the Laiety or Members. The Elders or Bishops are to preside over councils or conferences, ordain Ministers, and Deacons, and have the general oversight of the church. The ordained Ministers have the power to receive members into the church, perform the rite of baptism, administer communion, the rite of anointing, perform marriage ceremonies and make meeting appointments. (All this is subject to the Elders). The Deacon's duty is to make yearly visits in his district, report to council, adjust difficulties amongst the members, if any, look after the poor and needy, serve at Love Feasts, and in the absence of a minister conduct the services properly, and make the necessary collection for church purposes.

They practice baptism by triune immersion in the flowing stream. As far as can be learned none of their churches are equipped with a pool for indoor baptism. At the time of their Communion Service they practice feet washing by what is known as the single mode; that is, each member washes and wipes the feet of the one next to him by girding himself or herself with a large towel or apron, in an effort to carry out the Savior's example as given in John 13.

Their communion is usually known by the term "Love Feasts." They practice the breaking of bread as a symbolic emblem of the broken body of Christ, and the passing of the cup as a symbol of His shed Blood.

In their statement of Faith it will be noticed that they say they believe in the Doctrine of Non-Resistance in a "Qualified sense" and state "that it is not the Christian's privilege to take up the sword or fight with carnal weapons; yet it is his duty to be strictly loyal to the government under which he lives, in all things that do not conflict with or are not forbidden by the Word of Christ." This means that they are not supposed to sue each other at law without first consulting the Church and making an effort to have the grievance adjusted among themselves. In cases where settlement cannot be made without recourse to law, the church usually grants authority to take the legal steps necessary.

Having separated themselves from The Brethren in Christ (River Brethren) they naturally adhere to the simple order of dress. To a very large extent the women in their church usually wear the plain bonnet and what is known among them as the cape and apron. The men, earlier were requested to wear the plain coat; that is, with a standing collar and to wear the beard. During these latter years, however, this is not insisted upon, except by their officials. They urge their members to practice simplicity of life in the equipping of their homes and to abstain from worldly pleasures.

The local congregation is presided over by Bishops or Elders (these terms being used synonymously in this denomination), which usually assembles in quarterly or semi-annually Council Meeting, in which any matters that pertain to the welfare of the church are discussed and passed upon. Their highest body is known as their Annual Conference, where representatives from each congregation compose the delegate body and where all matters that have been properly submitted, may be discussed and passed upon.

They at this time foster and support Sunday Schools, although at the time of its organization this denomination, like many others, did not have until quite recently, any Sunday Schools in their church.

There are no restrictions on their members as to marriage. Their marriages are either performed in the home of the bride or at the residence of one of their ministers.

Funerals are usually conducted in the Church House by having the casket taken into the house, followed by the funeral procession, where usually two or three of their ministers participate in the service, after which the body is taken to the cemetery and interred. It is the common practice to invite the friends and relatives back to the house of mourning, for a light lunch, after the funeral services. The labor of course, for such preparation, is usually generously donated by the neighbors of the bereaved family.

This organization maintains a Home for their aged and infirm members. It is located about one mile north of the borough of Lititz. It admits guests of any persuasion and, therefore, has asked for and in years past has received some funds from the State.

This church does not support any special educational institution under their management, but they urge elementary education for all their children, and are encouraging some of their young people to attend higher institutions of learning.

The Yorkers—From the facts as near as we can gather them, this organization is virtually the "Old Order" branch of the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren). They derived their name from the fact that the main body of their members at the time of its organization resided in York county. In the early history of the River Brethren it appears that the more progressive members desired to build church houses for worship and some other too progressive measures which caused considerable dissension among them. This branch finally was organized into the "Brinserites," while the very conservative wished to continue in the strict form of their former practice, not only with reference to meeting houses but Sunday Schools and other similar matters. These organized themselves in 1843, into what is known as the "Yorkers."

In faith and practice they are largely the same as the "Brethren in Christ" with the exception that they hold more firmly to a strict type of plainness in dress as to cut and color. They do not believe in Sunday Schools, in church houses for worship, and until quite recently they did not tolerate the use of telephones, bicycles, automobiles, and numerous other house comforts and conveniences. They hold their meetings in their barns or houses of their homesteads. They do not believe in intermingling with church activities of other denominations. They live a very simple life and are content with few comforts and deny themselves of many pleasures in all conscientious faithfulness. Their neighbors always speak of them as quiet, peaceable, industrious people, attending to their own affairs, refusing to vote and to serve in public offices.

They do not believe in higher education, and as a rule, they are eager that their children should have only the most elementary education so as to enable them to read and write. Their philosophy of life does not encourage the girls to get an education, believing that their function lies in the duties of the home, for which duties an education, in their mind, is not essential.

Aside from these few different points, this denomination holds the same general doctrines as does the original body known as the "Brethren in Christ." They are a strictly rural folk, who are living with as few social contacts with the outside world as one can well imagine. On general principles, it will only be a short time until this denomination has dwindled down to a very small membership. They are not able to hold their young people to their inflexible standard. This in itself indicates the final outcome.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS OF PROVINCIAL EPHRATA.

Reviewing the History of the Settlement of the Solitary at Hoch-Halekung (Cocalico), Lancaster County; Also the Resultant Monastic Orders.

By Edwin Melvin Williams.

EDITORIAL NOTE—The fascinating human interest undeniably present in the story of Conrad Beissel and his followers in the Ephrata Cloister of the eighteenth century, has tempted many writers to distort the real history. Novelists, journalists, and those who write for the general public, have had their thoughts and imagination centered on the proximity of the sexes in the monastic houses; others, even the diarists of the "Chronicon Ephratense," the official journal of the Monastery, have shown an evident desire to obscure certain sensational passages of the record.

No general history of Lancaster county would be complete that did not refer to the history of the Ephrata Community, but probably no other subject would be so difficult for a local historian to cover without bias; hence it was thought advisable to assign this study to an outside historian, so that Lancaster county might be able to put into its permanent record an independent, and consequently impartial, interpretation; one that is governed by no journalistic consideration of timeliness or public interest, nor influenced for any denominational reason, to deviate from a direct and lucid stating of the whole of a significant fact.

One of the most interesting chapters of the provincial history of Lancaster county is that which has to do with the religious enthusiasts, of both sexes, who in the fourth and later decades of the eighteenth century were to be found living an unusual unnatural life of self-denial and body-attrition in the solitude of the wilderness of the Conestoga country. These men and women were ascetics of incredible intensity and disturbing theories. Some were unmarried, some self-divorced, but all were pledged to the single life, to perpetual chastity, courting only the favor of the celestial virgin, Sophia, in the hope of passing on to spiritual virginity—to the state in which Adam was before he fell; and meanwhile, by their spiritual obsession and saintly aspirations failing to see, or giving little heed to, the thoughts that their mode of life would prompt in more worldly-minded persons. The element of disturbance to family life and domestic happiness in the homes of Lancaster county pioneers increased after the solitaries who were on the banks of the Hoch-Halekung, or Cocalico, had changed from the solitary state to a mystical monastic communal one in which the two orders the Brotherhood of Zion and the Sisterhood of the Spiritual Virgins instituted, in their religious fervor, devotional practices so unconventional as to bring the settlement into public odium. Midnight devotional gatherings, nocturnal processions, feet-washing, tonsure or crown-shearing, confessional, Sunday labor, Judaizing innovations, Jesuitical indications, a flat denunciation of the marital state, and a marked inclination to the mystical and theosophical, all contributed to keep the neighboring settlers in a fever of excitement, resentment and indignation against the queer settlement and sect, and to bring several perplexities to the civil government.

The Settlement of the Solitary at what became Ephrata developed a theorist of very unusual characteristics, a man physically diminutive and emaciated, "a living skeleton until his death," but possessed of such a magnetic personality that his influence, benign or malign, was felt by almost all with whom he came into contact; a man so exalted in spiritual thought as to feel, as he admitted, that he "bore in his heart the seal of redemption of the whole world"; a divine so far advanced in spiritual perfection and so conscious of his solitary state in this world as to be prompted to baptise himself rather than be immersed by another of lower plane, though that other was at that time the "official baptizer" of the Dunkard sect in America. Johann Conrad Beissel, the founder and inspiration of the Society of the Solitary at Ephrata, was, even late in life, convinced that his place in eternity would be that of the Prince of Baptists, and, in the early years of his "awakening," was so conscious that he communed with God that his dissertations were based on his own imaginings, not on the Bible, "so that his hearers were thrown into holy confusion." "On such occasions wonderful mysteries of eternity were often revealed through him, of which he himself had before been ignorant." And his delivery was so rapid, because of his desire to "hurry after the Spirit," to catch all that was communicated before the Spirit retired "again into his secret chamber," that he often "concerned himself but little about the rules of language." One friend, Henry Zimmermann was prompted to say to him: "Conrad, Conrad! You have taken upon you a sore load; you will get to be a fool." This, Conrad Beissel heeded little; he lived as one apart from the affairs of this world, as little concerned in its conventions as in its rules of government; but in any other province than Pennsylvania he would probably have been accorded less religious and political freedom. He was looked upon as a sorcerer by some, as a man of lewd practices by some, but as a wonderful man of God, by the greater number of those who came into close contact with him. And the institution he developed at Ephrata came, by its works, so prominently into the colonial history of Pennsylvania and Lancaster county that no general historical work, of that county, at least, would be complete that did not contain a review of the unique monastic orders of Ephrata. Sachse, writing of Beissel in his "German Sectarians of Pennsylvania" states:

> The founder of the Ephrata Community was one of those religious leaders who, in a few years, succeeded in gathering around him a number of men and women, some of considerable erudition; and in less than a decade we had here, in Pennsylvania, a semi-monastic community, which developed into a religious, educational, commercial, and industrial establishment, and at an early date set up here, far away from the chief city of the Province, the third printing-press within the Colony and the first to print both German and English types.

In another place, regarding Ephrata and its "peculiar" community, Sachse writes:

> It was here, and here alone, in this secluded valley, in the primitive forest, on the banks of the Cocalico, that there was successfully established for a time in the New World a mystical community under the name of Ein Orden der Einsamen (the Community of the Solitary), whose chief aim was to attain spiritual and physical regeneration and perfection. Here for over half a century the secret mysteries of this occult philosophy were explained and the sacred rites practiced without fear of molestation or official interference, while the votaries lived undisturbed in their voluntary seclusion. Here for years the most profound occult sciences, combined with the simple Sabbatarian tenets, were taught and promulgated, and possibly in no other community in this country was there so complete a renunciation of the world and as much simple Christian faith manifested as there was among the recluse Sabbatarians of Ephrata.

So it behooves the compiler to endeavor to review the history of this interesting, unique, and in some respects helpful, Ephrata institution of colonial days from its origin to its decline.

Alexander Mack Founds Dunker Church—The background is to be found in the history of the early Baptist sects in Germany. The Baptist Brethren movement began in the year 1521, when the so-called Zwickau prophets arose in Saxony, preached adult baptism and prophesied the coming millennium. The doctrine spread throughout Switzerland, Franconia, and Thuringia. Unfortunately the sect became involved in the Peasants' War, and suffered defeat at Frankenhausen, May 15, 1525. In 1528 the Emperor Charles V. issued an edict to crush the sect wherever found within his dominions, which persecution did no more than spread the doctrine further afield, under different names, such as Stabler, Clanucalarii, Gartenbruder (Hortularii), Heftler (or Knopfler), the last so named because they substituted hooks and eyes in place of buttons on their clothing, a peculiarity still practiced by one branch of the Mennonites of Lancaster county, Pa. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Anabapists movement, despite persecution, slowly spread over Europe. Many independent movements tended to keep the doctrine alive, in northern Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. Notable among them was that which originated in the endeavors of Simon Menno, and which ultimately gave America its sturdy Mennonite pioneers. But the movement which is more directly the background of Ephrata history is that which had its inception in 1708, in Schwartzenau, and brought into being the Dunker Baptist sect.

Certain "important changes in the realm of the church took place in many lands, especially in Germany," in the first decade of the eighteenth century, wrote Brother Agrippa (Johann Peter Miller) in the "Chronicon Ephratense," in 1786. "A great many people, of all ranks, separated themselves from the common forms of worship, and were in general called Pietists. As such, they were not included "in the religious peace." They met with such severe persecution that some again sought refuge "in the pale of the church." They were designated Church-Pietists. The others, as refugees, congregated in districts wherein they would be granted liberty of conscience, finding it in Marienborn, Schwartzenau, Schlechtenboden, and some other regions; but life at the best was insecure and precarious. Among the Pietist sects gathered in those regions were two congregations "whose principles were radically different and contrary," the Community of True Inspiration and the Baptists at Schwartzenau. With both of these congregations Conrad Beissel, who later founded the Ephrata order, was "intricately involved," as will later herein be shown.

The Schwartzenau Baptist congregation was formed in 1708 by eight persons who were convinced that the only correct mode of administering baptism was by trine immersion. These eight persons thus were the founders of the sect which later became known as "Tauffer" Baptists, and by the names of "Tunker," "Dunker," "Dunkard." As the founders of a sect which eventually became one of the strong denominations of Pennsylvania, more might properly here be introduced regarding them, and the circumstances of founding. The eight persons were: Alexander Mack, their teacher, a wealthy miller of Schriesheim an der Bergstrasse (who devoted all of his earthly possessions to the common good, and thereby became so poor that at last he had not bread enough to last from one day to the next); his housekeeper, a widow Noethiger; Andreas Bone, John George Hoening, Luke Vetter, Kippinger, and a gunsmith whose name is not known." This is the version of Peter Miller, written in 1786 from his recollection of Alexander Mack, and of the latter's son who entered the Ephrata monastic order. He further writes: "From these eight persons are descended all the various kinds of Baptists among the High Germans in North America, who now are scattered from New Jersey to Georgia; but whether they were the first who restored immersion, as a candle to its candlestick, in Germany, that is a question demanding closer investigation. It is asserted that the godly Hochmann agreed with them on the subject of baptism, but as they carried the thing out while he was under arrest, he could not afterwards insist upon it any more."

Alexander Mack, Jr., who in Ephrata was known as Brother Timotheus, realized the importance of the records of the founding, and tried after the death of his father to gather and preserve what remained of the records and accounts of the original congregation. As to the founders, his research caused him to set them down as: George Grebi, from Hesse Cassel; Lucas Vetter, from Hessenland; Alexander Mack, from Scheishaim; Andreas Bone, from Basel; Johannes Kipping, from Bariet, Wurttemberg; Johanna Nothigerin, or Bonisin, wife of Andreas Bone; Anna Margretha Mack, wife of Alexander Mack; Johanna Kippinger.

Rupp's version almost agrees, making due allowance for orthographical and typographical errors. The Lancaster historian gives the eight names as Alexander Mack, George Graby, Lucas Fetter, Andrew Boney and John Kipping, Johanna Bong, Anna Margaretta Mack and Johanna Kipping. These eight enthusiasts, states Rupp, in their reading of the Scriptures, "conceived that immersion was the only valid mode of administering baptism," but as none of them had been so baptized, "they felt themselves in a difficulty." One of their number "who labored among them in word, visited the societies in different parts of Germany, to collect the opinion of the Awakened generally, upon the subject of baptism"; but derived little encouragement therefrom. He found the greater number to be of the opinion "that a handfull of water by pouring would answer the same end" as immersion. "The consciences of the before-mentionel could, however, find no satisfaction in these; they therefore desired him, who was their minister, to baptize them by immersion; (but) * * * he felt a diffidence to comply with their request." He felt that he should first be baptized by immersion himself, "before he could conscientiously baptize any of them." So they forthwith "betook themselves to fasting and prayer," and having found encouragement and enlightenment in a testimony of scripture, "they cast lots who of the four brethren should baptize him that was anxiously desirous of being baptized; they pledged their word at the same time that it should remain a secret upon whom the lot fell, that no one might take occasion to call the society by the name of any man, as was the case with the Corinthian church, which was sharply reproved by the Apostle." In the morning they went out to a stream called Ader, and "then he upon whom the lot had fallen baptized the brother," who being thus qualified, "baptized him first by whom he had been baptized, and the three remaining brethren, and the sisters; thus were these eight, at an early hour in the morning, baptized in the water by trine immersion; and after they came up out of the water and had changed their clothes they were filled with joy, and, by the grace of God, these expressions were revived in their minds with peculiar energy: 'Be ye fruitful and multiply'."

From the first, the members of this Protestant sect recognized no other name than "Brethren," although others recognized them as "Tunkers," or "Dunkers," presumably deriving it from the German *tunken*, to dip. The founding band seem to have adopted a communal life, the property of all being common. The sexes dwelt apart, and all seemed desirous of living lives of piety and continence. But others soon joined them, and notwithstanding opposition by the churches and political persecution, the sect increased and other congregations were organized in which the communal spirit was not so strong, and the marital tie was not forbidden, though discouraged. The latter question seems to have been the cause of the first division. The Schwartzenau congregation increased rapidly during the life of Count Henry, of Schwartzenau, who gave them his protection; and a branch had settled in the Marienborn district. With his death, however, persecution was renewed. Some of the sect were driven to Holland, some to Crefelt (Creyfeld, Creyfels) in the Duchy of Cleves, and the mother church to Serustervin, in Friesland. The Marienborn congregation, after being thrice persecuted there, finally in 1715, found a refuge in Crefelt, the very place from which the Mennonites who founded Germantown, the first German colony in the New World, departed in 1683. Among the Brethren, or "Tunkers," who came together in Crefelt were John H. Kalkloser from Frankenthal; Christian Leib and Abraham DuBois, from Ebstein; John Naas and others from the north; Peter Becker, from Dilsheim; John H. Traut and his brethren, and Stephen Koch and George B. Gantz from Umstadt; and Michael Eckerling, from Strasburg. Peter Miller wrote (1786) as follows regarding the Crefelt congregation: "Here a division took place. Some say it was with reference to the question whether one might marry out of the congregation. Others maintain that the occasion of it was the marriage, contrary to the teaching of Paul (1 Cor. 7:), of a single minister of theirs by the name of Hager * * * In the year 1719 a party of them arrived in Pennsylvania with Peter Becker, who afterwards became their teacher."

Brother Agrippa (which is Roman for Jaebez, the monastic name by which Peter Miller was more commonly known in Ephrata), thus seems to indicate the reason why Peter Becker and other Dunker brethren reached America ten years before Alexander Mack, the founder, crossed the ocean.

Peter Becker crossed at the head of twenty families of the Dunker sect. The year of his coming has been doubted by some, but there is sufficient corroborative evidence to remove the doubt. Eshleman, in his "Annals of Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers of Southeastern Pennsylvania," refers to the twenty families of Dunkards, as emigrants, in his events of 1719. Kuhns, p.179, makes reference to them, as settling in Germantown, Skippach, Oley, Conestoga, in that year; and Conyngham, in vol. 7 of Hazard's Register, p.124, makes the connection clear, and as of the year 1719. The versions are at variance in many details, but the year, 1719, is stated in each case.

Regarding this, the first, migration to America of the followers of Alexander Mack,—they may be so considered, even though temporarily estranged, —Rupp, in his "History of Lancaster County," Pennsylvania, (1844), writes: "They first settled at Germantown, some at Skippack, Oley, ohers at Conescoga, and elsewhere. A congregation of them was organized and they chose Peter Becker as official baptizer. The society increased rapidly, and soon a church was formed in Lancaster county, at Muelbach (Mill Creek)."

Conrad Beissel, the Magus of Ephrata—But we are getting ahead of the story. Much of the earlier and relative happenings must be set down in writing before we can take up the Mill Creek Congregation record, the most prominent, peculiar, and disturbing member of which congregation was in its first years Johann Conrad Beissel. And the part he took in what happened to that early church of the Conestoga country, and to the nearby Ephrata religious body he was soon to found, was so important that the greater part of what follows in this chapter must of necessity be in reality his biography.

Johann Conrad Beissel died on July 6, 1768, and was buried in "God's Acre" in the Cloister grounds at Ephrata, Pennsylvania. The inscription on his tombstone reads:

> Here rests an Offspring of the Love of God,
> FRIEDSAM,
> a Solitary, but later become a Leader, Guardian and Teacher of the Solitary and of the Congregation of Christ in and about Ephrata. Born at Eberbach in the Palatinate, called Conrad Beisel: Fell asleep July 6, Anno 1768; aged according to his spiritual age 52 years, but according to his natural, 77 years and 4 months.

His birth-year therefore was 1691, though Sachse, in his "German Sectarians of Pennsylvania," gives it as 1690.

Sachse states that Beissel was "converted" in 1715, the statement being also made in the "Chronicon Ephratense," p. 4; but the Ephrata record above quoted would make the year 1716. And it is not at all clear whether that was the year in which Beissel affiliated with Pietists and Inspirationists, or when he merely first began to "long for spiritual regeneration," which yearning came to him while he was still a journeyman baker and in his native town. After that came travels as a journeyman baker, some sad experiences, and some backsliding before we find him in Heidelberg, experiencing "an enlightenment of the Spirit" and attending revival meetings in the Lutheran church. Then followed introduction to Pietists in Heidelberg, "who all maintained a hidden walk with God"; soon after which Beissel chose banishment rather than "go through" a church of one of the dominant religions even "once a year." However, Beissel was probably to some extent identified with Pietists from his first "awakening," in his native town in 1716, for then he became acquainted with George Stieffel, "who afterwards shared a hermit's life with him in America for awhile." Beissel came into touch with Inspirationists in Strasburg in the same year, through one Michael Eckerling, a capmaker, father of the four brothers Eckerling, of whom much will be written later herein. But religious fervor does not seem to have then become dominant in him. He was at times still "a man of the world," self-reliant and capable at his trade, but morally not as stable as he later became. His actions were no doubt the results of his hapless upbringing. He was the posthumous son of "a dissolute journeyman baker," and was only in his eighth year when completely orphaned. "From that time on he led a sorry life, after the manner of the country, until he was old enough to learn a trade." He probably did not attend any school, but "he showed a wonderful facility in learning many things * * * merely by his own reflection"; so much so indeed that his oldest brother often said to him, "your studying will make a fool of you yet." Like most boys, however, Conrad was in great measure influenced by his elders; and those early influences were not all good, unfortunately. Early apprenticed to a master-baker who was of the happy-go-lucky type, "one of the careless sort of individuals to be found in every community," young Conrad "grew up unrestrained and neglected"; and, following his master's example, "would rather fiddle at a wedding feast, and turn a buxom damsel in the dance than knead his dough or rake the oven." Consequently, "the wonder was all the greater when afterwards it was said he had become a Pietist."

Beissel was small of physical frame, but of wonderfully alert brain. Untaught, he had mastered "mercantile calculations" so well that "he could easily solve the most intricately involved matters"; so that he probably set out on his travels as a journeyman-baker with much confidence in himself. In Strasburg he endeavored to enlist in a battalion of bakers recruited for service in Hungary, in repelling the Turkish invasion. That he was not accepted he later looked upon as by God's providence, for the four hundred other journeymen-bakers were all killed. From Strasburg, Beissel journeyed to Manheim, and there "was temporarily brought low in the spirit," and eventually forced to leave his master's house "on account of some trouble with the latter's wife, whom he called a Jezebel." One record dates Beissel's determination to become a celibate to this Manheim experience. Brother Agrippa, writing of this incident and resolution explains that: "* * * the drawings of the Virgin above were so strong within him that it was deeply impressed upon his heart that a man who intends to devote himself to the service of God must, at the beginning of his conversion, renounce Adam's generative work, for which reason he bade good night to earthly woman at the very commencement. On this account also the tribes of the earth expelled him from their fellowship."

From Manheim Beissel trudged to Heidelberg, and there found work at his trade with a master-baker named Prior. The young journeyman-baker "soon became the most celebrated baker in the city," attributable, inferentially, to "an enlightenment of the Spirit" which he experienced at revival meetings then proceeding. These he attended in common with his companions; but "one of the services made such an impression on his mind that he forsook the company of his fellow-journeymen" and gave his thoughts to religious truths. He was however "still so unsophisticated and simple in his awakening, that he made use of the churches," states Brother Agrippa. He often attended the Lutheran church to listen to "such eminent theologians and servants of God as Rev. Prof. L. Ludwig Christian Meig, the Rev. Johann Christian Kirchmeir, and others of equal celebrity," and he admitted "being edified thereby"; nevertheless, when a little later he was likely to come under the ban of the religious as well as the civil authorities, and was offered the protection of the first-named minister "if he would only go through his church once a year," he refused, as such would have been against his conscience."

Fraternity of the Rosy Cross—What was it caused Beissel, when under trial and risking banishment, perhaps worse, to adhere so resolutely and exclusively to a secret and forbidden sect, a resolution so contrary to his then-recent practice of attending the Lutheran church? A much stronger influence than he had formerly felt must have held him. The answer is to be found perhaps in the acquaintanceship he made while in Heidelberg with "a learned mystic and theosophist named Haller," through whom he was introduced to a secret order. Possibly it was in reality his introduction to Pietistical circles. The "Chronicon Ephratense" as to this, reads:

> At Heidelberg he met a learned scholar named Haller, a strong suitor to the virgin Sophia, and also a correspondent of Gichtel. * * * This man made him acquainted with

> the Pietists in Heidelberg, who all maintained a hidden walk with God. * * * Haller first introduced him to their meeting, which for fear of men they held in the forest, and he was astonished beyond measure when these dear people the first time called him Brother. He often said that he had passed through three awakenings, in which he always had to deal with newly awakened ones, but he must confess that the greater part of his heart remained at the first awakening at Heidelburg.

Sachse placed much importance on this Heidelberg experience, being firmly convinced that Beissel's initiation into the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross was the explanation of many of his subsequent actions. At all events, Beissel was in spirit a mystic and theosophist for the remainder of his life. Regarding Haller, and Beissel's introduction to the Heidelberg chapter, Sachse writes:

> Through him Beissel obtained an introduction to, or was initiated in, the local Rosicrucian chapter held under the guise or name of a Pietist conventicle, which organization counted many of the most learned and distinguished men in the community among its membership. But being under the ban of the secular as well as the religious authorities, they were forced to hold their meetings in secrecy, in an almost inaccessible fastness of the forest. Here, within the tiled precincts of the wierd rocky chasm (Felsenschlugt), by the fitful light of resinous torches, Conrad Beissel followed his guide, was brought to the true Light, taught the first steps of the Brotherhood and received instruction in the rudiments of the secret rites and Mysteries of the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross.

This Rosicrucian association was traceable in much of the mystical practices observed later in the Ephrata monastery, though Masonic influences were present also, and many of the theosophical writings of Beissel have merely put forward theories advanced earlier by others, as will be shown.

However, Heidelberg was soon to banish Beissel. The first attempt did not succeed, but his connection with the Heidelberg chapter ere long became known to members of his guild, who informed master-bakers "who had suffered from the excellence of the adept's (Beissel's) bread." He was arrested, fined, and driven from the town, losing presumably his Wanderbuch, his trade credentials, without which he could not find work at his trade. He went back to his native place to bid goodbye to his relatives, but left again in haste, his "inner guide" telling him that he was in danger of arrest. He thereby escaped by a few hours from soldiers who were sent to arrest him. Haller had advised him "to betake himself to the friends in Schwarzenau, which was at that time the Pella and rendezvous for all the pious." And eventually, after wandering from place to place, "ekeing out a scant existence by wool spinning" and other casual employments, the young man reached Schwarzenau, and "sojourned for a short time with the Taufers" at that place.

Hardships he had endured had "so deeply affected him that he came near retracting." His labors had been "almost more than human nature could endure"; and he had contracted consumption, "through his practice of a severe penance"; so that when he reached the region where the Inspirationists lived, "everybody felt pity for this young warrior, as for one whose thread of life was about being severed ere yet he had fairly commenced his day's work." (He became well again, "through God's grace" and the skill of "the renowned Doctor Carl," who "prescribed the use of sheep's ribs.") Beissel fortunately got into the household of a good baker named Schatz, "who with his wife feared God and was a real Gaius, or host, to all the devout." There under better conditions of living, he was brought into deeper religious reflection. He found religious conditions not much better in Schwarzenau than in regions where persecution was ever present. Brother Agrippa writes: * * * "He at length came into the region where the Inspirationists lived. There he beheld a worse Babel among the pious who had come out from Babel than he had seen in Babel itself; for while in the latter one religion strove against the other, here persons were opposed one to another. Each one lived for himself and regulated his conduct according to his own inclinations, which the Superintendent (Beissel) did not deem possible for truly pious persons."

Beissel looked "impatiently upon the evil of others," and in consequence became conscious that his own "walk in the Spirit had no continuance." This realization may have brought him to a more kindly frame of mind, though he could not bring himself to take full membership in either the Baptist congregations at Schwarzenau, or the Inspirationists, at Marienborn. "The former seemed to him, as a strict separatist, entirely too sectarian," wrote Peter Miller, "but among the latter he found entrance through his master, Schatz"; "they were also nearer to him," added the Ephrata chronicler, "wherefore he went with them for a time, although he never became a member of their organization." Beissel there brought censure upon himself because of the strange effect his presence, kneeling in prayer, in church had brought upon two young sisters who knelt opposite. The attraction was deemed worldly, but, so far as Beissel was concerned, it was spiritual; nevertheless, the church leaders decided to transfer Beissel from the adults' to the children's meeting. This caused Beissel to withdraw from the Inspirationist meetings altogether.

After this experience he went to live with Stiefel, "making a miserable living by spinning wool"; and he met several peculiar but good people. "Among his friends was a godly nobleman by the name of Junkerroth, who believed in the transmigration of souls into other bodies, and for this reason never married, as he did not wish to bring up strange spirits." He had much wealth and, in order to rid himself of it, was wont, when the Pious asked for aid, "to give them the keys of his chest, that they might take as much as they needed." He may have been the patron of Beissel, though it is clear that the latter soon found life in Germany intolerable.

Sickness, lack of employment, and a particular desire which will be soon disclosed, influenced Beissel to think of emigrating to America. He interested Steiffel and some other young men, and it was soon determined upon. When some of the leading Pietists heard of Beissel's intention they did their utmost to dissuade him, without avail, however. So, having borrowed the money with which to pay for the sea-passage, Beissel and his companions crossed to America in 1720. Although Beissel's emigration followed soon after that of Peter Becker, who crossed with twenty families of the Schwarzenau Dunker sect in 1719, and notwithstanding that Becker and Beissel came together as soon as the latter reached Germantown, there seems to have been no connection between the two parties of emigrants. In fact, Beissel was not of the Dunker church, and had quite independent reasons for emigrating. Sachse makes this clear; he writes:

> After much tribulation and persecution, he (Beissel) resolved to leave the Fatherland and go to the wilds of the New World, and affiliate with the Chapter of Perfection established by Kelpius on the Wissahickon. * * * Beissel made preparations * * * and sailed for America toward the close of the Summer of 1720. His companions across the ocean were George Steifel, Jacob Stuntz, Simon Koenig, Heinrich van Bebber, and others. * * * It was stated that these people were religious enthusiasts. In reality they were a band of Pietists, who came to America to join the Community of the "Woman in the Wilderness," established by Kelpius and others on the banks of the Wissahickon in the year 1694.

However, the "seekers after spiritual perfection" were surprised to find, upon arrival at Germantown in October, 1720, that the community they had hoped to join had ceased to exist as an organized body. Sachse writes:

> Beissel and his companions expected to find here an ideal spiritual community, whose chief interest centered around the Tabernacle in the primitive forest, where the time was spent in prayer, and a nightly watch was kept to obtain the first glimpse of the harbinger in the skies, who should appear to announce the coming of the celestial bridegroom; a community where the world with its allurements was secondary to the state of spiritual regeneration.
>
> In the place of this expected elysium they found the Tabernacle deserted, the nocturnal watch upon the tower long since abandoned, Magister Kelpius dead, while of the other leaders Koster had returned to Europe, and the Falkner brothers were itinerating in the adjoining provinces.

Most of the other members of the Woman in the Wilderness Community had scattered, taking up worldy pursuits again. In the words of the Chronicon Ephretense, "after their leader died, the Tempter found occasion to scatter them, as those who had been most zealous against marrying now betook themselves to women again, which brought such ignominy on the solitary state that the few who still held to it dared not open their mouths for shame."

Such was the state when Beissel reached Germantown. He was disillusioned as to Germantown also. He supposed it would be peopled by those "who were living a life of piety and apostolic simplicity"; in reality he found that a number of these former religious refugees "had enriched themselves by accepting official position, or engaging in worldly pursuits."

The Ephrata diarist thus make reference to the deplorable state Beissel found in Germantown upon his arrival:

> Many who had maintained a very proper walk in Germany had here hung up their holy calling on a nail and what was worse would give no one credit for zeal or diligence. Among these were several who in the Palatinate had let themselves be driven from house and home but here left great wealth behind them after their death. All this caused him (Beissel) much concern; for he everywhere saw the pious sitting at the helm and exercising magisterial offices.

In view of this condition of spiritual affairs, Beissel and his party of Pietists resolved not to tell others of their true purpose in coming to America; and for the time being the party determined to separate, each taking up some means of livelihood. Beissel found that the prospects of employment at his own trade in Germantown were not good, "as every housewife prided herself as much upon her baking as she did on her spinning and knitting." So, after consulting Conrad Matthai, one of the few faithful followers of Kelpins, and still living as a hermit on the Ridge of the Wissahicken, he resolved to learn the weaver's art, of which he already had some knowledge. Hence it came about that he formed association with Peter Becker, then a master-weaver, of Germantown. Beissel signed indentures to serve Becker for one year as a weaver of apprentice grade. As such he entered the household of Peter Becker; and during the year of daily association Peter Becker and Conrad Beissel grew to esteem each other highly, many opportunities arising of discussing the religious situation in the province. And Beissel found Becker to be a devout Christian, well versel in the Scriptures, and a good teacher. It hardly seems possible, however, that Beissel even then thought of Becker as being in any way his superior in the church; in fact, there is more reason for thinking that he felt himself to be far in advance of Becker in spiritual status. Indeed, Beissel was not of the Dunker church, as it existed when he left Germany, and no congregation of that sect had yet been formed in America. And the material thoughts and ways that filled the days of almost all of the Pennsylvania colonists at that time only strengthened Beissel in his determination to carry out his original purpose, at the end of his apprenticeship, seeking the solitary state somewhere in the wilderness, in the hope that he might there reach spiritual perfection. To remain in Germantown would bring him so closely in contact with worldly practices and thoughts that he dreaded lest he might himself reach the deplorable state of so many formerly devout Germans, who had seemed to set aside their religion to accept worldly offices and material advantages in America.

Peter Becker himself, though a powerful leader and an earnest Christian, had not even been able to hold together his own little band of Dunkers who had broken away from the Crefeldt congregation and had come to America under his leadership in 1719. They were now scattered to the winds; had separated in Germantown, self-preservation being dominant in their actions. Some had gone to Conestoga, other had settled to the northward in Aley, beyond the Schuylkill, and some had found homes in the extreme northern part of Chester county, in Coventry township. All seemingly had set aside spiritual observances in their concern for the material things of the world.

So, at least, it seemed Conrad Beissel, whose aim was rather to mortify the flesh than to nourish it. Therefore, even before the end of the year of contract, Beissel, though a good weaver, closed the connection and made arrangements henceforth to live the life of a recluse in the wilderness. In the fall of 1721, in company with his former companion, Jacob Stuntz, and upon the advise of Conrad Matthai, he went into the Conestoga country; "and there in a secluded spot in the primitive forest, beside a fine spring of water, the two wanderers built for themselves a log cabin."

The exact spot at which he settled can now be determined with much confidence. It undoubtedly was in Lancaster county, though Rev. J. Max Hark's translation of the "Chronicon Ephratense" locates the cabin "at a place called Muehlbach," an explanatory foot-note reading: "Mill Creek, in what is now Lebanon County." Sachse, however, found that Beissel's original log cabin was built in Leacock township of Lancaster county. He writes:

> The two wanderers built for themselves a log cabin. This was on the banks of the Muhlbach (Mill Creek), a branch of the Conestoga. This branch rises in the Welsh moutains in the eastern end of Lancaster county, and after an intricate course empties into that river at the dividing line of Pequea and West Lampeter townships.
>
> The exact situation of this historic spot can, after a lapse of a century and three-quarters, be given to a certainty, thanks to some old surveys, maps and records, which have been found and located after a long and patient search extending over years. * * * The site of Beissel's original cabin in Lancaster county is upon the grounds of Miss Marianna Gibbons, about half a mile north of the Bird-in-Hand Station on the Pennsylvania railroad, and agrees with the old record, which states that it was eight miles from the junction of the Muhlbach with the Conestoga. * * * It was upon a tract of one thousand acres, originally deeded to Elizabeth Wartnaby.

Within a couple of years of its raising, the log cabin was sold to Joseph Gibbons, a son of James Gibbons, that family having purchased the Wartnaby tract. The hermits, however, were, in reality, merely squatters on the land, and Gibbons could have seized the cabin without payment.

According to the "Chronicon Ephratense," Beissel's life in that cabin was spent in solitude. The settlers were curious, and made many calls upon them, and were impressed by their saintly aims; so much that Beissel later attributed to a quickening of the Spirit among the settlers throughout the whole region to their presence and example among them. But a reading of the "Chronicon Ephratense" gives one the impression that at this period Beissel's desire was only for the solitary life, and that his first years in the Conestoga Valley were so spent. On the other hand, Sachse states that Beissel chose the Mill Creek site for "weighty reasons," seclusion being the chief one, but an important reason being that from that spot "they readily engage in revival work among their countrymen," the settlements within accessible radius including Coventry, Oley, Pequea, and Conestoga. Bearing in mind Beissel's longing for solitude while still a weaver in Germantown, one would lean toward the Ephrata rendering. Beissel admitted as much in a letter which he later wrote to "Friend Griess in Manheim," regarding his part in the "awakening" among the settlers in Pennsylvania in 1722, and later years of that decade. After having referred to "his retired and separate life," he finally wrote:

> In those sorrowful times I purposed to forsake mankind, and with several others betook myself into the forests in the district of Conestoga; but I continued to feel an unchanging heart-yearning to enjoy once more the love of my God before I should die, which also was granted me, and indeed quite suddenly, in an instant, when a ray of light from the divine loving kindness streamed forth. * * * Now I thought I had triumphed, and purposed, in the quiet of the Spirit (as separate from all men) to serve my God continually in his holy temple. But what happened? Ere I was aware, that whole region was illumined by that heavenly light. * * * At first, indeed, it tarried for a while in this same region where I dwelt, and in this wise: one heard here and there of one being awakened, and in such places where it was quite unusual, which first of all was the cause for reflection as to what kind of people those must be who lived there solitary in the wilderness (which was myself and another one); at the same time inquiries came to me from inquiring spirits, of a deeply searching kind, as to what were the cause of this quiet and solitary life. Thus it was given me to recommend the mysteries of the kingdom of God by renouncing this world.

Beissel moved to some extent among the people of the region, but probably did little in the way of "exhortation," except when the "inquiring spirits" came to his cabin for advice. He even would not accept the eagerly-proffered hospitality of settlers when traveling, offending some by refusing food, though he had not eaten for two or three days. However, many pilgrimages were made to the hut of the hermits, both for religious and academic instruction, it seems. Sachse says that after Beissel and Stuntz were well-established in their new abode, "they entered upon a life of seclusion and prayer, exhorting their neighbors when opportunity offered and imparting instruction to such of the young as were sent to them." In this way, thinks Sachse, "the first free school was held within the bound of Lancaster county." Regarding this pioneer effort of Beissel and his companions in the field of education, Sachse writes:

> The faculty were two or three religious enthusiasts; the pupils the children of the early German settlers; the curriculum, simple as it was, was strictly religious and moral. The writer doubts whether it went beyond the alphabet, Vater Unser, the catechism, and a few Bibel-Spruch. * * * However, * * * crude as was the instruction imparted in the rude hut on the Muhlbach, there are evidneces that it laid a religious foundation in the pupils to which they remained true to the end.

Before the end of 1721, Beissel and Stuntz were joined by Isaac van Bebber, the younger nephew of Heinrich van Bebber, who had crossed to

America with them. And after a little while he induced Beissel to go with him on a visit to the Labadist Community at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, "where had been established in 1684 the first Protestant mystic community in the New World." Van Bebber wanted to visit his father, but Beissel's main reason for going was to study the mystical character of the Bohemian Community. While there he had conferences with Peter Sluyter, who with Dankarts had founded the community almost forty years before; and Beissel carried back impressions to which might be attributed, thinks Sachse, "many of the peculiar features of the Ephrata Community, "not the least important one being the manner of separating the sexes."

Shortly after van Bebber and Beissel had returned to Muhlbach, they were joined by George Stiefel, another of whose who had crossed the ocean with the journeyman-baker; and with his coming, the four enthusiasts entered upon "a joint life of probation and seclusion from the world," or, as the "Chronicon Ephratense" has it. "they resolved to dwell together in a brotherly and communal manner." But they continued to give spiritual counsel to all who visited them; and they also continued to give instruction to such children as were sent to them. One of these scholars was Barbara Meyer, who as Sister Jael later joined the sisterhood at Ephrata, becoming a steadfast lifelong follower of Beissel, "enamored of his angelic life."

Another who found delight in the presence of Beissel and in the work of the four hermits at Muhlbach, was Michael Wohlfarth (Welfare), a Pietist from Germantown, whose time was given to journeying from place to place, exhorting and preaching to his countrymen. He was then journeying on foot to the valley of Virginia, but "so pleased was (he) Michael Wohlfarth with what he saw and heard during his sojourn (in the fall of 1722) on the Muhlbach that he asked Beissel's permission to join his band upon his return from the South."

Beissel began to develop certain peculiar tenents, after his Labadist visit. He had had intercourse also with Sabbatarians in Chester county, and Providence and Newtown. Soon he "commenced to question which day was the true Sabbath according to the Scriptures." He became "wholly intent upon seeking out the true obligations of the Word of God and the proper observance of the rites and ceremonies it imposes, stripped of human authority," and ere long his research brought to him the clear conviction "that there was an error among the brethren in the observance of the day for the Sabbath." Sachse writes:

> It was not long before he made the announcement, publicly, that as the Seventh Day was the command of the Lord God, and that that day was established and sanctified by the great Jehovah forever, no change ever having been announced to man by any power sufficient to set aside the solemn decree of the Almighty, he felt it to be his duty to contend for the observance of that day. Hence he intended to observe the Scriptural Sabbath, and work and labor upon the remaining six days, as commanded by Divine Writ. This departure caused the first disagreement between the four enthusiasts; they however finally acquiesced, and the Sabbath was now kept in the hut on the Muhlbach.

Their righteous aims and especially their views as to the Sabbath naturally aroused much discussion among the settlers in the Conestoga Valley; and an "awakening" began among the Mennonites. Beissel had an attractive personality and manner, and "soon became a power among the Separatists and Mennonites * * * of the Conestoga and Pequea" valleys. An old manuscript states that: "Almost every one judged themselves fortunate when received by him with favor and admitted to his friendship; and all strove for his company, hoping thereby to attain the Divine virtues. He proved a marvel to almost every one, and thus it was that the awakened in the Conestoga valley became so heartily enamoured of Conrad Beissel and placed unbounded faith in him.

First Dunker Congregation in America—The hermit's efforts, and the quickening of the religious spirit among the Germans of the Conestoga country, had its effect upon those in Germantown; it quickened Peter Becker and other Dunkers into activity. In pursuance of Beissel's counsel, "in the fall of 1722, Peter Becker, accompanied by Johannes Gumre, George Balser Gansz, and one of the Traut brothers * * * made a pilgrimage through the Province to look up former brethren who were now dispersed through the country, and remove, if possible, all stumbling blocks in the way of again uniting them * * *" "The journey of these missionaries extended through the Skippack and Perkiomen valleys to Falkner's Swamp and Oley, thence across the Schuylkill to the Conestoga Valley, and returned by way of Coventry and the settlements along the French creek. This series of meetings was continued after their return to Germantown, being first held alternately in the homes of Becker at Germantown and Gumre on the Ridge, but ultimately they were held regularly at Peter Becker's. From these weekly services, begun in the fall of 1722, dates the history of the Dunker denomination, or Church of the Brethren, in America," states Sachse. The meetings were continued "until the advance of winter prevented them." The important developments during the next year, 1723, as recorded in the "Chronicon Ephratense," were:

> In August of the year 1723 a rumor was spread through the country that Christ. Libe, a famous Baptist teacher who had long been in the galleys, had arrived in Philadelphia. This moved some newly awakened persons on the Schuylkill to go forth to meet him. The whole thing, however, was a fiction. These persons were persuaded by the Baptists to go with them to their meeting, during and after which they heard so much of the Germans' awakening, that they went home very much edified. Soon after, a second visit was made to Germantown, by which both parties were so much edified that the Germantown Baptists promised a visit in return, which they also made four weeks afterwards with great blessing. These newly awakened ones were thereby stirred up still more in their love, so that at last they threw themselves at the feet of the Germantown Baptists, and begged to be received into their communion by holy baptism. This was the occasion of important proceedings among the Baptists in Germantown; for they still had in mind the misunderstandings which had arisen between them and their brethren at Creyfeld. Besides they were indeed a branch of a congregation, but not yet a congregation that dared to presume to administer the sacraments. The worst was that they were divided among themselves, and had only lately commenced to draw nigh to one another again. After they had seriously pondered over all these things in the spirit, they finally agreed to consent to the request. Accordingly, after the candidates for baptism had chosen Peter Becker to be their Baptizer, they were baptized in the stream Wiskohikung (Wissahickon), near Germantown, on December 25th, of the year 1723. And as these were the firstlings of all baptized, from among the high-Germans in America, their names shall here be recorded and given to posterity, namely: Martin Urner and his female house-mate, his wife, Catherina), Henry Londes and his house-mate (Heinrich Landes and his wife), Frederick Lang, and Jan Mayle. The evening following they held the first Love-feast ever celebrated in America, at John Gomorry's (Gumre's), which created a great stir among the people of that neighborhood; Peter Becker, * * *, ministered at the same.

At this, the first baptism by immersion held in America, "it was found that there were present seventeen persons who had been baptized in Europe.

They were: Peter Becker, Johann Heinrich Traut, Jeremias Traut, Balser Traut, Heinrich Holzappel, Johannes Gumre, Stephan Koch, Jacob Koch, Johannes Hildebrand, Daniel Ritter, George Balser Gansz, Johannes Preisz, Johannes Kampfer, Magdalena Traut, Anna Gumre, Maria Hildebrand, and Johanna Gansz. These seventeen persons constituted the first Dunker congregation formed in America. They chose Peter Becker as their elder. To them were added ere that memorable Christmas Day ended the six persons baptized in the Wissahickon. Of the baptismal ceremony, Sachse writes:

> Clear above the sound of the rushing waters and the rustle of leafless branches rose the solemn German invocation and the singing of the baptismal hymn composed by Alexander Mack, Ueberschlag die Kost, Spright Jesu Christ, wann du den Grund wilt legen. Numerous as had been the mystic rites and occult incantations held on the rugged ravine and valley of this stream since the gentle Kelpius and his band settled there thirty years before, none were more fervent or brought so great and lasting results as this solemn rite upon the narrow strip of rock-bound land on the shore of the Wissahickon. There stood the administrator deep in the cold water. Before him knelt the rugged Alsatian. Thrice was he immersed under the icy flood. As he arose the last time the Segenspruch was pronounced, and Martin Urner once more entered the material world to become a factor in the religious development of his adopted country. His wife, Catherina Reist, was the next candidate, followed by the other four persons, the same scenes being repeated in each case.

On the same evening the love-feast was held, the rite of foot-washing was observed, there was breaking of bread, and with the participation by the twenty-three persons in the Holy Communion Service the organization of the first "Congregation of the Brethren in America" was perfected. It may here be stated that the romantic spot on the Wissahickon where the first baptism was held is still in "almost the same primitive condition as it was upon that memorable Christmas Day in 1723."

Conestoga Congregation Organized—But we must now leave the general affairs of the Dunker church, and deal only with that part of it with which Beissel was concerned. And there are some important personal happenings to Beissel which must now be taken up. Beissel was so impracticable in his mode of life that ere long his actions became intolerable to his companions. When they "had the means of sustenance," Beissel's conscience would give him no rest "until he had sent an offering to the hermits on the Ridge." When it was "his duty to provide for the table," there was cause for complaint; and his companions could find no satisfaction in his excuse, "that they had not come there to fatten the old Adam." First, Steiffel declared "he could not live that way," and departed. Isaac von Bebern next took leave of Beissel, "with much love"; and finally Stuntz departed. Beissel grieved that his "earliest fellow-warriors" should "for the belly's sake" forsake "the narrow way of the cross." But he then had to face and solve in a practical manner, and urgently, an embarrassing problem. The hut in which they had lived had been sold by Stuntz, in whose debt Beissel still was, for sea-passage expense. So that Beissel also had to depart. He left, resolving "never again to borrow from men on God's account." With his axe upon his shoulder, and his books and papers in his knapsack, he journeyed a mile further into the heart of the woods and settled "at a place called the Swedes' Spring, not knowing what God had further ordained for him," building with his own hands, in the summer of 1723, a small log cabin. A spring by the name stated is not shown on early records, maps or conveyances, but "all indications point to the fine spring upon the farm by Elam H. Denlinger," writes Sachse, adding: "This was originally known as the Evans' tract, and in later years as the Whitehill property. It is located in East Lampeter township, south of the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike, and is about equal distance between the Muhlbach and the Pequea. The spring is the source of a run which empties into the Mill Creek."

There, it would seem, Beissel must have passed the winter of 1723 alone, his solitude broken only by occasional visits by some of the recluses on the Wissahickon. Sachse states that Beissel's solitary condition was of short duration, as "almost immediately upon the completion of the cabin he was joined by Michael Wohlfarth, who had just returned from North Carolina"; also that early in the following year, (1724), "an erratic visionary, Johannes Stumpf" stayed with them. The "Chronicon Ephratense," however, gives the year of the return of Michael Welfare from Carolina at 1724; and a few lines below records that "the next year * * * there joined them J. S., a restless spirit, with unsettled mind, who caused them much trouble." Solitude, however, was what Beissel longed for most. It gave him "the desired opportunity to order his life according to his conscience, for then he was not yet overcrowded with men, who delight to empty the lamp of the solitary." He practiced such moderation and abstinence at that time that "he must be reckoned along with the most approved fathers of the Egyptian wilderness," writes Brother Agrippa. "And in this solitary state he attained to a blessedness in his communion with God which neither the world nor time can ever outweigh."

However, we near the time when "God obliged him to again renounce this seraphic life and to enter into a communion with others." It was revealed to him that "the life of a hermit is only something granted for a time, since no solitary person can be fruitful." He had, in fact, been seeking his own pleasure in solitude, and so had not yet renounced himself, which he must do, for the Glory of God. His was a definite mission; he must "bear fruit to the glory of God." He must go out into the world, and battle with Satan's hosts at the head of God's army. He must extend God's kingdom. With that realization, it came to him that the first essential armor was bapism; but "he knew neither of a congregation according to his own mind, nor of a man who would have been worthy to baptize him." So he attempted to baptize himself, in the waters of Mill Creek. But his conscience was not satisfied, "nor was the transaction valid," writes Brother Agrippa, "since there were no witness present."

He had reached that state of mind at about the time, in 1724, when Peter Becker and others of the Germantown Dunker congregation came into the Conestoga Valley for the purpose of organizing a congregation in that settlement. Peter Becker had been so much encouraged by the events of 1723 and by the fervour manifested in his Germantown meetings during the spring and summer of 1724, that he had resolved to make an autumn tour of the settlements in which former brethren were. Hence, on October 23, 1724, a party headed by Peter Becker had set out from Germantown. Seven were mounted and seven walked. The first stop was in the Skippach Valley, where some Germans had settled. There meetings were held with some success. The next halt was at Falkner's Swamp, where revival services were held, closing "with a Liebesmahl in the evening, followed by the breaking of bread." This was repeated at Oley, in Berks county. Turning southward, the party crossed the Schuylkill, going direct to the house of Martin Urner, in Coventry, Chester county. There two persons were baptized and a congregation formed, the nine constituent members having Martin Urner at their head as teacher.

From Coventry the revivalists journey towards the Conestoga country, the party dividing at Urner's house, the mounted men keeping to the road, and passing the night of November 9th at the house of Jacob Weber, near Weberstown (Weaverstown), in Leacock township, and those on foot taking a shorter route over the Welsh mountains, and staying with Hans Graff, pioneer settler in Earl township. The next day horse and foot re-united at the house of Hans Rudolph Nagele, a "Mennonite preacher in that region." On that day Peter Becker, Heinrich Traut and others called on Beissel at Swedes' Spring. They sought his aid in their work, and found him ready to give it. They lodged with Stephen Galliond that night, and the next day journey towards the valley of the Pequea, "to bring about an awakening of the Mennonites." They stayed at the house of Heinrich Hohn. On the following day, November 12th, a meeting was held in that house and "extraordinary revival powers were manifested." Beissel was present, and at the close of the meeting five persons applied for baptism. They were, according to the "Chronicon Ephratense": "the afore-mentioned Hohn, his house-mate (wife), John Mayer and his house-mate (wife), and Joseph Shafer, who were at once baptized in Apostolic-wise, by Peter Becker, in the Pequea stream." Ere all were baptized, a sixth stepped forward, Veronica, the wife of Isaac Friedrichs, the miller. While she was being baptized, strong influences were at work within Beissel himself. He did not deem the calling of these people "important enough for him"; and he "feared that if he associated with them, he might lose all the good that he had reached through so much pain." But suddenly "his heart was enlightened by a bright ray from the Gospel, in whose light the whole purpose of God was revealed to him, namely, that Christ also had permitted himself to be baptized by one who was less than himself." Therefore the hermit of the Conestoga "humbled himself, under the ordinance of God, and became a child of the new covenant." As Veronica Friedrichs was led up the slippery bank, Beissel, "came down from his spiritual pride," humbly entered the freezing water, knelt before Peter Becker, and was immersed thrice, face forward, under the cold flood. Brother Agrippa writes: "It was thus that Wisdom brought him into her net; he received the seed of his heavenly virginity at his first awakening; but now a field was prepared for him in America into which he might sow his seed again."

Great was the rejoicing among the evangelists from Germantown. But they did not then know what perplexities were before them through this reëntry of Beissel into the world. They looked upon him as the logical leader of their people in that region. Alas! they did not foresee what difficulties would arise through his peculiarities. Sachse writes: "If we except the immersion in the Wissahickon on the previous Christmas Day, this baptism in the Pequea was the most noteworthy one in the history of the sect-people of Pennsylvania. While the former one laid the foundation of the German Baptist Brethren church in America, the immersion of Beissel virtually created the first schism within that fold, from which may be traced the beginnings of the German Seventh-day Baptists in the Province."

The memorable day was closed with a Liebesmahl at the home of Heinrich Hohn. On the following day, the party went to Isaac Friedrich's house on Mill creek; and there disagreement sprang up among them, some wishing to return at once to Germantown, but others being determined to continue the revival work. Peter Becker carried the majority with him, in insisting on another meeting being held—at the home of Sigmund Landert on the coming Sunday. It was duly held, but, states the "Chronicon Ephratense":

> This meeting was not at all like the previous ones in power and spirit. * * * First of all the women began a quarrel; and then Simon Konig, Michael Wolfahrt, and others, joined together to assail the Baptists on account of their controversies across the sea. Simon Konig made the attack, but, as he acted very injudiciously, the rest were ashamed of him and left him in the lurch. Consequently, the meeting passed over fruitlessly, as did also the baptism, of Sigmund Landert and his wife, which followed; for they baptized them in such unclean water that they ought to have had a washing afterwards. It appears that the small dam, in a tributary of Mill Creek, used as a baptistry "was shallow, stagnant and muddy."

The pilgrims "betook themselves upon their homeward journey," after the kiss of peace and charity had been given and passed, and after Peter Becker had recommended the members of the little Conestoga congregation "to arrange their affairs among themselves, according to their daily circumstances and ability." Possibly, he then thought that a stormy future was before the congregation. At all events the infant society did not like being thus left to their own resources. Beissel, it seems, regretted it also, for many years later he remarked to Becker, who was then on his death-bed: "What a pity it is that there were no wise men among you when the awakening in Conestoga commenced; how we could now live under your shelter!" And Becker once admitted that he was uneasy on the journey from Conestoga, fearing that Beissel's Sabbatarian practice would in time rule the congregation. They even thought it might be wise to send a brother from Germantown, as teacher, and eventually "proposed one Kemper, as being both edifying and having the gift of prayer."

The Conestoga congregation however, had lost no time in arranging its own affairs; and although not immediately appointed minister, Beissel was at its head from the outset. Twelve persons, six brothers and six sisters, constituted the original Conestoga church, or Gemeinde. They were: Brothers Conrad Beissel, Joseph Schaffer, Johannes Meyer, Heinrich Hohn, Sigmund Landert and Jonadab; Sisters Migtonia, Christiana, Veronica, Maria, Elizabeth and Franzina. Beissel was acknowledged by common consent as the leader of the new congregation and presided at regular meetings. At a meeting held during the month of December at Sigmund Landert's, the "advisability of obtaining a regular teacher" was discussed. Then Hans Mayer arose, and pointing to Conrad Beissel, "solemnly proclaimed him to be the man-elect, chosen by God, to be their leader." All were of that opinion, and Beissel therefore accepted the trust, agreeing to be "the teacher of the new Dunkers on the Conestoga." He felt himself specially ordained, as was Elijah, John the Baptist, and others, "to come to the help of a church fallen asunder." Diffenderfer, in his review of Dr. Brumbaugh's "History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America," refers to this first Conestoga congregation thus:

> The Conestoga congregation is full of interest for our readers. It was organized November 12, 1724, by Elder Peter Becker. Conrad Beissel was chosen minister. The first meetings were held on Mill Creek, in Lampeter township, but from thence they were removed to the house of Rudolph Nagle, in Earl township, where the services were held for seven years. It was while he lived with and ministered to this congregation that Beissel began to develop his peculiar religious views.

Beissel certainly was original in his method of teaching, and especially so at this time, it seems, for "as soon as he assumed the office a large measure of the Spirit rested upon him." His views and his manner of preaching were so unusual that "as soon as he began to hold meetings, contention arose against him throughout the whole land, which has not ceased even after his death," wrote the Prior of the Ephrata Cloister, in 1786. Many of his friends "declared that he had gone out of his mind." His sermons, or rather utterances, were quite spontaneous, not the result of reflection and study. In fact, he made no use of the Bible in his early preaching, fearing that his testimony, received directly from the Spirit, might be "weakened by written knowledge." He would not be confined even within "the meshes of reason," one discourse being often directly contradictory to a former one. His manner of delivery also was peculiar. He would begin his discourse "with closed eyes, before a large crowd of hearers; and when he opened his eyes again the most of them were gone." Obviously they were uneasy under his words; according to the Ephrata chronicler, they were not able "to endure the Spirit's keenness." And during the next year, in which Beissel's own convictions as to the Sabbath and other questions, came more and more into his spoken testimony—unconsciously perhaps, for he had declared that he had received no command to preach it to others, but only to observe the seventh day as the Sabbath himself—the unrest was even greater. Many followed him in a faithful observance of Saturday as the Sabbath. Judaism, indeed, crept into the practices of some of the more devout, who thought that Holy Writ should be followed fully, if at all. Two of the "burdensome" Judaizing brethren accompanied Beissel on a visit to the other Baptist congregations early in 1725, and offended their hosts by refusing to eat pork, or in fact to partake of anything cooked in vessels that had formerly held unclean foods. Even geese came under the ban. Religious fanaticism among the German settlers had, indeed, so far dethroned reason at that time that some went even so far as to circumcise each other, "and blaspheme against Paul because he did away with that rite." Beissel, hearing of two cases, condemned the "folly," and counselled them to desist from their blasphemy, lest they lose "even the grace and promises of the new Covenant."

In May, 1725, a meeting of the Conestoga congregation was held at the house of John Landes, and then Beissel for the first time officiated as baptizer. Seven were immersed, among them Michael Wohlfahrt and Rudolph Naegle. Immediately thereafter, these two enthusiasts started on a proselyting tour through Oley and the country north of the Schuylkill. "Some few were awakened."

Beissel's ministerial work grew with the increase in congregation, and soon it became necessary for him to sacrifice altogether to God his "beloved solitude" in the wilderness, and move closer to his neighbors—for their good. A cabin had been erected for him on the land of Rudolph Naegle, and reluctantly Beissel vacated his former cabin, leaving it in charge of Stumpf. "Others soon joined themselves to him," and in a few months the land in the vicinity of Naegle's house was dotted with small log-cabins. "One could see in their little houses an edifying picture of the huts of the holy fathers in the Egyptian wilderness." Naegle and Wohlfahrt became Beissel's evangelists, and "in this region wonderful influences came down upon him from eternity."

Troubles were also coming upon Beissel, however. The vital question of the Sabbath came more and more prominently into the discussions at church meetings, which were still held in the homes of the members. Beissel and Wohlfahrt were strengthened in their belief by intercourse with Sabbath-keepers at French Creek in Nantmill township. There, English and Welsh Sabbath-keepers formerly of Newtown, Providence, Easttown and Tredyffryn townships of Chester county, had, "on account of persecutions from their more orthodox neighbors," gathered and formed a settlement and congregation. The movement was entirely independent of Beissel's; in fact, was an earlier one, but in later years many of the English Sabbatarians entered the Ephrata monastery. Abel Noble, called the Apostle of Sabbatarianism in Pennsylvania, also visited Beissel and Wohlfarth. However, 1725 passed without intolerable friction in the Conestoga congregation.

The year 1726 was an important and troublesome one in the affairs of the Conestoga church. Beissel's mystical and theosophical tendencies were beginning to influence many people. The settlement grew, and "many free souls of both sexes began to strive for the knightly crown." Beissel looked with intolerance on the marital state, and propounded some theories so drastic that he was accused of heresy, and called "a forbidder of wedlock." Nevertheless, he had many enthusiastic followers. They gathered around him, resolved to live celibate and continent lives, wooing only the celestial.

The "Chronicon Ephratense" opens a review of this year in this way: "Now however, the time drew nigh when God remembered Rachel in her long barrenness* * * For it was resolved in the Council of the Watchers that in the sixth period, as being the Philadelphian church-season, a virgin should be made ready as the bride of the High Priest, and for this Pennsylvania was specially chosen. And now the Spirit awakened many free souls of both sexes, who began to strive for the knightly crown." Continuing the record, the chronicler sets down calmly a situation which would be deemed embarrassing by men of worldly thought. He writes: "Among the female sex the first were two natural sisters, A. and M. E. They fled from their father's house in the year 1726, and put themselves under the Superintendent's (Beissel's) guidance, which caused much remark in the country, especially since he had to be with them very much. The congregation built them a house on Mill creek, in which they lived four years." These sisters were Anna and Maria Eicher, daughters of Daniel Eicher, who belonged to the Dunker church in the Schuylkill. They were the first females to enter upon a solitary life in the Conestoga country, and were it appears, placed in the care of Brother Lamech.

Whether this was the main reason for the visit made to the settlement by Daniel Eicher and Heinrich Landes from the Schuylkill at Eastertide of 1726, can only be conjectured. But the Ephrata chronicle shows the following, immediately after the above-quoted entry: "In the same year, at Easter, R. N. (Rudolph Naegle) held a love-feast, at which two Brethren from the Schuylkill, H. L. and D. E., were present, and at which a controversy arose between H. L. and the Superintendent (Beissel)." The controversy related to original sin, it seems, Beissel being of opinion that salvation was only open to adults; that children died in sin," and must be purged from their inherited sin by means of a kind of purgatory." It appeared to Beissel the purpose of the interrogators was, "to elevate the natural married state into an holy estate, in order thus to give the right to salvation to children." But because Beissel "recognized the advantage flesh and blood sought over these people, his opposition caused him to be caused a forbidder of wedlock." Landes and Eicher, offended and grieved, went back to their farms, "and did not hold to the congregation any more." Landes soon afterwards "in his offended mood passed into eternity." He was evidently distressed beyond endurance by the minister's interpretation. Once, in his grief, he took up his child in his arms, kissed it, and said: "O, thou poor child! art thou to be damned if thou wert now to die? That would be a horrible thing, since thou hast not yet sinned."

Despite rumors that had quickly spread regarding Beissel's personal life and religious beliefs, he was still recognized as the leading Dunker Baptist in the region, and was asked to officiate at a love-feast held at Martin Urner's house on the Schuylkill, at Whitsuntide, members of his own congregation also attending. The gathering of the congregations evidently was arranged not only for devotional purposes. Views as to Beissel and his ways were exchanged; and, one would infer from the record, his right to continue as minister was challenged. But at that festival Beissel manifested "quite extraordinary powers of eternity," and a Pentecostal blessing descended upon the people at the first meeting. Eleven "awakened" persons were baptized by Beissel, in the Schuylkill. By this demonstration of his power as an evangelist many of the Schuylkill congregation were "confounded." They had heard that he was "a seducer and a destroyer of wedlock," but they were compelled to admire his extraordinary power as a preacher. "They put their heads together, and took counsel; but knew not what judgment to form." Though other evidence shows that when they first gathered, they were hostile to Beissel.

The "Chronicon Ephratense" states: "On the first day of the festival everybody in the meeting was as though drunken with wine, and it was noticed that several, who had engaged in prayer, soon after married, and so dragged the gifts of the Spirit into the flesh." But Beissel had been tactful; he "bore himself as calmly in the matter as if it did not concern him at all; for he had already learned enough in the school of the Spirit to treat the good without any self-assumption, which is the worst of sins," states the record. He gave himself up to the Spirit, delivered the inspired message, with the Pentacostal result above-noted.

At the close of the love-feast of that night, it was resolved to hold another meeting on the morrow; and at that meeting Beissel again manifested such evangelizing power that he "finally threw the good Baptists into the greatest amazement." But this only increased the perplexity and suspicion of some. His power was so extraordinary that "many thought he must be a sorcerer." Some of the Schuylkill brethren, remembering the sisters Eicher over whom Beissel exercised such holy influence, "were in fear lest their wives might be seduced" from worldly wedlock, to live solitary lives in spiritual continence, in the wilderness. Martin Urner, who is described in the Ephrata chronicle as "one otherwise upright brother," was so disturbed by the thought that he embraced his wife, and exclaimed: "O, my dear wife! I pray you for God's sake do not leave me!" "Such is the effect when God reaches forth into the church of Adam," comments the chronicle.

By this time the reader will have realized what a disturbing factor Beissel must have been among the somewhat superstitious settlers in the Conestoga country. The wonder is that he was able to hold his pastorate for so long, his own habits desires and beliefs being so contrary to those of the greater number of his congregation. It is a fact that his congregation continued to grow, but possibly despite his efforts. The flood of emigration was swelling, and many of the Germans who came into the Conestoga Valley were of the persecuted sects of Germany. Among the accessions to Beissel's congregation in 1726, were Johannes Hildebrand, Simon Konig and Christopher Sauer. Simon Konig was "one of Beissel's companions across the ocean," and in 1726 had 500 acres of land adjoining that of Hans Graff surveyed for himself and two friends, one of whom was Hildebrand. The latter was a man of more than ordinary education, and had been "somewhat of a leader among the Baptists in Germantown." Possibly he had a particular ministerial purpose in coming. At all events, he "forthwith assumed an active part in the direction of the Conestoga congregation"; and in later years bitterly opposed Beissel at Ephrata. Christopher Sauer, a German tailor, had been in Pennsylvania for a couple of years, but, not having been able to make a living at his trade in Germantown, had bought fifty acres of land from Konig and had "resigned himself to agricultural pursuits." However, he was destined soon to go back to Philadelphia, there to become a clockmaker, and later a printer, "the first German printer in America," and the first to succeed as a publisher of a German newspaper in America, his intercourse with Conrad Beissel in the Conestoga Valley being the influencing factor in Sauer's change of occupation and ultimate success, it has been stated. Alas! his life was destined to be saddened also by Beissel. Sauer's wife, Maria Christina, was, it is believed, baptized by Beissel in 1726, and eventually she became so much imbued with his spiritual aims and religious beliefs, that she left her husband and entered the Ephrata sisterhood.

Hildebrand became a leading member of the Conestoga congregation very soon. Revival services were held in his home during the autumn and winter of 1726, culminating in a love-feast on Christmas Day. A baptismal ceremony was conducted by Beissel in the afternoon, six persons being immersed. Notable among them, so far as this narrative is concerned, were the sisters Anna and Maria Eicher.

Beissel Heads Schism From Dunker Church—During 1727 there was a struggle for leadership. Peter Becker visited the Conestoga settlement in August, 1727, and listened to a sermon by Beissel, in which the latter bemoaned the "unrighteousness of Christians who kept persons in servitude."

This it was thought was aimed at Becker, who had forced Beissel "to indemnify him for some unexpired time before he would cancel the indenture," in 1721. Becker was so affected that he became sick and was taken to Hildebrand's house. This widened the breach between the Germantown and Conestoga congregations; and the schism in the latter church soon became an undeniable cleavage, Beissel heading those who kept Saturday as the Sabbath, and Hildebrand those who preferred to worship "on the Lord's Day, Sunday." Beissel's followers, who came to be designated as Beisselianer, were more numerous than Hildebrand's; and the Sabbatarians lost no time in sending missionaries to the other settlements to preach the doctrine of the Sabbath. One mission, under Michael Wohlfahrt, was very successful, in the Falkner Swamp-Oley region during the winter of 1727-28, Beissel being sent for to baptize converts. The baptism took place on March 8, 1728, eleven being immersed, and forming the new congregation, with Andraes Frey as elder.

For a time it seemed that the influence of the Germantown congregation, the mother-church of the Dunker sect in America, was rapidly being undermined in Conestoga and elsewhere. Elder Becker quickly sent warning to "these newly-awakened ones" in Falkner's Swamp, and "tried to blind the eyes of these," telling them "of how they loved the Brethren in Conestoga, until they at last stole their hearts and put their minds into such confusion, that they no longer knew whether they should love or hate the Conestoga Brethren." Beissel sent a letter "of stern rebuke" to Germantown, which letter was sent on by Becker to the Falkner's Swamp congregation, in the hope that they would deem it "an insult," and "condemn its author." The outcome was that the Germantown and Conestoga congregations were asked to appear before William Frey, of the infant congregation, "for trial and judgment." This suggested investigation much incensed Beissel, who was astonished "at their daring in presuming to invite the congregation at Conestoga to such a mock-proceeding." The matter was not at once decided, but eventually the Germantown faction gained the upper hand in Oley—at least temporarily.

The final division of the Conestoga congregation was not now far off. Beissel was a man of strong convictions, and his fundamental doctrines were so rapidly different to those of the mother-church that separation was inevitable. Also he seemed to feel that all should bow to him. Diffenderfer thought Beissel "was a strange man, endowed with a spirit that brooked no rival." Sachse writes:

> The closing month of the year 1728 were turbulent ones for the Brethren in the Conestoga valley. Johannes Hildebrand and his followers, Hans Landes, Heinrich Hohn, Daniel Eicher, Hans Rolande and Luis, encouraged by Elder Becker, became quite aggressive in their opposition to the Beissel party, who kept the Seventh-day. This animosity tended to widen the breach between the parent congregation and its daughter until, within a few months, it ended in a complete rupture.

Beissel made final action imperative, by "witnessing against the old Adam, and his many false sanctuaries." He put forward his Sabbatarian and celibate principles so forcefully that "these Separatists, like men sick with the plague, finally banded together, and set up a meeting of their own." The division was effected in this way, states Diffenderfer: The members met in a barn. A rail was then placed in the centre of the barn floor. Those who wished to join in organizing a new congregation were asked to step to the right side, and those who desired to follow Beissel were asked to go to the left of the rail.

Thus the division was effected in comparative peace. But Peter Becker and the Germantown Baptists were sorely grieved, and "now reproached Beissel for his ingratitude toward them, as it was at their hands that he had received baptism." The perplexity increased Beissel's vehemence, for he realized that his predicament was serious. Could he rightly set up a separate church on qualifications he had gained from another church? The problem worried him. He was then composing hymns, and was disturbed in the work because "they (the German town Baptists) came in the way of that Spirit under whose dominion he stood." Finally he resolved to break their "power of opposition" by giving back to "these people their baptism again." This perturbed his own followers, and they became more uneasy as to their standing with God when Beissel took it upon himself to rebaptize one of their number, Jan Meyle, so that the latter might in turn rebaptize him, and so open the way for Beissel to bring others into the new church through baptism. This renunciation of the Becker baptism by Beissel was carried through in December, 1728, "evidently in the Muhlbach or the Conestoga." Three brothers and four sisters were chosen for the ceremony, the number corresponding with the Sabbatical number, and agreeing with Rosicrucian teachings, the number seven representing the union of the square and the triad, and being considered the Divine number. Mysticism was present in most of Beissel's actions. The number seven and the two sexes agreeing therefore with his idea of fundamentals, Beissel entered the water confidently, with Jan Meyle (who became Brother Amos). "Special hymns were sung, and after an invocation, in which both men renounced their former baptism, Meyle immersed Beissel thrice backwards, and immediately afterwards repeated the operation thrice forwards, thus baptizing the candidate. Beissel then repeated the same ceremony upon Meyle and the others in turn."

To show to what extremes those early settlers in Lancaster county were prepared to go to satisfy their religious scruples, an incident which occurred in the same winter month of 1728 might be cited. Beissel was at prayer one night, "deeply moved on behalf of the entire Christian church," when someone knocked at his door. He was asked to go in haste to the house of a neighbor, Peter Beller, whose daughter was "about breathing her last," but desired to be baptized. Beissel wished to baptize her in flowing water, but "bowed to the wishes of the parents" by agreeing to use a scalding-tub, "such as is used upon a farm in butchering swine." It was rolled into the room and filled with cold water. The girl was lifted from her bed, and knelt in the cold water. "Thrice were buckets full of water thrown over her head, as she could not be entirely immersed in the tub." After her baptism the girl asked that a religious service be held in her room on the following Sabbath. It was; "and the young girl was present, but in her coffin."

Beissel does not seem to have been criticized; in fact, the parents of the deceased girl were so deeply moved that they both asked to be baptized. Nevertheless, the war of the churches was on, and several of Beissel's acts, which were, he was sure, directed by the Spirit, were more harmful to his cause than to that of the opposition. Some of his congregation "halted between two opinions, and secretly held to the Baptists." Still there were some so overwhelmingly imbued with the righteousness of Beissel's cause, that they went forth as messengers of the Lord God, carrying to opposing factions communications received direct from the Spirit. Michael Wolfahrt descended upon Germantown, burst into a meeting of the Dunkers, and thus spoke unto them: "Men and Brethren, thus saith the Lord. Ye have gone mad; this is a city that is destroyed. And unto you, Peter Becker, the Lord saith, why dost thou declare my rights," and so forth. Another prophet, Brother Joel, went to a meeting of the Hildebrand faction, in Conestoga, and announced. "To you, Johannes Hildebrand, I have a word from the Lord to say. Thus saith the Lord: 'Thou shalt no longer go forth and preach to others, but first thou and thy house must be converted * * * If thou heed not this warning voice, the judgment of the Lord shall come upon thee because thou hast not done according to his words."

Beissel also became the medium, the mouthpiece, of like divine massages of prophetic warning, his testimonies having such effect that they were "carefully written out," as though "the Holy Spirit had dictated it." However, one of his most faithful followers, Brother Amos in fact, doubted the divine origin of the messages, deemed them idolatrous, gained possession of the transcripts "by craft," and burned them, "saying he would try whether they could endure the fire test." The messages were scathing denunciations of those bodies that opposed Beissel; one was a merciless exposure, in open meeting, of the private life of one Henry Hohn, who was present.

It cannot be believed that Beissel gained much by such tactics. Kindly-disposed persons among his enemies would perhaps attribute these outbursts to the pain of an overwrought mind, but there must have been many more who saw in them a narrowness of mind, a meanness of disposition, and a scurrilous inclination.

On the other hand, some of Beissel's literary efforts of that time undoubtedly furthered his cause. In 1728 he published his book on the Sabbath, an octavo printed in German, with Roman type, by the pioneer printer Andrew Bradford, in Philadelphia. It "caused a great sensation among the Germans in the rural districts"; and the publication was followed by an English edition in 1729, "translated out of the High-Dutch, by M. W." (Michael Wolfahrt). The title-page reads as follows:

> Mystyrion Anomias | the | Mystery of Lawlessness: | or, | Lawless ANTICHRIST | discovered and Disclos'd, | Shewing that all those do belong to that | Lawless Anti-Christ, who wilfully reject | the Commandments of God, amongst | which, is his holy, and by himself blessed | Seventh-Day-Sabbath, or his holy Rest, | of which, the same is a Type.| For thus saith the Lord, Exod. xx. ver. 10.| The Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the | Lord thy God.| Written to the Honour of the Great God | and his Holy Commands.| By Cunrad Beysell.| Translated out of the High-Dutch, by M. W.| Printed in the Year 1729.

The original edition and the translation had wide circulations, and brought such disturbance in civil affairs that the colonial government was forced to intervene. One record states that the books were "so effective that the congregations now publickly adopted the Sabbath as the day for divine services;" and in consequence worked on the next day, Sunday, which was the official day of rest in the province.

Lancaster county was erected in 1729, and one of the first and perplexing duties of the new county officials was to begin "what might be called a crusade against the Sabbath-keepers" who violated "the law of the land" by not observing Sunday. There was much commotion, the "mob" perpetrated "many excesses against them," some of the Solitary were imprisoned, and the horses of the householders were sold to pay the fines imposed. But little could be done with them. One brother told the justice to lay aside his English law-book, "as he was subject to a higher, namely God's law-book." The justice offered to make him a present of the fine, if he would not work on Sunday in future. The Brother replied that he "would not cease to work on Sunday, and, besides, that he could not make him a present, since he did not owe him anything * * * ; to which the justice said nothing further."

Some of the brethren sought Beissel's prayers, when cited to appear before the authorities; and were so reassured by Beissel's words, "that God had given the heart of the authorities into his hand, and he had turned it as he pleased," that many willingly paid their fines. The outcome "of such Christian discretion" was that the authorities "relaxed their strictness," and overlooked the offences, their High Priest ascending one step higher in consequence, it would seem.

The Sabbatists, however, came into the persecuted class by this action, and held more resolutely together in consequence. Michael Wolfahrt published a pamphlet soon afterwards. It was entitled "The Naked Truth," or the "Lord's Seventh-Day-Sabbath" and in spirit it confounded and defied the provincial authorities. Wohfarth, Beissel, "and another brother (Abel Noble, the English Sabbatist) carried their cause to the seat of the government. They "made a pilgrimage afoot, staff in hand, to Philadelphia," and the three "addressed the populace from the court house steps * * * , joining in giving their testimony as to the truth of the Sabbatarian doctrine, and at the same time calling upon them to repent and change their ways ere it would be too late.

It was on this occasion that the evangelists got to know "the young printer, Benjamin Franklin." Beissel "at once surmised that Franklin would be of great service to him," Bradford and Keimer having failed to satisfy him as printers. "Strange as it may appear, it is an undeniable fact that the German mystic and enthusiast, Conrad Beissel, was among the earliest, if not the first, patrons of the Franklin press." Beissel and Wohlfahrt were not alone in the field of German literature; the opposing religious factions also coming into evidence at that time. Indeed, the printers were able to keep their presses very busy, for awhile.

The first work printed for Beissel by Benjamin Franklin was of theosophical character, his "Book of Mystical Proverbs," which was published in 1730. That it and the second of Beissel's works by Franklin were printed early in 1730, is inferred by the fact that no reference is made to them in Franklin's journal and day-book which he began on July 4, 1730, and which is now in the collection of the American Philosophical Society. The "Book of Proverbs" seemed to have been intended as a church text-book, or religious guide. The ninety-nine proverbs were followed by sixty-two poetical compositions, then a "Letter for a Christian," consisting of eighteen rules of self-examination. Next was a two-page prayer, and the concluding section, was headed: "Very serviceable and useful for the followers and scholars of Jesus Christ." The second commission given by Beissel to Franklin was for a hymnbook, a duodecimo of ninety-six pages, which bears the Franklin imprint of 1730. It contained sixty-two hymns, the original compositions of Beissel and his associates. In these hymns "mystical exultation revels in rhythmic measure," and the words are those "of sensual love, to symbolize religious ecstasy."

To Conrad Beissel, "the Rosicrucian recluse in the wilds of the Conestoga," belongs the honor of being the author of the first book of German poetry written and published in America. (The earlier Kelpius hymns remained in manuscript at that time, it is asserted). Certainly a large part of Beissel's time in those first years, as head of a church, were given to literary work. And the incentive to much of it came through the opposition he encountered.

Beissel's Book on Matrimony, his "Ehebuchlin," advocating celibacy and declaring "matrimony to be the penitentiary of carnal man," appeared in 1730, following a severe attack made on Beissel's moral integrity. He was implicated "with one of his spiritual daughters," one of the sisters Eicher. The elder sister, Anna, was summoned before Samuel Jones, justice, and Beissel was later called by King's warrant. However, a misunderstanding was disclosed, and the justice "thereupon begged pardon of the accused sister and let her go in peace." The resulting pamphlet, "Ehebuchlin," soon had definite effect, undermining the domestic happiness of some who were very near to Beissel. "Two married women of the congregation deserted their husbands and joined the two sisters in their retirement." These matrons were Maria Christina Sauer, wife of Christopher Sauer, and Maria (Weidenbacher) Hanselmann. Both were rebaptized into the congregation during the summer, and eventually entered the sisterhood at Ephrata. Mrs. Sauer was not reunited with her husband until old age came upon them.

Beissel throughout his life in America was a storm-centre, mainly through his own attitude toward the marital state, and his fanatical adherence to "spiritual virginity." Looking through the pages of the English translation of the "Chronicon Ephratense," one realizes that this problem was the one fraught with the greatest difficulty of all those referred to in the history of the Ephrata institution; there is scarcely a chapter in the whole work above-quoted that does not deal with the circumstances of some embarrassing situation, or perplexing question, or underlying unrest, arising out of the unnatural state Beissel advocated, and held to despite—yes, despite his own best interests. Knowing himself better perhaps than anyone else did, he could ignore the opinions of the worldly. That others should think him to be of licentions inclination did not "change his face." He went ahead according to the dictates of his conscience and the command of the Spirit. Had he heeded the scandalmongering outsiders at that time, he might have tried to dissuade the two matrons from increasing his embarrassments. But he did not; in fact, early in the following year, 1731, other matrons followed the example set by Sauer's wife, deserting their husbands to live lives of continence in Christian retirement. Beissel had to face irate husbands and turbulent church scenes. Twice he almost lost his life. It appears that the wife of the teacher or elder of the Falckner's Swamp congregation "was deeply enamoured of the good things of God, and therefore tarried more at the house of the Superintendent (Beissel) than was agreeable to her husband," who "commanded her to stay at home." She wouldn't; and Beissel "because of his vows to God" had to submit to her presence. Several times her husband took her home by force, and once she was brought by a constable. On one occasion the distraught man "attacked the Superintendent in his little home, as one attacks who means to kill, but God rescued him from his hands." On another occasion he burst into the church meeting, "rushed towards the Superintendent, seized him by the throat, and dragged him as far as the door. He would unquestionably have killed him if the people had not come to the rescue," tied the man's hands behind his back and "chased him home." The man apparently went from bad to worse in his uncontrollable jealousy; he "sank utterly into the realm of darkness, so that the hellish brimstone was kindled within him." But the congregation protected their leader from further trouble. They ordered the woman to stay at home altogether from that time on, banning her also from church meetings. Beissel offered to forgive the man, who however remained unyielding until his death; and Beissel himself when dying, remembering perhaps this incident, "deplored that he had been the occasion of so many becoming evil men."

Alexander Mack, the founder of the Dunker church, emigrated to America, with the remainder of his followers, in 1729, and sought in 1730 to bring Beissel again into church membership, without success, however. Once Alexander Mack, at a meeting with the Conestoga congregation, asked them all to join in prayer, "so that God might reveal unto them which party was guilty of separation." They did so, falling upon their knees, each taking hold of his pilgrim-staff with both hands, and resting his bearded chin upon his wrists. But the mode of prayer was different, the Beisselianer offering their invocation in silence, as was their practice, and Alexander Mack breaking out "in a loud and fervent prayer." As his voice gained volume, he was interrupted by the impetuous Michael Wohlfahrt, who shouted: "Cry aloud; shout louder, perhaps your God is asleep." He spoke derisively, but it soon became evident that an impassable gulf divided the two congregations. Further meetings between the leaders in subsequent years did not materially change the fundamental state. Beissel was at the head of one church sect, and his devoted followers would not permit him to surrender his leadership, notwithstanding the almost perpetual turmoil. They recognized that Beissel, "who had before his baptism led an angelic life hidden in God, now by baptism had consecrated himself to the lowly humanity of Jesus Christ," and while they pitied him for having had to "hazard his own painfully attained sanctification, and again to wade into the ocean of humanity, there to fish for men," yet they held him to it.

Many troubles came to the church in 1730 and 1731. Their involvements were many, for some did not realize that they needed to heed any other law or authority in the wilderness, than God's. Such a number of squatters had gathered around Beissel that ere long the civil authorities had to proceed against them. The London Company, which owned the greater part of the Conestoga territory, determined to proceed against the squatters, dispossessing them by force. A hand-bill was distributed throughout the Conestoga Valley early in the summer of 1730, giving notice to those "divers persons" who had settled themselves and their families illegally "on several tracts of land known by the name of the London Company's lands" that they would be required within a month to make good all damage done and desist thereafter from cutting any timber-trees or underwood; and that, failing compliance, they might "expect to be proceeded against according to a law of this Province." There were no evictions or legal proceedings, but possibly the condition had some bearing on Beissel's decision about eighteen months later to vacate his house. There is a record that when it was first proposed to Beissel that he and the solitary ones of both sexes should retire, "after the pretext of the holy forefathers" (and) "begin a household in the wilderness," he refused to consider the proposition, stating "that the secular, or congregation at large, had a greater claim upon him." However, there came a time when he could bear the weight and perplexities of the office no longer. The Chronicon points out that Beissel had in reality "placed only one foot in the congregation, while the other was still firmly planted in separatism," acting so "because he feared that in the ocean of humanity he might lose his crown." Beissel, in one of his "Discourses," (No. XXXI.), confessed that he had found it hard to be forced to be a leader, and "once more to begin to live with others," but that he had taken hold with a will, and been desirous "to bind sheaves in this field." He continued: "Then I became aware, however, of the piercing of so poisonous a thorn, and that too among the very best wheat, that horror seized upon me." He was finally "driven in upon himself," and called the congregation together, appointed elders, handed them the New Testament for their governance, "laid down his office, and moved eight miles, to a barren spot where Ephrata now stands."

Beissel never made known his true reason for this dramatic action, though the editors of the Chronicon seem to suggest that he ran away from temptation. They could "well imagine what temptations there must have been when he, a Solitary, who had but recently left his angelic life in the desert, was now run after by so many people." That the parting affected Beissel greviously may also be imagined. After delivering his final discourse, a fervent exhortation on the "comforting state of God's kingdom," he appointed Sigmund Landert and another as elders, designated Maria Christina Sauer as matron over the single woman, and impressed upon the whole congregation "the necessity of remaining steadfast in their faith." Then, states Sachse, "Beissel, to the surprise of all present, with tears coursing down his cheeks, impressively laid down his office, as vorsteher * * * (and) stepped down from the prayer-bench an humble member of the congregation." Consternation reigned; and the situation became even more dumbfounding when Beissel, notwithstanding that the winter season had not yet passed, "gathered up his books and papers, and once again * * * journeyed, staff in hand, deeper into the unbroken forest." This occurred in February, 1732, somewhat more than seven years after he had assumed charge of the Conestoga congregation. It is stated that the church meetings, after Beissel had departed, "appeared more like court sessions than religious meetings," so many judicial questions arising for discussion. "One earnest housefather, Casper Walter, went out of time to eternity in deep sorrow of heart on account of the sad schisms of Zion."

Whether Beissel knew that within eight miles of the church settlement lived a hermit, of companionable temperament, is not known; but it seems probable. Anyhow, within that distance of his former home Beissel did find one of the Eckerling brothers living in solitary life. This hermit, entered in the monastic records as Brother Elimelich, was Emanuel Eckerling; and his log cabin stood upon the bank of "a romantic stream, beside a never-failing spring of limpid water, far away from any human habitation." The Indians had known the creek as Hoch-Halekung, meaning the Den of Serpents; but, when settlers came in, the waterway came to be known as Cocalico. It is said that Emanuel Eckerling "evidently expected the coming of the late leader," and received him with open arms, gladly offering to share his cabin with the newcomer until such time as a separate one could be raised.

It was apparently Beissel's intention henceforth to live the life of a recluse, and to maintain himself by his own labor. He "cleared a tract of land, and cultivated it with the hoe," and also, it is said, hewed the timber with which during the summer he and Eckerling built the second cabin, which was to be for his own habitation. He gave much time to spiritual exercises, and, it seems, composed some of his finest hymns during this short period of solitude. There does not seem to be any reason for stating that members of his former congregation did not know his whereabouts. His retreat was at least known to the Eckerling family, for Samuel Eckerling made the arrangements with Benjamin Franklin, the Philadelphia printer, whereby a new book of hymns was printed during the first half of 1732, which compilation included twenty-four new hymns of Beissel's composition, some, if not all, being written in the quietude of Cocalico.

And there is also record that Beissel was kept advised of the church progress, and that once, on account of the many "legal quarrels" constantly arising in the church, "he found an opportunity and summoned the heads of the congregation to his new dwelling place" for a conference; furthermore, that he was prevailed upon to come once again to the settlement and officiate at a love-feast. The Agapas, or love-feast, was held at the home of Sigmund Landert, on September 4, 1732. Soon thereafter, "notwithstanding their earnest prayers for him to remain in their midst," Beissel returned to his cabin in the wilderness. But a pathway was being beaten to his door, and the winter had not far advanced before three single brethren arrived on the Cocalico, resolved to settle near him and his companion, Brother Elimelich. These three were Martin Bremer, "the firstling of those fell asleep in Ephrata"; Jacob Gast, who took the monastic name of Jethro; and Samuel Eckerling, who became Brother Jephune. The wife of the last-named had died a few months before. These three built for themselves another cabin on the banks of the Cocalico. Sachse describes it as the third house erected in the settlement, but, according to the Chronicon, it was the second house built; therefore it is possible, that Beissel did not build one for himself. The next to arrive were the two sisters Eicher, "who clamored for permission to pass their time in seclusion and silent contemplation, and receive further spiritual instruction from their former teacher." Beissel "recognized the hand of Providence in the matter," and would not heed the protests of the brethren that the presence of the sisters among them was "improper and perhaps a cause of offence." So it was decided to build a house for the sisters without delay, but on the opposite bank of the creek. The house was completed in May, 1733, and therein the girls lived until the first community-house at Ephrata was erected. The Chronicon states that Beissel at the time of their coming "foresaw in the spirit what would be the outcome of the matter."

The Cocalico Settlement Grows—The flood of emigration was strong in 1733, a steady stream of German settlers coming into Lancaster county and rapidly taking up vacant lands; so that ere long Beissel and his followers were no longer in the wilderness. Most of the emigrants were of Lutheran and Reformed affiliations, though German Sabbatarians had some accessions. "These latter, many of whom were poor and without means, clustered around the settlement of their leader." The rapidity with which the vacant land in Lancaster county was being entered also prompted Sabbatarians throughout the region to draw nearer to the settlement of the Solitary. "So great was this movment that when the year 1734 opened the country, within a radius of three or four miles from Beissel's cabin was all in possession of his followers." In that year the brothers Israel and Gabriel Eckerling (Brothers Onesimus and Jotham) joined the Solitary, and all around them were the "householders," the Sabbatarian families. At all events, such was the satisfactory state within the next few years. The Chronicon states that "in the year 1734, the awakened in Falckner's Swamp * * * began to break up and move towards the Settlement, which increased the alarm in the country. They bought up from the spirit of the world the regions around Ephrata, so that in a few years the country for from three to four miles around the Settlement was occupied by this kind of people."

A common bake-house was erected by the Solitary in 1734, and also a "magazine for the supply of the poor"; and the settlement began to assume a communal character. Other settlers and churches in Lancaster county were beginning to view this as ominous development. Added to the keenness of church rivalry was the abhorrence with which anything unconventional in mode of life was viewed by these illiterate, but God-fearing and wholesome-minded German settlers. Their imaginations had pictured an appalling state of immorality as prevalent among the followers of Beissel. And this new gathering of Sabbatarians around him at Ephrata was probably viewed by the settlers as a much-to-be-deplored resuscitation of a body they had hoped had expired when Beissel departed from the former settlement. But here in their midst another and much stronger settlement was rapidly growing. Should they permit it to grow? Should they tolerate the existence within reach of their own homes, of a state so insidious, so disastrous to domestic happiness, a thing that might eat into the very vitals of their own home life. Undoubtedly, the people of the region looked with much uneasiness upon the happenings and possibilities at Ephrata. The Chronicon states: "These matters created a terrible stir in the land, especially among the neighbors, who were partly degenerate Mennonites and partly spoiled church-people. They did all against the newcomers that one could expect from that kind of people * * * Once they, without warning, set fire to the forest, in the hope of burning down the settlement; but the fire turned and laid in ashes the barn of a householder with all its contents. Then they began everywhere to warn one another against seduction, parents warning their children and husbands their wives."

Others, as well as the settlers were perturbed. The civic authorities were fearful that more trouble would arise; also it seems that the Provincial Government was not free from anxiety regarding the sect. "The great ones of the land harbored the suspicion that the Jesuits had something to do with it, so that the Brethren were often asked, when they were seen to have gold, whether they had brought it from Mexico. Such were the sorrowful times wherein the foundations of Ephrata were laid." However, the Beisselianer continued to grow, and to manifest vigorous life. The Schwenkfelder sect emigrated from Germany in 1734, and during September and October settled principally on the branches of the Skippack and Perkiomen. When Beissel heard of their arrival, he went among them, seeking converts. The Schwenkfelders were strong, however, in their own faith, and in only one case was Beissel successful. He drew a recruit from the household of his host, Leonard Heidt, at Oley. The latter's daughter Maria, " a beautiful young girl, just budding into womanhood" and "bethrothed to a young swain in the neighborhood of her father's home," became so affected by Beissel's preaching about the "spiritual solitary life" that, when the evangelists left the house, "she followed them to the Cocalico and joined with other women living on the east bank of the stream." Michael Wohlfarth soon went on another evangelizing campaign; "in his habit of a Pilgrim, his hat of Linnen, his beard at full length, and with a long staff in his Hand," he might have been seen, in September of that year berating vehemently from the court house steps in Philadelphia, the "wicked inhabitants of that city." Beissel and others were at that time engaged in active evangelizing campaigns nearer home, work destined to produce very substantial results in the next year.

Several unexpected things happened by which Ephrata community was strengthened. One of the most important of the unexpected accessions to the Beisselianer resulted from the bereavement which overtook the German Baptist Brethren in America in January, 1735. On the 31st of that month, Alexander Mack, the founder of that denomination, died, in his little log cabin in Bebberstown. A "notifier" was sent to each of the Dunker congregations, also to the former Dunker bodies of which Beissel was the head; and, out of respect to the deceased, Dunkers and former-Dunkers were drawn to the humble cabin in Bettelhausen to view the mortal remains of the patriarch and to attend the obsequies. Among them were the hermits from the Cocalico, "who, led by Beissel, Wohlfarth and the Eckerling brothers, all in their picturesque Pilgrim garb, had walked the whole distance from Lancaster over the frozen ground in silence and Indian file." The obsequies began at noon and continued until the sun had set. Then a cortege was formed. "It was an impressive and wierd sight as the cortege, with its burden and flickering torches, filed with slow and solemn step down the old North Wales road" to the upper burying-ground at Germantown, a quarter of a mile away. Among the most sincere mourners were the solitary from Ephrata.

The Germantown congregation for a short while thereafter was under the eldership of Heinrich Klackglasser; "but the death of the patriarch so unsettled the members that seventeen, both men and women, eventually joined the Beisselianer." Among them were sons of Alexander Mack. Indeed, all of his children, Alexander, Valentin, Johannes, and Elizabeth "became more or less identified with the Ephrata Community," two ending their days therein.

Coming of Peter Miller—The events which culminated in the coming of Peter Miller to Ephrata in 1735 were of even greater consequence to the

Beisselianer. It brought into the Sabbatarian fold one of the most talented ministers of the Reformed church; and that church at that time in Pennsylvania could ill-afford the loss. It seems that notwithstanding that among the German emigrants of the second and third decades were many Lutherans and Reformed, a decade or more was allowed to pass before ministers were sent to care for their spiritual needs. And during that time many of the non-orthodox sects were active among the Lutheran and Reformed people. There was in consequence much defection from the orthodox ranks before Stoever and Weiss took up work in the New World. Johann Caspar Stover was a pillar of strength for the Lutherans, organizing congregations, it is said, "at almost every cross-road, wherever there were Germans." "It was Stoever's ceaseless activity which proved the greatest check to the spread of the rationalistic ideas among the Germans" and counteracted the "baneful influence of the spiritual lethargy known in German as Freigeisterey." He organized church socities at Coventry, French Creek and Nantmill, in Chester county; Maxatawney, Oley, Manatany, Conewago, Falkner Swamp, (New Hanover), Trappe, (New Providence), Schifenthal, Schuylkill Valley, Colebrookvale, Merion, Wissahickon, Skippack, Chestnut Hill, Germantown, Hosensack, Perkiomen, Leacock, Earltown, Lancaster, Cocalico, Tulpehocken, Macungie, Quitaphila (Lebanon), Philadelphia, and other places. Some of these are still strong church congregations, and many, it will be noticed, were in regions wherein the Sabbatarians were active.

Conditions were serious in the third decade; indeed that was "the critical period in the religious history of the Province, as viewed by the orthodox churches. "The rapid strides made by some of the visionary and unscrupulous agitators for a time threatened to drag the German settlers into rationalism and spiritual anarchy"; and it was only the activity of the early Lutheran and Reformed pastors, with the shaping of the German Baptists, of which the Sabbatarians might be deemed a branch, and also the closer organization of the Mennonites, that "turned what threatened to be a tide of infidelity" into the regular and normal course of church membership and worship. The Reformed church had a share in this, after the coming of the Rev. George Michael Weiss, in 1726. He was the first ordained minister of the Reformed Church to arrive in Pennsylvania. Johann Peter Miller was the second; he arrived in 1730.

Johann Peter Miller (Müller), son of a Reformed minister, was born in 1710, at Altzborn (Alsenborn) Oberamt Kaiserslautern, in the Palatinate. He graduated from Heidelburg University while still in his nonage, and in his twentieth year volunteered in response to the urgent calls from Pennsylvania for clergy. He arrived in Philadelphia on August 28, 1730, took the oath of allegiance next day, and almost immediately thereafter applied for ordination to Rev. Jedediah Andrews, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. So well did the young deacon acquit himself when examined by three of the clergy, that the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, writing to another of him, testified: "He is an extra-ordinary person for sense and learning," pointing out that "he speaks Latin as we do our vernacular tongue." He was ordained at the old Buttonwood meeting-house, southeast cerner of Market street and Bank alley, on November 20, 1730; but almost from the day of his arrival had officiated as "supply" among the Germans in Philadelphia and Germantown, and to such of the Reformed in the Skippack Valley "as refused to accept the ministrations of Johann Philip Boehm (schoolmaster)," during the absence of the Rev. Weiss, who had gone to Germany in May of that year to collect funds for the struggling congregations in Pennsylvania.

Very soon after his ordination, Peter Miller was called upon to take regular charge of the Tulpehocken church, together with the union congregation of Lutheran and Reformed, in the valley of the Cocalico, and the Bucherthal. Both of these churches had been organized by Schoolmaster Boehm, who at first doubted Miller's orthodoxy, and in any case did not like to think that his own particular field of labor was being invaded by the stranger. Rev. Weiss had experienced like opposition, when he two years earlier had taken the congregation away from Boehm. But Miller assumed the charge, and soon was installed in the circuit known as the Conestoga, and consisting of congregations at Tulpehocken, Cocalico (Muddy Creek), Weisseichenland (White Oak), and Lancaster City. There were three other churches in the Conestoga circuit, but they were served by minister, Conrad Templeman. The Cocalico (Muddy Creek) church was a small log structure situated about six and one-half miles northeast of Ephrata, in Brecknock township. It was erected by the Evangelical Lutheran congregation, but was used by Lutherans and Reformed. Another congregation was formed on the Cocalico, however, and very much nearer to Ephrata, a mile and a quarter southeast of the settlement. The church became known as the Reformirte Gemeinde Cocalico in Conestoken, and is continued in the Bethany church of to-day, the present stone church supplanting the original log structure in 1817. The Muddy Creek congregation was formed in 1727, but the other Cocalico church, the Reformed congregation nearer Ephrata, was not organized until the Beisselianer settlement gave signs of much strength. Its establishment "was stimulated by the fear that the religious enthusiasm manifested in the valley would tend to lead more of the Germans of the Reformed faith into the fold of the Beisselianer."

Peter Miller's therefore, was an important circuit. And he held loyally to it until he became convinced that he must either take up Sabbatarian principles, or consent to his own damnation. He had no inclination to join the Ephrata Community, "because of the contempt and reproach which lay in the same"; and when he did finally "quit the ministry," it was to live the life of a recluse on the Tulpehocken, not at Ephrata. Nevertheless, the change was the most important step taken in the life of one who ultimately became the leader of the Ephrata Community; and its immediate effect on the church situation in that part of Lancaster county was such that some of the Reformed officials laid it to witchcraft and sorcery. Some even proposed civil prosecution against the Sabbatarians "for heterodoxy and for invading their territory." The "Chronicon Ephratense" narrates the circumstances of the "new awakening at Tulpehocken" in part as follows:

> At that time the region of Dulpekakin was settled entirely by Protestants. They had agreed among themselves not to suffer among them any who were differently minded. * * * These now had called the afore-mentioned P. M. (Peter Miller) to be their teacher. * * * The superintendent (Beissel), after he had heard that two young preachers had come into the country, who stood in good repute as to their character, and also thought well of his work, aware of his own inability, in view of the important work before him, thought in his foolish-

ness (Albernheit) that his work would be better carried out if God would provide one of these young preachers for him, for which he also often bowed his knees before God. This led to important matters. For the Superintendent soon found occasion to make a visit to Tulpehocken with several of his disciples, where he was received by the teacher and elders with the consideration due to him as an ambassador of God; while on his return the teacher and C. W. (Conrad Weiser), an elder, accompanied him over the mountain for six miles. The result of their visit to Tulpehocken was that the teacher, the elders and several others withdrew from the church.

Conrad Weiser—Conrad Weiser was, states the Chronicon, "an elder of the Lutheran faith, a man who had received from God remarkable natural gifts and sound judgment." He was Rev. Peter Miller's "main stay," and their friendship and mutual esteem lasted until death; indeed, the Chronicon states that even "death itself did not destroy" their intimacy. Weiser visited the Ephrata settlement, discussed several matters deeply with Beissel, and went back to Tulpehocken with such strong recommendation of Beissel, his followers, and their religion, that when on the last Sabbath in May of 1735 Beissel was again in Tulpehocken, the "pastor, schoolmaster, three elders with their families, and several members of a Reformed church," were baptized by immersion in the waters of the Tulpehocken (or in one of its tributaries, Mill run), and "went over from the Protestants to this new awakening," henceforth to be numbered with the Sabbatarians. The Chronicon adds that "for some time after the door was kept open for the Babylonian refugees."

Some of the "awakened" went to Ephrata, some remained in Tulpehocken, possibly to work for the further strengthening of the Beisselianer in that forbidden territory. Beissel put Miller to the test; offered him charge of the "awakened" in Tulpehocken; and seemingly was pleased when Miller, after a night of reflection, declined the offer, electing instead thereafter to live in seclusion. A house was built for him in a secluded spot along Mill run, and Michael Wohlfarth was sent to Tulpehocken as teacher. In that he failed miserably, as likewise did Brother Elimelech, "a born priest" but as unacceptable as his predecessor. Then Conrad Weiser "incautiously seated himself" in the priestly chair, and "thereby opened the door for the tempter to try him." The Chronicon adds: "In this severe trial this Brother (C. W.) in his God-enamored condition found himself, and because he did not take sufficient heed to himself the tempter assailed him anew, and would probably have overcome him, had not God put it into the heart of the Sister to seek out the covenant and have herself rebaptized by the Superintendent. Then the cords of the tempter were torn, and they became as strangers to each other." All of which means no more than that Weiser had had to face the inevitable and perplexing question of how to adjust his own family affairs to meet the new situation, which demanded celibacy and continence, even separation from his children.

Johann Conrad Weiser, who was born in Wurttemberg in 1696, son of Johann Conrad and Anna Magdalena (Uebelen) Weiser, came with his father, then a widower, and with seven younger children, to America in 1710. Conrad, the younger, was married in New York in 1720, and in 1729 settled on the Tulpehocken, on a plantation of about one thousand acres, near what is now Womelsdorf borough, Berks county. Nine children had been born to them before Weiser was baptized by Beissel in 1735; which may have been the chief reason why his wife, "a Christian person of Evangelical parentage," was "less infatuated with the ascetic movement than her strong-minded husband." Having so many loved ones, one would imagine that the "Tempter" found it not very difficult to bind Weiser's heart with strong cords. However, the "cords were torn" when Weiser and his wife decided to break up their home and go over to Ephrata, she to enter the sisterhood with their eldest daughter, Anna Madlina, then ten years old, and he to enter the brotherhood with their first-born, Philip. The younger children were presumably left on the plantation, which was rented. The case of the Weiser family is a striking instance of how difficult it was for normal persons to hold to the life set by Beissel for members of the orders he founded. The sequel followed the normal, natural course. It was not long ere the mother-call drew Mrs. Weiser back to her children and to the plantation; and from the fact that two children were born to them during the period Conrad Weiser was supposed to have been separated from his wife, it is evident that his earthly love was stronger than his spiritual vows. Israel Acrelius refers to the unnatural state, in his "History of New Sweden." On page 399, in a description of a visit he made to the Ephrata Cloister, Acrelius writes: "During the time that Conrad Weiser lived among them, he once took the liberty of visiting his own home and family in another place. But upon his return, after a strict examination, he had to submit to a severe punishment for having slept with his own wife, which he willingly underwent." Weiser ultimately left the brotherhood, and became one of its strongest opponents; but much monastic history has to be written before the narrative reaches that time.

The settlement on the Cocalico in 1735, at about the time when Peter Miller, Conrad Weiser, and the others of the Tulpehocken church were "awakened," was still in the "hermit" stage, the main hope of those single persons, male and female, who were drawn to the settlement being to find in it a retreat from the things of the flesh and the world. Hence as newcomers came in, the desire was to provide for them small log cabins, in which they could go on in seclusion to spiritual perfection. Consequently the banks of the Cocalico at that spot must have shown evidences of a rapidly growing village at that time. The wilderness was losing its solitude, for, reaching out on all sides from the huts of the solitary, were the plantations of the secular congregation, the "householders" as they were called. This third order, as it were, may well be looked upon as the mainstay of the Beisselianer. The single brethren and sisters, the solitaries, were mostly irresponsible, in that their thoughts were not on the affairs of this world; consequently they were apt to forget even to provide for their own sustenance. At best they were squatters, whereas the householders, i.e., the married members of the Sabbatarian sect, were to all intents normal hardworking settlers. They were mostly responsible self-sustaining colonists, owning or making preparations to own and to cultivate a tract of land for themselves. They were different from the average Pennsylvanian of colonial times only in that they rested on the seventh day of each week, and worked on the first day. There was one important difference, or there should have been if the heads of families after their "awakening" strictly followed the doctrines advocated by Beissel; but it does not seem that in all the households Beissel's recommendation of continence was rigidly followed. So that there was not a clearly defined monastic spirit in evidence early in 1735. Life among the Beisselianer in and near Ephrata settlement then was communal only to the extent of the coöperation of the households with the solitary in the matter of poor relief. The "Korn-magazin" erected in 1734 was a community granary, and what grain the single men raised was, after their own needs had been supplied, put into it and used to aid the poorer German emigrants to become established in their clearings. In all probability, however, the granary was filled mainly by the contributions of the more capable agriculturists, the householders. The several large bake-ovens built nearby, under one roof, were intended to supply Pumpernickel bread "to the indigent settlers"; and under the direction of Samuel Eckerling, a cabin for whom was raised between the granary and the bakery, the industry was especially useful. It was a communal undertaking, but not a significant one, still, the monastic air was slowly enveloping the settlement.

In 1734 a desire for more distinctive and sanctimonous dress had become evident. When religious enthusiasts first began to gather around Beissel in the Conestoga settlement dress occupied little of the thoughts of those aspirants for spiritual favor. They dressed as they wished, or as they were able; and the garb in some cases was such as to give offence to strangers. Beissel cared nothing for dress, and until Christina Hohn, "a sister of the domestic household," became "excessively enamored with the Superintendent's angelic life," and clothed him anew "with the sanction of her husband," Beissel probably was generally threadbare. If his followers thought of dress at all, they were probably influenced to the simple in clothing by contact with the Mennonites of the county. It appears that Beissel's "clothing, dwelling, and household were fashioned on the poorest scale." But when in about 1730 "persons of social position landed in the Community, among whom the Eckerlins were the first," they "took possession of the Superintendent, and dressed him as a Quaker, wherein the rest of the Solitary Brethren followed his example, until the special garb of the Order was introduced." But it was not until about 1734, when some of the most austere members of the Solitary adopted a costume "somewhat similar to that of the pilgrims of old," that the distinct trend to the monastic was seen. For that matter, Beissel once confessed that, while still in the old settlement, "if it had happened as God intended," two monastic orders would have "come into the congregation." Congregational matters had then, however, reached too serious a state of involvement and discord to permit of such a Pabtist innovation.

Possibly it was the presence in the Cocalico settlement of the two sisters Eicher and other "spiritual virgins," somewhat embarrassingly situated, that influenced the leader to institute monastic houses, or at least a nunnery, for their better seclusion from the world. It indeed seems clear that one of the sisters expressed to him such a wish. One of the Ephrata records still preserved relates exclusively to the sisterhood; and one of the sections of that book is given over to an institutional review. The first paragraphs deal with the experience of the two sisters, Anna and Maria Eicher, from the time when they left their father's house, "to voluntarily enter into exile in the hope of attaining everlasting life," to the time when the younger sister felt a desire for "a nun's habit." Beissel had administered "a loving reproach" to her for "overdoing the matter" of fasting, or of "mortifying the flesh." Following this advice, her emaciated state gradually became less appalling, and with renewed bodily strength came thoughts of other usefulnesses that "would please God the more." A paragraph reads: "Thus it happened that her spiritual zeal constantly increased so that she went to her spiritual leader, and addressed him with these words: 'Brother (for thus he was then called), I have a strong desire within me to have a nun's habit made for myself'; for then was the small herd of sheep still scattered here and there, and not yet gathered into one fold." By the "small herd of sheep" she probably meant those women who were then living lives of "spiritual virginity" in solitary state in that, and the earlier settlement. The next paragraph reads: "The spiritual father (Beissel) soon noticed that there was more in this little movement than what appeared upon the surface; so he without delay helped to bring the work to completion." Also, it became evident to Beissel, after the awakening at Tulpehocken and the developments at Germantown, "that God was with him," and that the Beisselianer might be considered as now well established. In consequence, the time had come when they might venture to "institute measures for building a meeting-house to God's glory." Hitherto the meetings had been held in private houses. "The largest structure then within the bounds of the Lager was a cabin built against the hillside. This was known as the Berghaus, and on account of its roominess was the favorite place for holding the love-feasts and meetings"; but before the summer of 1735 had come it was no longer large enough for the purpose.

The final decision seems to have been made when Johannes (Hans) Meyer, "the same who first named Conrad Beissel as elder of the Conestoga Congregation" came into the settlement and "handed over his daughter, a young lass, to the Superintendent that he should bring her up to the glory of God." The diarist remarks: "Anyone else would have declined such a present; but he (Beissel) regarded the matter as of a providential leading, received her, and had her serve him for a purpose, namely, to found the Order of Spiritual Virgins." He goes on further to state that the four founding sisters "were given a residence in the second story of the church-building * * * , which later was named Kedar." Sachse names the four, but why he omits the names of the sisters Eicher is not clear. He names Maria Hildebrand, Barbara Meyer, Maria Stattler, and Maria Heidt.

It was perhaps well that the building of Kedar, the needed meeting-house, was not decided upon until these important matters had taken definite shape, for it was then possible to make provision for the three needs when planning the structure, and also to get fuller coöperation of the householders in the project. After many discussions by the whole of the congregation, it was finally decided to raise a structure that would provide a "hall for meetings, also large halls, fully furnished, for holding the Agapae or love-feasts," and in addition "cells for the Solitary, after the manner of the Greek church," of primitive times. Construction began in July of 1735, householders and solitary taking part in the work. It went rapidly forward, and "by the fall a fine structure was ready for occupation."

Ere the new house of worship was ready, the "awakened" from the Tulpehocken arrived in the settlement. They were accommodated as well as was possibly, Peter Miller being quartered with Heinrich Kalckglasser, formerly one of the leaders of the Germantown Dunkar congregation, and with two of the most active members of the Cocalico settlement, the brothers Israel and Gabriel Eckerling. These four were permitted to live in the "Berghouse," states the record. There is no evidence by which it may be clearly determined which house this was, though there is not good reason to suppose that it may have been the house "Kedar," in which, when ready, the Superintendent housed four solitary brethren on the lower floor and assigned the upper story to the four sisters. Peter Miller and the other leaders in all probability had the use of the old berghouse, "on the side of the hill."

(Sachse, who has probably given more time to research in Ephrata records than any other student, positively identifies the "four solitary brethren quartered in the lower story" of Kedar; he names Michael Wohlfarth, Jan Meyle, Just and Theonis, the last being the monastic names of two of the brethren whose natural names have not been handed down).

The reason why four single brethren were put into the house in which the four sisters also lived will probably never be known. The reason may have been merely that the settlement was growing faster in men than in quarters, and that the worldly thoughts that would come to worldly persons would not suggest themselves to a man of God such as was Beissel. Or he may have thought that the beloved sisters should be shielded from temptation and from association with young men who were as yet but novices in the spiritual course. Whatever the governing reason may have been, worldly folk would deem the situation thus created as at least unfortunate, even though assured that the ground-floor occupants were tried-and-true celibates, so far forward in the spiritual course as to be immune from the temptations of Adam. The "Chronicon Ephratense" admits that this unfortunate housing occasioned much scandal in the neighborhood, for "no one would believe than matters could go on properly thus." The diarist seems to deplore that Beissel, in his heedlessnes of convention and public opinion, should so often bring himself and his followers into avoidable situations of embarrassment; it seemed to him that "where others went out of the way of danger, he (Beissel) plunged his followers into the midst of it." Yet he defends Beissel, whom he knew "cared more to have an essential separateness than that there should be an outward appearance thereof, which might not be real." And it is assuring to have the diarist's testimony that "there finally came to be as unrestrained a life in the Settlement as though all were of the same sex." Alas! how much scandal would have been stifled had such an enviable state of life in the settlement been generally known throughout the region.

Even before Kedar was quite completed, the practice of holding divine services at midnight was begun. The solitary of both sexes gathered for the "night-watches," regularly at midnight, "because at that hour the advent of the Judge was expected." In the opening meetings the fervour was long-sustained, the meetings continuing through the night, and generally lasting for four hours. They were sometimes held under the superintendence of Beissel, but at other times he preferred to "wait upon God in his own house of watching." These midnight meetings, these gatherings of single men and women in the dead of night, in a dimly lighted hall, constituted amazing crystal-glasses of scandal for those who delighted to look for such phantasms; and scandalmongers had little difficulty in that day of superstition in arousing indignation in the right-living God-fearing German settlers. The maintenance of this offence against decency, as the midnight gatherings were viewed by outsiders, and the occasional raids made by Beisselianer upon other sects, evangelizing raids which were likely to result in the loss of a dearly-beloved daughter, or maybe the mother, from some formerly-happy home-circle, aroused the neighboring settlers almost beyond endurance. The "awakening" of one young Lutheran girl and her disappearance into the Beissel fold, brought the resentment of some of the neighboring settlers to beyond the boiling point, on the night before the Beisselianer were confidently hoping that the spirit of neighborliness and good-will would manifest itself, at a general love-feast, to which "all friends and well-wishers" from far and near had been invited, the occasion being the formal opening of the house Kedar. But these incensed indignant settlers on the night before would take no heed of the morrow. A grim task, an immediate task, lay before them. It was an age of strong men, of strong feelings, and of fearless action. The administration of the law in those sparcely-settled parts lay largely with the settlers; the rod was with them, if they had need to use it. And on this night several horny-handed men gathered silently near the Ephrata settlement. Had not the night been so black, it might have been seen that "several human forms entered the settlement and silently picked their way to the cabin occupied by Beissel." Not a word was spoken; not a word was necessary; they were laboring under such excitement, their purpose was so set and grim, that words would have been out of place. Carefully they lifted the latch, and two of the men quietly but swiftly passed into the cabin. Sachse describes the scene well:

> The anchorite (Beissel) reposed in slumber upon his hard pallet of wood, with a block of the same under his head for a pillow. Not a sound was to be heard but the breathing of the sleeper. * * * The two men, now beside the cot, without saying a word proceeded to belabor Beissel with a knotted rope and leather thongs. With the first stroke the sleeper awoke with a howl of pain. The blows, however, fell thick and fast, as the intruders followed him about the little room. At last he gained the door and escaped to the next cabin, where he fell with fright and covered with bruises. During the scene not a word was spoken, the only noises being the shrieks of the victim, and the swish of the lashes. After the escape of Beissel, those who inflicted them departed as mysteriously as they had come.

The "Chronicon Ephratense" reports the attack thus: "Messengers were sent out into the country to invite to it (the love-feast, to open the house Kedar) all friends and well-wishers. How greatly this displeased the Prince of Darkness may be judged from the fact that, at the very time, at midnight, the Superintendent was so severely belabored with blows from an invisible power that he was forced to take refuge with the nearest Brethren." The love-feast of the following day was nevertheless held, but only a few of the invited guests came, states the diarist. The dedication of the house Kedar was therefore somewhat discouraging; and the few strangers who did attend were "offended" because one brother, during the feet-washing, kissed the feet of his leader.

Building of the Bethaus—Beissel may not have been affected by public opinion, but it is evident that some of the church members—those who came more in touch with the outside world—grieved when they appreciated to what an extent scandalous reports were being circulated regarding the settlement. To remove the basis for one of the most damning reports one of the householders soon found a way. Sigmund Landert, now a widower, disposed of his plantation on the Muhlbach and "proposed to Beissel that Kedar should be kept exclusively as a sister house, in which event he would build, out of the wealth which God had vouchsafed him, a large house adjoining Kedar, to be used exclusively for assembly purposes, provided that he and his two daughters be received into the settlement." Beissel "counseled him not to do it," but soon afterwards agreed, "when Landert offered in addition to build a separate house for him." Another house father, Hermann Zinn, was so pleased with the proposal and with the better state it would establish, that he also sold his plantation, and "in apostolic wise, laid the price thereof at the Superintendent's feet," to help to build the proposed house of prayer. The Chronicon states: "The confidence which every household at that time yet felt towards him (for as yet there was no one who doubted his divine mission) was such that all their real and personal possessions were in his hands, and they would not have refused, at a mere wink from him, to give up all for the glory of God."

The prayer-house and dwelling-house were built without delay, alongside the house Kedar. The prayer-house, or Bethaus, was "of stately dimensions," and at the time of its completion its saal, or hall for meetings, was "the largest and most imposing room for public worship in the Province. In addition to the Saal, the Bethaus had ample rooms for offices and love feasts."

Landert duly entered the brotherhood, under the name of Sealthiel, and placed his two daughters in Kedar, which henceforth was given over almost exclusively to the sisterhood. The saintly members of the Order of Spiritual Virgins thus became appropriately environed; and, with the accession of additional sisters, at that time the "foundation for communal life was also laid." The foundation was presumably in the action of the sisters in undertaking to daily prepare a supper for the entire settlement, the only regular meal eaten by the way. For the purpose, it was arranged that each day provisions would be delivered to the sisters in the kitchen. This seems to have been the only contact the brethren had with the sisters, saving when they met at devotional exercises. The evening meal was served by the sisters in the large dining hall, but at that gathering the sisters were separated from the brethren "by a dividing screen."

The Bethaus stood for about four years, but was then demolished, apparently without reason. The Chronicon's description of its sudden demolition is couched in scriptural phraseology of mystical ambiguity, but seems to infer that Beissel was responsible for the razing, "the cause of which can scarcely be comprehended by human reason; the standard is too limited." Sachse found a good reason for the "vandalism," and in proper place this reason will be stated. The eternal problem of the sexes was involved in the happening.

The entries in the official Ephrata records are in many cases hard to follow. The chronicler seems to have had great disregard for the importance of dates. The Bethaus was not destroyed until 1739 or 1740, and it was not until then or afterwards that upon its site the Prior, in pursuance of one of his schemes of belittling and involving Beissel with the sisterhood, built a dwelling house for the Superintendent, in consequence of which arrangement he "was now for the second time obliged to abandon his seclusion, and therefore removed into the confines of the Sisterhood," e. g., his new habitation adjoining the sister house. Beissel would be forty-nine or fifty years old at that time, yet the diarist in referring to the temptations the Superintendent was called upon to endure in his new state, "with his whole house filled with his spiritual daughters "sent unto him "in the bloom of youth," refers to him as being still "in his fortieth year." Either this was an experience and condition of an earlier time, or he must have appeared to be younger in 1739 than he really was. Again, the diarist states that Beissel "was impelled to lay the foundations of the communal life" at the time "when the female part was incorporated in his household and while the Brothers' Convent was being built." Zion, the brotherhouse was not erected until 1738, three years after Kedar was built, though the project may have had its inception in 1735. The diarist skips years in a sentence. Possibly "the female part" of Beissel's household was established at the time of the beginning of the communal life, which was, it would seem, in 1735 or 1736, when the sisters in Kedar undertook to prepare the daily meal for the whole of the solitary, male and female. Regarding it the diarist writes:

> At this time when the female part was incorporated in his household, and while the Brothers' Convent was being built, the Superintendent was impelled to lay the foundations of the communal life. Accordingly, all provisions were delivered to the Sisters in their kitchen, who daily prepared a supper for the entire Settlement in a large dining-hall, they being separated from them by a dividing screen. * * * After this had continued for half a year, and the common household of the Sisters had been dedicated, the Brethren were again dismissed in peace, and the Superintendent restored to them their prescribed rations.

Apparently, for some years after vacating Kedar, the brethren again retired to their huts, and lived the solitary life. But the nacht-metten (midnight prayers) still brought the brethren and sisters together in the Bethaus from midnight until 1 A. M., creating further cause, or excuse, for scandal.

The brethren settled down comfortably to lives of separation in their little huts, and when the time came to renounce the solitude and enter upon a conventional life, many were loath to do so. When finally they vacated their huts and moved into the brotherhouse, it was astonishing to note how well they had been equipped in creature comforts for the solitary life. "The Brethren had so thoroughly prepared everything for their solitary life that," states the Chronicon, "when they brought their household furniture together to Zion, it was a matter of astonishment how they were furnished in every detail." The diarist ominously adds: "O, how many fiery trials these warriors might have avoided, if it had been permitted them to end their lives in this angelic existence * * * Remarkable it is that the holy fathers in the desert made their disciples first learn obedience in convents and afterwards sent them into the desert for higher schooling; here it was turned around, they went from solitude to convent life." The change did not come suddenly; but evidently it was deferred only through lack of means, for Beissel had long since become convinced that "no hermit enters the kingdom of God."

The congregation was not wealthy at the time, though the "purse" of the settlement had been saved from becoming even lighter when, in 1736, the civil authorities had decided to exempt the hermits from taxation. It was an anxious time for the settlement, for much depended on the test-case. Six of the brethren volunteered to endure arrest and imprisonment for refusing to pay the head-tax. A constable had come into the camp to collect the "single men's tax," and had failed to be deviated from his course by the arguments of the mass meeting then held. The constable was "a plain matter-of-fact person," and could not see that, because Theodosius Magnus had exempted monks and hermits from taxation, in consideration of the bread they had supplied to the prisons of Alexandria, he should exempt the hermits of the Cocalico who were wont to give their surplus Pumpernickel to the poor of Cocalico township. When he was resisted by the Beisselianer he summoned to his aid "some of the neighbors who were antagonistic to the Sabbatarians, and without more ado seized six of the latter party and marched them off to Lancaster." Those taken into custody were Peter Miller, Martin Bremmer, and the four brothers Eckerling. There was trouble on the way, for they positively refused to travel by any other than their usual mode; hence the journey from Ephrata to Lancaster was made on foot. They were arraigned, and in default of bail were committed to the county prison. Bail not being offered within ten days, one of the justices, Tobias Hendricks, then took compassion on them and offered the required bail himself, "taking their bare word for their appearance in court when wanted." The case was brought before the commissioners and assessors of taxes "at the following May court of the year 1737 (1736?). Flatly, the prisoners refused to pay the 'head-tax,' because they acknowledged no worldly authority's right over their bodies, since they had been redeemed from the world and men;" moreover, they, who spent such saintly lives, resented being "measured by the same standards as vagabonds." A compromise was sought. Could not the settlement be taxed as "one spiritual family?" A family tax of forty shillings was finally agreed upon and paid "for the settlement as a whole." One version has it that the judges were influenced in so deciding by the emaciated appearance of the prisoners, one of the judges thinking that since the prisoners were so thin, the six might pass as one. Peter Miller's own testimony is, in part: "The fear of God came upon the Gentlemen, who were their Judges, when they saw six men before them, which in the prime of their ages by penitential works had been reduced to Skeletons."

The released brethren with light hearts, began their "long tramp through forest and field" back to the Cocalico. They reached the settlement at midnight of the second day after their release. The "night watch" was at that time in full session, and they entered the Saal silently at the moment "fervent prayers were being offered for the release of the absent ones." Sachse writes:

> It was an impressive and picturesque scene; the large Saal, with its two galleries, shrouded in semi-darkness, the only light being the flickering tallow candles, one of which stood in front of each worshipper; the dark shadows in the corners; the six released brethren silently ranging themselves in front of the platform with heads bowed and hands crossed upon their breasts similar to the penitents of old. Conrad Beissel standing erect upon the platform, austere and immovable; and the various long-bearded solitary, sitting upon the hard wooden benches, listening to the invocation in behalf of their absent brethren.
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> With the entry of the party a hush at once came over the assembly. For a few minutes, the silence was painful; then it was broken by the stentorian voice of Brother Conrad (Beissel), intoning the grand old German chorale of Martin Luther, *Eine Feste Burg ist unser Gott.* Before the singing of the first line had been completed the hymn was taken up by all present, until the strains of the rugged melody reverberated throughout the large room. It was a spontaneous thank-offering emanating from the hearts of the assembled brethren. When the hymn was finished, thanks were offered, and the night-watch closed with an impressive address by Beissel on the power of the Beast upon earth.

It seem that this anxiety had been brought upon them by opposing neighbors, but punishment evidently came upon their persecutors. The Ephrata record ends thus: "Upon those neighbors, however, who had gloated over the misfortune of the brethren, there fell the terror of the Lord, so that they hurriedly left this region."

Shortly after this incident, the Governor of the Province, George Thomas, visited the settlement accompanied by many "people of quality" from Virginia and Maryland. They were impressed by what they saw, and the Governor, who was accused of having an ulterior motive in coming, seized the opportunity of "making a favorable impression" on Brother Conrad Weiser, whom he offered to commission as a justice. This Weiser would not accept unless the congregation approved. When it was put to them, the fathers were of the opinion that the holding of a government office by one of their sect was contrary to the principles they practiced. Beissel, however, ruled that they had no right "to restrict a brother's conscience," so Weiser agreed to accept the judgeship; he was not, however, appointed until five years afterwards, in 1741. Then Fate was surely ironical, for one of the first cases Weiser as justice had to take cognizance of was one which reflected very seriously against the moral character of his former leader, Beissel.

An attempt was made to unite the Germantown Dunker and the Ephrata Sabbatarian congregations in 1736, a pilgrimage being made to Ephrata for the purpose; at that time, however, Beissel, Miller and other leading Sabbatists were at Tulpehocken, so that nothing was accomplished. But in the next few years many of the leaders of the Germantown congregation left the Dunker church and joined the ranks of the Beisselianer at Ephrata.

The fame of the Cocalico settlement had spread even to Europe. Seven members of the Thoma family, of Viedendorf, Switzerland, arrived in Philadelphia on the ship "Princess Augustus," on September 15, 1736. They at once joined the Ephrata Community.

The Cocalico Settlement Takes Name of Ephrata—It was in 1736, it seems, that the Cocalico Settlement first came into printed record under the name of Ephrata. The hymnal of 1732 was much enlarged and republished in 1736. It came from the press of Benjamin Franklin and the preface was dated: "Ephrata in der gegend Canestoges, den 27, April, 1736." The "Chronicon Ephratense," however, has the following on the subject, on a page devoted to happenings of the year 1738; "At this time, too, the name Ephrata was given to the Settlement by the Superintendent, of which he said, that here his Rachel, for whom he had served so many years, was buried, after she had borne to him Benoni, the child of anguish; whereby he pointed to the history of the patriarch, Jacob."—but, as in several other instances dates given in the Ephrata chronicle conflict with those given in other records, implicit reliance cannot be placed in this instance on the Chronicon date. The above-quoted hymnal bearing the Franklin Press imprint of 1736 is more reliable evidence. Sachse decides also on the earlier year.

A pioneer party of Moravian evangelists arrived in Pennsylvania in April of 1736. The leaders, the Rev. Joseph Spangenberg and Bishop David Nitchmann, paid a visit to Beissel at Ephrata in that year, and "were greatly touched by what they saw and heard in the settlement on the Cocalico." So much is evident from the fact "that in St. Thomas, whither they went from Ephrata, they baptized the blacks whom they converted there by immersing them under the water, according to the Ephrata manner."

An important innovation of 1736 was the introduction of a Confessional ceremony into the Ephrata observances. It took the form of a weekly public reading of confessional papers, called lectiones. "It was ordered that weekly, on the evening of the sixth day, every one should examine his heart before God in his own cell, and then hand in a written statement of his spiritual condition to the Superintendent, which was to be read at the meeting of the congregation on the following Sabbath." There also seemed to have been a secret oral confession, practiced at least by the sisters to their "spiritual father," Beissel, for in one case a very serious sin was confessed to Beissel by one of the sisters, and it remained a secret for several years, being made known to others by Beissel only after that sister had again fallen from grace and had life the sisterhood.

In 1737, the brethren seem to have been drawn into a monastic brotherhood, apparently against their wish. The Chronicon states that "as now so many wooers of the Virgin continually announced themselves at the Settlement, the Superintendent was at a loss what should be done with these numerous young people, and whether it were not better to teach them to renounce their self-will in convents under spiritual authority than to let them raise up their own altars of selfhood in corners."

The settlement had been gradually changing. As the number of settlers grew the "plain Gospel teachings of the early Baptist and Sabbatarian movements" were supplanted by mystic theology, and, in keeping with that spirit, some better system of governance of and control over the members of the community was thought to be imperative. Sachse writes:

> As it was, the settlement was merely an aggregation of religious enthusiasts, mostly of the men living separately as hermits, or anchorites. It will be recalled that an attempt had already been made to organize the single women under a rule known as the Order of Spiritual Virgins. But all efforts looking toward the bringing about of a similar organization among the Brethren had thus far come to naught.
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> The only government of this peculiar settlement thus far consisted of the dictates of Conrad Beissel, or Brother Conrad, as he was usually called, and even these were frequently ignored, as there existed no means of enforcing his demands. Now, however, the number of brethren requisite to complete the mystic number of forty, the figure of Rosicrucian perfection, having been reached, renewed efforts were made to change the solitary mode of life into a conventual one. This movement culminated in the establishment of a mystical monastic society.

With the introduction of the monastic feature came the thought of more distinctive dress. The council of members sought the advice of Martin Bremmer, the community tailor. He recommended the dress of the Capuchins, or White Friars, "modified so as to meet the ideas of Beissel," who sought to "muffle the mortal body" as much as possible, "for its humiliation." Finally, the garb decided upon was an overgown of white linen or wool, according to the season, cowled, and with very little distinction made between the gown for males and that for females. The undergarments were shirt, trousers and vest for the brethren, and shirt and a coarse flannel petticoat for the sisters. The dress of the secular congregations was to be similar, but in grey instead of white. In general, the aim was to make "as near an approach to man's original state in costume as could be done under existing laws and conditions." In keeping with the aim in dress, the men allowed the beard and hair to grow long, went barefooted save in winter, and hoped to attain patriarchial age by abstaining from animal food. In the love-feast, the brethren soon adopted a practice of the Hebrews of old, "for, when the kiss was passed, each brother would grasp his neighbor's beard with the right hand as he gave him the salute."

It is recorded that the change of dress "was received at first with almost universal favor among the secular congregation, and the members vied with each other to be the first to discard their heathenish and Babylonian clothing, and long before the winter set in, the faithful of the congregation when they assembled for worship upon the Bible Sabbath, were equipped in the habit which they claimed was that of the primitive Christians." Some refused to adopt the habit, which they thought was indicative of a "revival of popish discipline." Some of the "extra-holy" thought "that it were better to change the heart than the clothing." The sisters agreed with their "by-God-elevated Father, of Spiritual-leader," Beissel, that their former "many diversities of the clothing" were "entirely in contrast to the internal Spirit of Love." So that although, after a few years had passed the secular congregation almost wholly reverted to their "Babylonian" dress again, the two monastic orders held to the special garb. Indeed, when the society had reached a definite state of dignity in numbers and worldly wealth, and the heads of the orders thus had more exalted places, an attempt was made to bedeck them in super-priestly robes. But this was by the scheming of a more worldy faction of the brotherhood than that which followed Beissel.

The first death among the single brethren occurred early in 1738. Sachse writes:

> It was during the night of Friday, March 3rd, the midnight services being over and the Solitary having returned to their respective kammers to rest their weary heads again upon the hard blocks which served as pillows, that suddenly the stillness of the night was broken by the notes of the Kloster bell. Clear and loud the ringing sounded forth in the quiet night. From Ephrata mountain to Zion hill the echoes reverberated the metallic sound. Awakened from their slumber, Solitary and settlers, irrespective of faith, rushed to door and window seeking the cause of the unusual alarm. Suddenly the pealing ceased, to be followed by a solemn tolling of the bell until a certain number was recorded. It was the public announcement that the grim Reaper had invaded the Kloster confines and had claimed his first victim from among the Solitary.

The lot had fallen upon Brother Martin (Bremmer), the Community tailor, who had been so useful in the previous year, in the matter of monastic habits.

This reference to the bell-tolling brings to notice a custom observed among the German people of Lancaster county even to this day in some parts. Sachse writes: "The ringing of the Kloster bell at the death of any member of the Community was practiced for many years; and as it took the popular fancy it was followed by both Lutheran and Reformed churches, while in the Moravian congregations public announcement of the death of members was made from the roof of the church by trombonists, special melodies being played, according to the class and station of the deceased." Among the Sabbatarians, the first alarm or general bell-ringing would be followed by slow and mournful strokes, to the number of the years of the deceased.

The obsequies of Brother Martin also bring to light some other strange German customs. His cabin window had been opened "as soon as the breath had left the body, so that the soul could take its flight heavenward unhindered," and upon the night of the funeral, "as the body was being carried out of the Berghouse, a bucket of water was poured upon the door-sill and swept outward," and the door immediately closed, to "prevent the return of the spirit of the departed." To make doubly sure that it would not return, "three crosses were marked upon the door-jamb with red earth, or clay." The interment took place by torchlight, at the midnight hour, "with the full mystic ritual of the order."

The Mystical Brotherhood of Zion—This again brings to mind the veering of the Solitary from the Biblical to the Mystical. It seems that the centre of the mystical movement was in the old berghouse occupied by four leading brethren, and frequented by very many. The "Chronicon Ephratense" describes this berghouse as the "Hill House," so called because of its situation, "half against the hill." The tenants were: "Brother Onesimus, who afterwards became Prior (Israel Eckerling); Brother Jotham, his brother after the flesh, (Gabriel Eckerling); Brother Nehemiah (—— Hagemann); and Brother Jabez (Peter Miller). The last-named was not fully in sympathy with the movement, his veering to the mystical being not more than that of Beissel, and "nothing else than the Rosicrucian doctrine, pure and undefiled." But the rites developed by the Eckerling brothers in the original masculine order, the "Brotherhood of Zion," at Ephrata, was, thinks Sachse, "similar to what are now known as the 'strict observance,' or the Egyptian cult of mystic Freemasonry."

It would seem that the Zionitic Brotherhood was founded prior to the building of the brotherhouse known as "Zion," and that the meetings were held in the house of the Eckerlings, the old berghouse or Hill House, which the records state was "well furnished for the entertainment of guests." It was the best holding of any in the settlement, at least among the solitary, the tenants having cleared "a goodly tract of land, and established a right pleasant settlement" for themselves. The diarist was probably thinking of the Eckerlings, in connection with that holding, when he put into the record that on it "they thought to maintain themselves even though all else should go to nothing." But, he adds, "these were mere men's thoughts." He continues: "With them the Superintendent was on confidential terms; all love-feasts in the settlement were held in their house; and all guests were harbored there; on which account the rest of the brethren harbored ill-will against them. But what would be the final outcome no one knew at that time; God had hidden it from their eyes, otherwise none would have gone into the net."

One of the founding members of the Brotherhood of Zion was "a very rich young Swiss," Benedict Yuchly, or Juchly, who had but recently come into the settlement, and who perhaps had come under the influence of the Eckerlings. At all events, Yuchly "resolved to devote his fortune to the building of a convent," which the Eckerling brothers determined should be the chapterhouse of their secret society.

The followers of Beissel were always somewhat distrustful and suspicious of the Eckerling brothers, who were thought to be Roman Catholics, in secret communication with some order of that church; therefore when the matter of building a convent or brother-house was put to Beissel, he may have thought of undermining the Eckerling influence to some extent, when he selected part of their cleared tract as the site for the new structure. This did not please the Eckerlings; "the good Brethren of the Hill House were moved to sensitiveness by this," states the Chronicon, "for they realized that this convent would be at their expense." Still, their protests did not change the decision, and the brothers Eckerling had to accept the situation with the best grace possible. There the Zionitische Bruderschaft, or the "Brotherhood of Zion" was destined to function (with Gabriel Eckerling, as Perfect Master, or Prior), and the hill thereafter was to be known as Zion, or Mount Sinai.

The building of the Zion convent, or brotherhouse, or chapterhouse, went forward rapidly, "in accordance with plans duly set forth in the teachings of the ancient rite" of Freemasonry. The framework was raised in May, 1738, with much ceremony of ritual and prayer," and five months later the building was ready for occupation, although it was not entirely finished until five years more had passed. The curious house was of three stories, the lower floor consisting of one large room known as the refectory, with several anti-chambers, "two of which served as pantries for storing the provisions and necessaries for use during the forty days of seclusion, and the remaining chamber constituted the receptacle for such paraphernalia as was used by the brethren in their ceremonial." The second floor was in the form of a circular chamber, without any window, the only light planned being that which would come from a lighted lamp placed upon a small table in the centre of the room. It was to be kept burning continuously "during the practice of the rite." Around this table were to be arranged "thirteen cots or pallets, like the radiating spokes of a wheel." The third story "was the mystical chamber, where the arcana of the rite were unfolded to the secluded." Access to the chamber was obtained through a trap-door in the floor; and in this place "the ceremonies of the rite were performed by the thirteen brethren who were striving for their moral regeneration and seeking communication with the spirit world."

There were to be two classes. The neophytes were to enter upon a ritual which in forty days would give them physical regeneration. The adepts would pass on to the higher ritual, which in forty days would enable them to attain moral regeneration, or what was known as the "state of primitive innocence"; and so, "with physical body as clean and pure as that of a new-born child, spirit filled with divine light with vision without limit, and with mental powers unbounded, the adept would henceforth have no other ambition than to enjoy that complete rest while waiting for immortality." It is doubtful, however, whether any passed through the full ordeal, that of the neophyte stage was so drastic a means of purification that the soul would be more than likely to leave the body altogether before the ritual had reached the fortieth day. One enthusiast, who begged the Eckerlings to practice within his body the means of sanctification they had described, was not taken seriously. The Eckerlings "marveled" at his willingness to undertake the ritual, which after long fasting and other body attrition, called for the injection on the thirty-third day of a wonderful elixir, one grain of which would bring about loss of speech and memory, and produce dangerous convulsions. Another grain was to be administered on the thirty-fourth day; it would bring about a delirious fever, ending in a shedding of the skin, hair and teeth. The third grain, which would be taken on the thirty-sixth day, if any life still remained in the candidate, would however, have an entirely different effect, the hair, teeth, and skin being "miraculously renewed." The candidate would then be on the right way to remain alive until the thirty-ninth day, when he would have administered to him ten drops of the "elixir of life," which would keep him rejuvenated and free from original sin for the next forty years. At the end of that time, however, it would be necessary to again pass through the ordeal. The one who begged to be experimented upon finally, in desperation, experimented upon himself, and in the process lost his reason. This man, Johann Frantz Regnier, who in 1747 published his experiences, testified as follows: "When I was completely mad, and without reason, they took me from the hut, demolished it, and confined me in a cell (kammer) guarding me day and night, but as they could not accomplish anything they removed me to a dark cell and beat and lashed me, so that I might recover my reason." Sanity after a while came back to him, "not without many relapses" however; therefore it may reasonably be doubted whether any of the brethren in Zion were allowed to use even the first grain of the materia prima. Sachse writes: "This materia prima is the same substance which God created to confer immortality upon man when he was first made in Paradise, but which, by reason of man's wickedness, was lost to the race, and at the present time was only to be obtained through or by the favor of such adepts as were within the highest circle of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood."

However, taking up again the narrative at the point where the new brotherhouse had reached a sufficiently completed state to permit of occupation, in October, 1738. Sachse writes:

> The structure was no sooner advanced far enough for occupation than the necessary provisions and paraphernalia were obtained, and preparations were made by the thirteen votaries to undergo the ordeal (set for adepts), viz.: 1. Gabriel Eckerling, Perfect Master or Prior, known as Bro. Jotham; 2. Jacob Thoma; 3. Benedict Juckly, Bro. Benedict; 4. Bro. Jemini; 5. David Lassle, Bro. Isai; 6. Bro. Benno; 7. Peter Bucher, Bro. Joel; 8. Peter Gehr; 9. Jacob Honhnly, Bro. Ephraim; 10. Nathaniel Eicher, Bro. Nathaniel; 11. Christian Eicher, Bro. Eleazer; 12. Bro. Just; 13. Emanuel Eckerling, Bro. Elimlech.
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> At the conclusion of certain religious services, among which was the saying of the 48th Psalm, a procession was formed, and the thirteen elect were escorted up the hill to the portals of the building, which, as soon as the adepts had entered, were securely locked to prevent any intrusion or interruption during the forty days of their retirement from the outside world.

The ordeal for the adepts was, however, not nearly so rigorous as the terrible one through which they were supposed to have passed as neophytes; as a matter of fact, the forty days were spent mostly in reflection, prayer, and ritualistic study, until they finally were given the power of "visible intercourse" with the seven archangels—Anael, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel, Zobiachiel and Anachiel—on the fortieth day also receiving "from the senior archangel a parchment or scrool on which was the seal or the sacred pentagon containing the ineffable name." To what extent this description is figurative rather than literal, the present reviewer is unable to determine. But certain it is that at least one of the adepts, Benedict Yuchly, or Juchly, left the convent a few years later, "very much disgusted with this narrowly circumscribed life," and very much pleased with himself that he had gained his freedom by a subterfuge—under a promise that he would return to Switzerland, where he still had large possessions, convert this fortune into money, and hand it over to the community. Another of the original adepts, Peter Gehr, grew "a root of bitterness," which stayed with him for almost the remainder of his life, and manifested itself in bitter feelings against Beissel, and in the writing of many wrathful words which he strove to cancel before he died. "On his death-bed he ordered a whole ream of paper, which he had written full, to be torn up and thrown into the water."

To what extent Conrad Beissel was cognizant of the secrets of the Brotherhood of Zion is not known; but it seems that the whole of the plans of the Eckerlings were not fully known to him. They had to make use of him, but to what extent he followed, or was made acquainted with their secret ritual, can only be conjectured. His own tendencies were toward the mystical, but there was a difference in his aims and those of the Eckerling faction. And a reading of the account written into the "Chronicon Ephratense" of the building and occupation of the Zion Convent can hardly be otherwise interpreted than that Beissel did not know all the purposes to which the brotherhouse was to be put. To him, presumably, it was to be, fundamentally and chiefly, an institution of the Christian Church, a branch of the Sabbatarian denomination, a higher branch maybe, but with no ritualistic purpose that could not be explained to all classes of his congregation. The diarist writes:

> Work on this great house went forward rapidly. Its frame was erected in May, 1738, and in the following October the first Brethren moved into it; they were, with a few exceptions, all novices, and had but little experience in the spiritual life. Soon afterward they moved in there were certain happenings from which one would infer that this house would be a source of many sorrows for its inmates; for each one brought with him his inflammable passions, while the divine font by which all acerbity is softened, had not yet been opened in them; besides this, the older Brethren had not yet put their interest in this house. The house was not entirely finished nor fully occupied until five years after this.
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> The Superintendent spoke much with the older Brethren concerning this new institution, how it demanded a man who would be its sole head, without whom the institution would not be able to be maintained. But when he noticed that his words did not make any impression on them, he made use of a trick, and pretended that he would place the two brethren Nehemiah and Jabez in authority at Zion; which when the Eckerlins heard, they regarded it as an insult that Brethren who were younger than they in their calling should be preferred before them. Therefore the youngest among them, Jotham by name, went off, and moved to Zion with the two Brethren named; but his elder brother, Onesimus, who was intended for the office, at that time yet held back. As now the Brethren in Zion were obliged to accept this authority, they came into great temptations and thought their freedom was lost forever; for although they were very earnest they had not yet learned that obedience by which the Son of God overcame the evil one; nor was it any wonder, because their superiors also lacked the same. Consequently their natural characteristics came into collision, so that often, if the Superintendent had not come into the breach, the name of God would have been brought into dishonor among them. Now it became apparent what the Superintendent had intended when he said that the house demanded a man; there was no one of dignity enough among them to be chosen. For notwithstanding that the same Brother used every effort to bring the house into subjection, in which also he in a measure succeeded, it yet was only a government of selfishness; wherefore also it broke up again the following year, 1740. Thus at length the hermit Order in the Settlement was converted, amid many temptations, to a conventual life.

The Mystic of the Cocalico—Sachse, in studying the question: "Whence did Conrad Beissel obtain his mystical lore?" came upon a number of ancient books and paper of the old Zionitic Brotherhood, unearthed from their hiding place, where they had rested undisturbed for almost a century." These documents "give us the true foundation of the whole structure of the Ephrata mysticism." They showed that the theosophy of Beissel was built chiefly upon a few of the earlier writings of Gottfried Arnold, "combined with the Ego and Non-Ego to which he was introduced in the Rosicrucian chapter at Heidelberg." A comparison of Arnold's works with Beissel's greatest thesis, known as Die Wunderschrifft (Dissertation on Man's Fall) will show the similarity. Sachse writes:

> In both of these books man is presented in his primal form as a spiritual power, containing the male and female elements. This spiritual principle constituted humanity before it became differentiated in matter until at the fall of Adam the spiritual Sophia departed from him. Then woman was formed out of a rib taken from his side, whereby he lost the female attribute and retained merely the male.
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> In order to bring mankind back to its state of original perfection the Messiah humbled himself to be born of the Virgin, thus to introduce the male principle into the body of a virgin, whereby Christ became a new regenerate man and stood as a male virgin perfect before God.
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> The object of Redemption, upon the part of the Brethren, was to be united with the celestial Sophia, or the divine female principle, which excluded human love in the attainment of the divine love. Upon the part of the sisterhood, the object was to be again united with the divine essence in the form of the heavenly bridegroom. It is this strain that runs through the Ephrata theosophy and upon which their speculations and life were based.

Dr. Seidensticker was of the opinion that Beissel followed, unknowingly perhaps, along a "well-frequented path." Along that same path that journeyed Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism. Beissel's theosophy, in some respects, showed Brahmanistical principles; parts were akin to the theories of the Neo-Platonists, and of the Mohammedan mystics, the Sufis; but, overpoweringly, the writings of the Ephrata Magus show the theories of Gottfried Arnold, the whole Beissel sophistry, however, being merged with the New Testament teachings of the English Sabbatarians, and the ceremonies of the Germantown Dunkers.

There was a clearly defined difference between the mysticism of the Eckerlings, and that of Beissel. Sachse writes: "The speculations and ritual of the Zionitic Brotherhood are not to be confounded with the theosophy of Beissel and the Community. The chief object of the Brotherhood was the attainment of physical and spiritual regeneration; that of Conrad Beissel was a conversion or betterment of the Community at large."

As the years passed, at least during the lifetime of Beissel, the tendency was more and more toward the mystical. In the sixties "a laboratory was built somewhere in the vicinity of the Kloster at Ephrata, and serious attempts made to discover the red tincture requisite to transmute baser metals into gold," but chiefly to find the Philosopher's Stone. This study followed the advent of Jacob Martin, the "High Philosopher," who joined the Community in and about 1762 and introduced "Hermetic philosophy, together with alchemy and occult speculations of the Pseudo-Rosicrucians."

With the completion of the Zion House and the founding of the Brotherhood of Zion, may be set the beginning of the struggle for supremacy in the affairs of the Community between the Eckerling faction and Conrad Beissel. And it seems that the deeply-laid scheme of the Eckerling brothers was to bring this about by Beissel's own indiscretions of doctrine and administration rather than by direct opposition by his subordinates. By the command of Beissel, but at the instigation of the Eckerlings, certain radical practices were introduced that caused many of the Beisselianer to be angry with the Superintendent, and thus to go over to the side of the Eckerlings. The fight continued for five years, bringing the Prior into supreme authority for a while, but finally bringing about his downfall, and the expulsion of the Eckerlings altogether from the settlement.

One of the first radical innovations was the proposition to have one's self baptized for the dead. The scheme "originated in the fertile brain of Emanuel Eckerling," and was brought to the notice of Beissel in 1738 by Alexander Mack, who had been persuaded that his father, the founder of the Dunker church, had never been properly baptized. Beissel highly esteemed Emanuel Eckerling (Brother Elimelech), whose oratorical powers had been so useful to him in revival campaigns; and after some hesitation he "was won over by Elimelech's subtle arguments." He consented to baptize both Brother Elimelech "for his deceased mother," and Brother Timotheus, "for his deceased father, the sainted patriarch of the Dunker church." Justification for the act was found in the words of Paul, "that the first Christians did the same."

The impressive ceremony caused a furore for a while, within the settlement and without, but instead of bringing censure upon Beissel, "the idea of thus securing immunity for deceased or absent kinsfolk and friends struck the popular fancy." The movement even spread to other denominations, and in fact outlived the Ephrata Community.

A very contrary effect, however, followed the next act of Beissel. He was prevailed upon to accept the title of "Father," instead of plain "Brother," which it was explained was quite inappropriate for one who, "next to God," was the cause of the salvation of so many. The Superintendent had at first been known as "Brother Conrad," and the first attempt to bring his name into better relation with his nature and exalted place in the community was by substituting "Friedsam," meaning "Peaceful" for "Conrad." Then "Vater" was substituted for "Bruder," which title Beissel "accepted without contradiction," for, as the diarist explains, "he was so instructed from above that he would not readily have refused the good intentions of anyone, even though he might therefor reap the greatest reproach." It did bring reproach upon him, when it was made known at a love-feast. The "house-fathers" were offended; they looked upon it as "trying to exalt the Superintendent beyond measure." Nevertheless, the two monastic orders insisted upon it, adding "Gottrecht" (God-right) also to his name. Finally a compromise was effected, whereby the monks and nuns recognized Beissel as Vater Friedsam, Gottrecht, the secular congregation being permitted to continue to call him Brother Conrad. In 1741, however, another storm came, Johann Hildebrand then drawing up "a great document" wherein he proved that according to the Scriptures "the title of Father belonged to no one but God." Discussion disclosed that since 1738, when the title had been first given to Beissel, the householders had looked upon him as "lost" to the secular congregation. Beissel next declared in public meeting that the whole church must vote "either to stand by the title, or not to do so." Brother Hildebrand then "began to justify his course," whereupon the Superintendent said that "henceforth he would have nothing to do with the Father-title; the whole congregation should decide what was to be done." Voting confirmed him in the title by common consent, "with a few exceptions." Beissel then decided that "the two Solitary Orders and all in the congregation who thought well of it, should call him Father; while the rest should be free to do as they pleased." Thus Brother Hildebrand's efforts "came to nought." His action was attributed to jealousy. He had always rested uneasily under Beissel, never being able to forget that "he was older in his spiritual calling than the Superintendent," being "one of the first awakened in Germany"; besides, "he was very wise in his own conceit." Thus the matter of the title seemed to have been disposed of. All bowed to the will of the majority. For that matter, the Zionitic Brotherhood was the dominant power at that time. But it is evident that a soreness was in the breasts of many of the house-fathers for many years thereafter; in fact, "as soon as the Superintendent had fallen asleep in the Lord (almost thirty years later, in 1768) many betrayed themselves that they were not satisfied with this title"; and seven years elapsed before a monument was erectd to him. Even then, it was deemed advisable "to leave off the two names of Father and Gottrecht"; and, so as not to offend the other side, the name Brother was also omitted from the inscription, as has been already noted.

A troublesome period followed revival work and Sabbatarian Church establishment among the Dunkers of Amwell, New Jersey. Beissel appointed Brother Elimelech elder of the new Amwell congregation, consecrating him in the work by the "laying on of hands." But this consecration was not very effective, for Brother Elimelech was soon back in Ephrata, in disgrace. He was a little too much of a preacher, the Spirit holding him in the pulpit often for four or five hours, a sermon of which length was tiring, even to the "newly awakened." However, the good Amwell house-fathers tolerated Elimelech's excess of zeal in this respect, but when he proposed the holding of midnight services and expected to see thereat both young and old and of both sexes, the good house-fathers demurred; and when their ordained elder Elimelech, went so far as to command all members, male and female, to appear at these nacht-mettens, the parents still demurred; in fact, they forbade their daughters to attend, fearing that "offences might arise." Very soon afterwards they decided to dismiss their elder altogether, notwithstanding that he could "preach them all out of the room." The congregation at Amwell disintegrated afterwards, some going back to the Dunker affiliation, but several of the most devout moving to Ephrata.

Beissel had himself taken part in the Amwell revival services; and with him were Israel Eckerling (Prior Onesimus) and Alexander Mack (Brother Timotheus). These two men, "who appeared to be drawn so closely together," talked much with the Superintendent "as to their spiritual course." They were troubled, they said, for "there was still something wanting to complete their consecration." Baptism and the pledge of celibacy had not yet taken from them the desire to marry, and there was nothing that could hold them to their vows if they should decide to reënter the world. They wanted to hold, as in a vice, not only themselves, but every monk in Ephrata. They wanted to so mark the monastic novices and adepts that it would be impossible for any of them at will to throw aside their monastic garb and reënter the world unnoticed. A shaving of the crown would accomplish this; and to bring this into effect, the two assistants of Beissel "concluded upon a new covenant, with the Virgin Mary as the Patroness of their Order." Whether this had been a predetermined conclusion or had been arrived at after consultation with Beissel, is not stated; but evidently the Brotherhood of Zion was functioning somewhat unsatisfactorily. Beissel seemed to be quite in agreement with the conclusion reached by Brothers Onesimus and Timotheus, but it was thought better to keep the new covenant secret. However, it soon became known, and "caused a great stir in the settlement"; so much so that "a three-hour reproof was administered to the offending prior and brother in public meeting"; notwithstanding which the two went forward with their plans, and Beissel gave them public endorsement when at their request he introduced the tonsure. He entered into the spirit of the movement when they appeared before him asking him "to renew their vow of perpetual chastity," and in token thereof to cut the tonsure, as a visible sign of their betrothal to the Virgin, so that "the world might know that they had devoted themcelves to the priestly office." The Prior knelt before Beissel, who then cut "a large bald spot on his head." "This was no sooner done than the prior convened the Brotherhood in the Chapter, and after the meeting was opened ordered every brother in turn to kneel down, repeat his pledge, and, after renewing his vows, have his hair cut and his crown shorn," states Sachse. The "Chronicon Ephratense," however, gives a slightly different version, the entry reading:

> * * *, but the Superintendent ordered the Prior to kneel down, and after the latter had made a vow of perpetual chastity, he cut a large bald spot on his head; after which he and the other brethren had the same done to themselves by the Prior. Thereupon a day was

> ordained as a festival on which the Order of the Solitary should take their vows of perpetual chastity. And notwithstanding that, secretly, many objections were made to it, because the Scriptures expressly forbid the shaving of the head, and because it was nothing but the warming up again of a custom that had originated in the Popish church, yet at the time set, in holy obedience, the entire Brotherhood appeared in its chapel; for they knew that the Superintendent stood under God, and that whoever opposed him struck at the very apple of God's eye. After the pledges had been openly read, one Brother after the other kneeled down, and had his hair cut and afterward his crown shorn.

Sachse makes it appear that Beissel, after the hair-cutting and crown-shearing by Prior Onesimus, made haste to do the same to the sisters, "so as not to be outdone by the prior"; but it almost seems as if Beissel himself carried through the ceremony in both houses, for immediately after that part of the official record quoted above the following was written by the diarist:

> Then the Superintendent went over to the Sisters, who were awaiting him in their chapel, and after their hair had been cut, after the manner of virgins in the primitive church, they all took the vow, and then had their crowns likewise shorn. Since this ordinance was instituted in the face of such strong opposition of the reason, it is fair to conclude that the Holy Ghost was in the work. * * *
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> After the consecration of the Sisters was done, the Superintendent returned to the Brethren, bringing with him the hair of the Sisters, which he laid on the table with the wish that he might live until their heads were gray. * * * Afterwards it was ordained that the memorial of this consecration should be celebrated every quarter of a year, when their hair should be cut again, and their tonsures renewed; in the meantime no one was allowed to put a shear to his head.

From that time forth, states Sachse, the Prior "continued to exalt himself in the priesthood." He caused the sisters to make for him a robe "such as is described in the Bible as having been worn by the high-priest in the Temple"; and in it he was wont to preside at the agapes and love-feasts. He instituted night vigils, and ere long, in very many of the important ceremonies, Beissel "was virtually superceded by the cunning Prior." The observances became so Papish that while their German neighbors of other denominations held up the Beisselianer to ridicule, referring derisively to the monks as bald-pates, shaven-crowns, full-moons, the Scotch-Irish looked more angrily upon such aping of Catholic mediaeval customs by the "croppies." The monks of Ephrata "were decried from the pulpit, as well as held up to scorn." Because of this supposed sympathy with the Roman Catholic church, the Ephrata Community was watched very closely during the French and Indian trouble; indeed, a special commission was appointed to investigate the "common charges" of disloyalty made against the settlement at that time. The charges of course were not difficult to disprove.

The leaders of the Ephrata Community, however, had much more serious causes for worry than that which they suffered by the introduction of the tonsure. The almost chronic state of scandalmongering they had to live through by reason of the proximity of the sexes at their nocturnal exercises should have gravely concerned Beissel and others. Indeed, he gave very definite indication in 1739 that the situation did concern him. In Zion House no provision had been made for congregational gatherings, and all assemblages and love-feasts were therefore held in the Bethaus, which adjoined the sisterhouse "Kedar." Every night at the midnight hour, the sisters would go from their convent into the Bethaus, and every night at the same hour the brothers would proceed from their house, Zion, down the hill and across the meadow to the Bethaus. Sachse writes: "These nocturnal processions * * * toward the habitation of the Spiritual Virgins called forth all sorts of unfavorable comment from outsiders, who did not hesitate even to question the integrity of the brethren, or their adherence to their vows." And just as the Bethaus had been erected by one interested house-father to silence the scandalous rumors then afloat regarding the nightly services held by both sexes in the sisterhouse, Kedar, so now did two faithful house-fathers come forward with an offer to build at their own expense a "prayer and schoolhouse" adjoining the brotherhouse, Zion, so as "to put an end to the rumors of scandal caused by the nocturnal processions to the prayer-house." The fathers of Rudolph Nagle and Samuel Funk, upon the investiture of these two young men in the Brotherhood of Zion, in October, 1739, made the offer to build this chapel adjoining the brotherhouse and to make it large enough to accommodate the secular congregation as well as the monks of the brotherhood. The proposition was received with great favor, and active preparations were made without delay, as winter was closing in. Although the ground was not broken until October, the mason work was completed by Christmas Day, 1739, and no time was lost in raising the frame. The building projected was one of three stories, a large hall on the ground floor for general meetings, another hall on the second floor, for love feasts, and a number of cells for the monks on the top floor. "On the Sabbath, July 5, 1740, the last joint divine services were held in Kedar"; on Wednesday, July 16, 1740, the new prayer-house of Zion was dedicated; and thereafter, for some time, the congregation held their devotions in the new building." The building stood for about thirty-eight years, being converted into a hospital during the Revolutionary War, after which it was never restored again.

The work of erecting the new prayer-house adjoining Zion had not proceeded far before an almost incredible edict was issued by Superintendent Beissel. It knelled the doom of the Bethaus, that magnificent but unfortunately-situated prayer-house, the close proximity of which to the sisterhouse, Kedar, had brought the demand for a new meeting house, adjoining Zion. By the Superintendent's sudden and peremptory order the magnificent building of which Ephratans had reason to be proud, was to be demolished, even before the new prayerhouse was ready for use. The Bethaus, which had been in use only a little more than three years, "and the completion of which had been effected only after much toil and privation upon the part of the Community, "was to be razed, and at once. The householders were amazed. The cause "could scarcely be comprehended by human reason; the standard is too limited," writes the diarist. Secular members of the congregation "openly accused Beissel with making fools of his people." Few thought that the Eckerlings were involved in the matter, though Sachse seems to think it most probable. The two orders, male and female, were almost at loggerheads at that time, and possibly something heinous had been communicated to Beissel by the Eckerling faction, with the view of weakening the sisterhood, something so revolting regarding the Bethaus that Beissel, in a moment of anger or indignation, would order its immediate destruction. Evidently some very weighty reason for immediate action had been communicated to Beissel, or he had been angered by something to such a point that reason and common sense could not stay his hand. Still, it seems incredible that he should have given the order that swept away with the general meeting-house his own habitation as well, while there was still no other accommodation to be had. Yet it was done, and his own predicament was even worse than that of the congregation. The "Chronicon Ephratense" diarist in this connection writes: "Since a dwelling had been erected for him adjoining this building, he was now for the second time obliged to abandon his seclusion and therefore removed into the confines of the Sisterhood. Here God made use of him to found their order; whereupon he devoted himself wholly unto them."

Possibly, his own dwelling house was demolished in error. At all events, another was soon provided for him, but in an embarrassing situation; at least it would have been embarrassing to men of more worldly mind. Sachse gives the information that: "The brotherhood, to further injured the sisterhood and undermine Beissel, as soon as the chapel * * * adjoining Kedar had been demolished, erected in its place a small house or cabin for the use of the Vorsteher (Beissel), in which they caused him to take up his abode, after which for a time he devoted himself wholly to the sisterhood."

When one knows the fundamentals of the Beissel theosophy, and they have been already stated in this sketch, one readily recognizes that such a situation would not bring embarrassment to Beissel. Indeed, the naive entries in the Ephrata official records regarding this period of Beissel's life would be interpreted as damning evidence by those who were looking for corroboration of the many defamatory rumors then in circulation regarding Beissel's acts and character; but did not seem such appalling breaches of the convention to the Brethren. Evidently the diarist did not see that the situation would bring embarrassment, or that it in any way reflected against Beissel's good name and righteous aims. The entries show that Beissel when first "awakened" in Germany, almost hated women, but that in this Ephrata period he was absolutely at ease in the company of women, thinking no more of being alone with them than he would of being alone with his brethren, or than a father would when alone with his daughters. It was only in moments of pensiveness, when not quite sure of his own strength, that he realized that if it were not for his spiritual aspirations which kept him ever above the things of the flesh, he would at times be sorely tempted. For temptation surrounded him on all sides. But his doubts were rare and fleeting. Usually he realized that he had traveled far along the road to Spiritual Perfection; that indeed "the graft of the upper virginhood was through him"; that "the void in his side" had been filled, making him as Adam was before the fall. In that state he was not fearful of what temptations of the flesh the Devil might put in his way. It is therefore unlikely that such thoughts as would come to worldly men, situated as he was, would occur to Beissel. But in all probability the Eckerlings were not so much interested in what Beissel thought of himself as in what others thought of him.

Maybe Beissel, as the protector, the spiritual father, of the sisterhood, felt it to be his duty personally to guard the sisters. Or possibly the time had already come when the Eckerlings were so well entrenched in the brotherhood that the leader of the community had perforce to bow to their wishes; and their chief wish was to discredit the Superintendent in some indirect way—by his own misdeeds preferably. Certainly the time did come when the Eckerlings did, to all intents, control even the person of their leader. It is just possible that Beissel decided to devote himself almost entirely to the sisters, because the Eckerlings were in reality supreme in the brotherhood, and that thus there was no comfort or sympathy to be found by him in that fraternity. Whatever the cause, Beissel decided, and the incriminating situations developed—at least in the minds of others. The diarist notes that: "Whoever came to him at that time saw with astonishment his whole house filled with his spiritual daughters." But Beissel was not perturbed; the "old Adam" had departed from him. And there were many who believed so blindly in him that they did not see anything even worthy of remark in his situation. Beissel had convinced many that the "power of the Spirit in the Settlement at that time was like fuller's soap and a refiner's fire, whereby men's natures were tamed to such a degree that, although both sexes were in the bloom of youth, they nevertheless led an angelic and separate walk." The Magus of Ephrata may have been crafty; certainly he was of shrewd discerning mind; and he may have seen that a sure method of "taming" the body was by starvation fasting, body attrition, penances, are more "sanctimonious" words, meaning the same. Certain it is that the inhabitants of the cloistered houses at Ephrata soon became appallingly emaciated, in "casting off the thraldom of the church of Adam." Beissel established most rigerous dietary rules, specifying certain foods of the vegetable kingdom as good, and banning all that he deemed dangerous to holy aspirations, or as likely to excite the body to worldly desires.

Undoubtedly Beissel stood "high in the esteem of the sisterhood, and of the house-wives." They received him with open confidence, for they were "fully convinced of his divine mission." "He held love-feasts with the female portion, no Brethren participating, at which the Sisters were his Diaconæ, and officiated in all things," without the situation appearing to any of them as at all other than as it should be. He was quite at home in the sisterhouse, and was welcomed by all within it,—as a true friend, maybe; perhaps almost as a second Christ. The diarist writes: "Whenever he went into the Sister's convent, the whole house was moved; and when out of every corner they called to him, he was pleased with this open-heartedness, and said: 'The young birds have the same simplicity when their provider comes to feed them.'"

Yet, his guileless actions were viewed very differently by some; even by some of his brethren. When Conrad Weiser was drawn away from the brotherhood and became a justice, he took occasion to let Beissel know some of the matters that had been rankling in his heart, and shaking his faith in the Superintendent. Weiser took offence at one remark that Beissel had passed, one "from which he inferred that the Superintendent must think himself to be Christ." Moreover, states the diarist, "because the Superintendent, on account of his office, had to be in the Sister's convent a great deal, he (Weiser) forbade him this, under penalty of severe punishment; because he took for granted that things were not as they should be." And possibly it was the wish of the Eckerlings that all and sundry should think so of Beissel, too. The latter, however, went on his way blissfully unperturbed, having the peace of an easy conscience, it would seem. Few men have been so bitterly slandered, but it hardly seems possible that there was real basis for it in his life; otherwise he could hardly have held, unto the end, the esteem of so many devout men who for decades had lived with him, and had known his movements day by day. Beissel was a visionary, had an exalted opinion of his own importance and mission; and he no doubt had some weaknesses; but he does not seem to have been possessed of such vices as would cause clean-minded persons to instinctively shrink from him, and leave him to his own company. This seems to be the broad deduction one might reach from the fact that most of those of his own brethren who were bitterest in denouncing him were again his devoted friends and admirers at some time before he died.

Case of Christopher Sauer—An exception, perhaps, was Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, though even he warmed toward Beissel in later years. In 1739, however, Christopher Sauer brought the Ephrata Community into widespread notoriety by his quarrel with Beissel. Sauer in all probability was basically embittered against Beissel because his own wife had followed the mystic's theosophy so calamitously as to leave her children, divorce herself from her husband, and enter the Ephrata convent. Beissel did not feel that to have been a calamity; to him it was a matter for rejoicing that the printer's wife should have so risen above the things of the world. But to the printer, it was probably the greatest misfortune of his life; a supreme tragedy he might well have laid at Beissel's door. The opportunity came in 1739 to belittle Beissel, though Sauer's own personal affairs may have had only a sub-conscious bearing on the righteous indignation that swelled within him at that time at the pretensions of the Ephrata leader. Christopher Sauer, a clockmaker and later a printer, by reason mainly of Beissel's wish that he should take up the publishing of some of his works, had been in Germantown only about a year when Benjamin Franklin, "as early as June 11, 1732," started to issue "Die Philadelphische Zeitung," the first German weekly newspaper published in America. It was founded, it is said, at the instance or suggestion of Beissel and the Eckerlings. Franklin was in reality not in sympathy "with the Dutch," and Sauer felt called upon to take up the German cause. But he had no type. As the years passed he saw one after another of the Beisselianer publications come from the Franklin press—German, on an English press. But Sauer was powerless. He had by 1735 become or had constituted himself "the confidential agent of the German Lutheran Church authorities" in America; and he longed for a Buchdruckery (German printing establishment). He wrote to Europe asking that type and press be purchased for him, promising to "refund the money advanced" at some time in the future. The church authorities, however, were then "overloaded" with other matters; besides they doubted whether any service would be rendered by a printing press in the West Indies." Sauer had to wait patiently until 1738 before he could write: "Where can I find words to praise the good God" who through the favor of one only described as "N" had provided him with the long-desired printing outfit. It is said that Sauer's first printing-press "was a home-made affair, constructed by the printer himself." At all events, his first years as a printer were fraught with much perplexity. Nevertheless, having the press and the type and being able to make ink himself, he courageously entered upon a large contract with the Ephrata Community, undertaking to print a new hymn book for the use of all Separatists in the Province. It was to be a duodecimo containing about 650 hymns. But, unfortunately, Benjamin Franklin at that time controlled the whole of the stock of printing paper then in the Province. Sauer was poor, and the situation was "no cash, no paper"; Franklin flatly refused "credit to the Dutch." Conrad Weiser then came to the rescue, journeyed to Philadelphia in July, 1738, and pledged his personal credit for the amount of the paper bill.

When the whole of the circumstance was disclosed, it will be seen that Sauer's part in this publication was very small; in reality it was the work of the Ephrata brethren, almost from beginning to end. Beissel and others had composed the hymns, Brother Enoch (Conrad Weiser) had provided the paper, and the brotherhood had undertaken "to aid in setting the type, working the press, and correcting the proof." The proof-readers were Peter Miller, Michael Wohlfarth, and Samuel Eckerling, all learned men. Under such circumstances Sauer began to print the hymn-book, the chief title of which was: "Zionischer Weyrauchs Hugel oder Myrrhen Berg," (Zionistic Incense Hill or Mountain of Myrrh). The translation of the dedication, which was printed upon the reverse of the title-page, reads: "To all cooing Turtle Doves, alone in the desert as a spiritual harp-strain in the divers times of Divine visitation." Sauer had little to do with it, as has been shown, and he might have saved himself worry, work, annoyance, and ultimate expense, had he allowed those responsible Ephratans to proceed with the use of his type and press without hindrance. But this was his first commission, and he was to some extent "a defender of the Faith" in America. He was perhaps unduly jealous of his personal reputation, and also may have had an instinctive distrust of the Beisselianer, knowing, as he did, something of the queerness of their beliefs. At all events, he resolved that the Sauer imprint should not appear upon anything that might bring him discredit; therefore he instituted a somewhat astounding office for himself soon after the printing began. He set himself up as a censor of the hymns, and he held resolutely to that self-appointed unnecessary task throughout the printing, notwithstanding that there was much friction between the "correctors" and himself almost from the first. A friend of Sauer's, writing to another, regarding Sauer's commission and the men with whom he had to work, said, "they are sharp and particular enough, as one hears; therefore it makes him (Sauer) much trouble," which can well be imagined. Nevertheless, nothing unsurmountable happened until the 400th hymn had been reached. Then "a personal controversy arose between Beissel and the printer, which became exceedingly bitter, and ended in an estrangement lasting for fully ten years." Sauer was aghast at what he imagined he saw in that hymn. He objected particularly to the 37th verse, which he interpreted to mean that Beissel wished to set himself up as Christ. He demanded that the verse be stricken out or that its meaning be cleared from ambiguity, and was shocked, incensed, at the reply of the "corrector," who asked "whether he then believed only in one Christ." Sauer then wrote a letter, strongly remonstrating, to Beissel, and received a sharp, short, and caustic reply. The "Chronicon Ephratense" touches on the controversy in part as follows:

> This aroused the good man to a fiery heat, and he resolved to avenge himself for this affront. Therefore he published a document against the Superintendent, in which he told under how strange a conjunction of stars the Superintendent was, and how each planet manifested in him its own characteristics: From Mars he had his great severity, from Jupiter his friendliness, from Venus that the female sex ran after him, Mercury had taught him the art of a comedian, etc. He even found in his name, Conradus Beusselus, the numbers of the Beast, 666.

Christopher Sauer published his own account of the controversy, and the following is a translation of his objection, as set forth in this account, to the spirit of the offensive hymn, No. 400:

> The objections which I had to this hymn are these: The Martial and Mercurial spirit (meaning Conrad Beissel) wanted to appear as a Pillar of fire and clouds. Therefore almost all the words in the first four verses say as much as: "Join yourself unto me, and do naught but what I command you;" especially so in the 14th and 23rd verses. In the 25th (27?) he complains that he is despised by his brethren as well as by sinners, although he had already brought them to God's light, as is shown in the 31st verse. In the 33rd and 34th he again (attempts to) inspire courage. If one could only look upon him without loathing, he would be safe from the serpent's bite. In the 37th, 38th, and 39th verses, Mercurius (Beissel) leaps entirely too high, and swings himself upon the throne and cries: "See, see," etc. And this we are also to sing. Verily, our hair shall stand upon an end at such idolatry, if one be not bewitched or mad.

Evidently, it was Samuel Eckerling who stirred the printer to such wrath, by countering with the question "whether he then believed only in one Christ." Maybe this was another of the schemes whereby the Superintendent was to be discredited; though if Beissel himself had not intended that such an interpretation of the verse might be tȧken, why did he not clear the ambiguity when it was pointed out to him by Christopher Sauer? Perhaps his pride or anger forbade him, for he, "in such things never remained anyone's debtor." He had a sharp pen. The hymn-book, the Weyrauchs Hugel, has a particular historical significance, in its being the first book to be printed in German type in America.

A noteworthy ceremony took place in the new prayerhouse of Zion in August, of 1740. Then, in the presence of the whole congregation, Beissel, as Vorsteher, solemnly consecrated Brothers Onesimus (Israel Eckerling), Jaebez (Peter Miller) and Enoch (Conrad Weiser) to the priesthood by the laying on of hands; "after which they were admitted to the ancient Order of Melchizedek by having the degree conferred on them in ancient form," states Sachse. Continuing, he writes:

> After the ceremony the Vorsteher, assuming the role of Grand Master of the Zionitic Brotherhood, deposed Prior Jotham and appointed in his place the newly-ordained Brother Onesimus as prior, or perfect master of the Zionitic Brotherhood. This act called forth an energetic protest from the deposed prior, seconded as he was by a number of the brethren present. The émeute was, however, of but short duration, and ere the Chapter closed Beissel's authority was acknowledged by all present. This action of the Vorsteher was the result of differences which had arisen in the congregation incident to the controversy with Christopher Sauer over the hymns in the Weyrauchs Hugel.

The new prior was a hard taskmaster. If the monks were not sufficiently "tamed" by the one-meal-a-day dietary, and that a strictly vegetarian one, they surely could not have been expected to have held much flesh or spirit on only six hours of sleep, and that in two periods, out of each twenty-four hours, especially when it was demanded that their eighteen waking hours be applied mainly to some confining occupation. Prior Onesimus was the business manager of the establishment, and he had resolved that the institution should declare good dividends. "He applied the discipline so severely as to be almost unbearable." Peter Miller wrote thus of conditions within the convent at this period: "Now between the poor devotees of Ephrata and the wool-headed African Sclaves (sic) no other difference than that they were white and free sclaves."

Conrad Weiser, in his formal letter to the Ephrata authorities, in 1743, renouncing his allegiance to the "young but already decrepit sect," protested against the "domination of conscience" and the "suppression of innocent minds," and fervently hoped "that the time will come when they shall be liberated from their physical and spiritual bondage, as also from the thraldom of conscience, under which they are groaning." He protested "once more against you, the overseers, who feed yourselvs and do not spare the flock, but scatter and devour them." The official record is also quite startling. An entry in the "Chronicon Ephratense," as to this period under Prior Onesimus, reads:

> As such discipline, so unpleasant to the flesh, was imposed upon the good Brethren of the Settlement, the passion of the body of Christ increased among them; whoever beheld them was amazed at their lean and pale appearance. This was indeed made known to the world by writings, but no one entered into the secret of it, because they were reticent and silent about it. * * * After Brother Onesimus had been made Prior of the convent of Zion by the Superintendent, the latter gave him his intimate confidence and fellowship, by reason of which the Prior ruled the Brethren with such severity that if anyone lifted but a hand against him, it was an understood thing that such an one sinned against God, and jeopardized his eternal salvation; and though they often intended to rebel against him, yet they feared the Superintendent whom they held to be an ambassador of God.

Threats to overthrow the prior were frequent; every year one group or another would resolve to break the thraldom, and set up an independent community "in the desert"; but Prior Onesimus still was upheld by Beissel. The Chronicon states: "The Superintendent * * * had a superhuman fidelity to him and gave him every protection, even though the entire brotherhood was against him." Once the Superintendent met the protests of the brethren, and a vote was taken. This showed that Brother Onesimus "lacked two votes of being reëlected. Then the Superintendent claimed the right of two votes, and both he cast for Onesimus, who was thus again made Prior.

The state of affairs in Zion reached such a high pitch of discontent at times that there would be quarreling for hours, even while at divine worship. A Chronicon entry reads: "The Prior, however, was seized by the spirit of office, so that he considered himself bound to bring the brethren under * * * In those days many an one may have cried unto God for release from this spiritual tyranny, but the answer to their prayers was postponed for yet greater trials."

The morale of the brethren must have been low at that time. One irritant was in the insistent preaching or reading from the Prior's own writings. Prior Onesimus kept two brethren busily employed in transcribing his writings; and, states the diarist, "if he was tired of preaching at the matins, he had his Lectors who had to read from his writings the rest of the time, wherefore many an one in his vexation exclaimed: 'He preached us to death again.'"

Whether the brethren were held more securely in subjection by membership in the secret society than would have happened had their affiliation been merely to an ordinary monastic order can hardly be determined. There were certainly some alleged practices on Zion Hill that become more blood-curdling by reason of their mysticism and the vagueness of tradition. Sachse writes: "Of the mystic rites and occult ritual with which the Zionitic Brotherhood dedicated their Temple, in the ghostly hour after midnight, we have nothing but faint traditions which tell of processions, incantations, prayers, and mystic ceremonies, said to date back to the ages of the Pharaohs."

The Building of "Peniel"—But the leaders of the brotherhood evidently were not satisfied with having only partial use of the prayerhouse; they wanted the exclusive use of it; and within two months of its dedication, Beissel had to point out to the secular congregation that it would be to their disadvantage to continue to hold their church meetings in the prayerhouse. He decreed: "The congregation must build itself an own house of prayer; thus it is ordained in the divine order of the work, and I will render aid thereto in the spirit." Some of the house-fathers then withdrew from membership in the congregation; nevertheless, the Zionitic Brotherhood deemed the matter to have been already finally decided, and began to prepare the timbers for the new prayerhouse for the secular congregation. They began construction in the fall of 1740, but it was not until September of the next year that the new structure was enclosed. It was made tenantable in the following December, when it was consecrated with a general meeting and love-feast, and then named "Peniel" by Beissel for the reason that "upon this spot he had wrested in the spirit and prayed, and had a vision." The new prayerhouse "Peniel" was to have been forty feet square and forty feet high, "thus symbolizing the number of perfection," but in the difficulties of building this measurement could not be kept. The building site was "within the graveyard in the meadow, some distance from the other structures."

Michael Wohlfarth, (Brother Agonius), had he lived, might have been inducted as intendent or vorsteher of the new prayerhouse, but "his soul took flight to the realms beyond" in May of that year, 1741; therefore, at the dedicatory services, Brother Elimelech (Emanuel Eckerling) was appointed to the charge of the secular congregation, in "Peniel."

The building is one of those still standing, that known as the "Saal," and its unique features have to be seen to be fully appreciated. Its roof slopes much more acutely than that of the earlier structures erected had; this is attributed to the extremely severe winter of 1740-41, and to the suggestion prompted during erection by an exceptionally heavy snowfall. Not the least interesting sight within the Saal is the marking of the ceiling. Sachse writes: "If the visitor to the old sanctuary will cast his eyes aloft toward the northwest corner of the room, directly under the old north gallery, and look carefully at the boards forming the ceiling, he will plainly see at regular intervals the impression of the naked human foot upon the boards, marks that have remained here during all these years, notwithstanding repeated attempts to eradicate them with soap and sand, and an application of muscle such as only a Pennsylvania-German matron is capable of."

One explanation is that one of the brethren, who worked barefooted in the sawmill at which these ceiling board were prepared, greased the soles of his feet, which were sore, the day being hot. He stood upon the boards, and the greasy imprint thus came into the poplar boards forever. But old Ephrata records seem to suggest another reason. The "Chronicon Ephratense," referring to a prayerhouse states that in it "were manifested forth many wonders of God. The manifestation may have been in fervor at a revival service; but some might think that it had reference to the "miracle" noted in the interesting legend below:

> Far back in the days when the Eckerlings were the ruling spirits, and the Brotherhood of Zion practiced their mystic teachings and occult rites, some question was raised at one of the midnight meetings as to the truth of the claims made for the esoteric and mystical rites and practices of the Zionitic Brotherhood. There was a great outpouring of the spirit upon that

> occasion, and the discussion finally grew into a challenge to the mystic brotherhood to produce some proof of their supernatural, or occult power. With that the seventh hour pealed forth from the tower of Zion Hill; this hour corresponds with our midnight. Hardly had the sound died away when two of the Zionitic brethren accepted the challenge. Throwing off their long robes and taking the sandals from off their feet, they mounted one of the long tables, and, supporting themselves for a few seconds by their hands, raised their feet to the ceiling, and thus walked in the reverse order among the brethren. One of these men was the prior, and wherever his feet touched the ceiling they left their impression upon the unpainted wood. Thus was manifested a double miracle.

This miracle may have been entertaining, but it lacked the impressive dignity of most divine manifestations.

Within a few weeks of the dedication of Peniel, Ephratans witnessed a much more impressive manifestation. To some it seemed that the end of the world was nigh. On Monday, February 22, 1741-42, as the midnight bell was being tolled, calling the monks to the nacht-metten, to watch for the harbinger of the celectial Bridegroom, a bright light was suddenly seen in the eastern sky, a blazing star with a bright fiery tail that seemed to be "a bunch of switches with which the divine forces were about to punish the unrepentant and unregenerate of mankind." The prophesies of Brother Agonius (Michael Wohlfarth), who had passed from time to eternity only a short while before, came to the minds of some of the mystics of Zion, who were on their way to the prayerhouse. They "were struck dumb with fear and amazement." The state of mind of the Prior, Onesimus, was such that he "at once fell upon his knees on the frosty ground and commenced to pray for mercy." The fiery messenger brought out the Vorsteher, Beissel; he ordered the bell to toll, "to alarm the Community"; and he ordered all to assemble in Peniel. Consternation spread throughout the settlement; indeed, throughout the whole of Pennsylvania, and for that matter throughout other provinces also in all probability, for it was an age of superstition and religious fanaticism and unrest. In Ephrata, special liturgical services were read in all the Sabbatarian chapels, the service of Tuesday closing with the invocation: "O great and mighty Lord, whose ineffable name is contained within this psalm (the IV Psalm), Thou that hearest the supplications of those who repeat this Psalm, have mercy upon us, and heed our supplications on this the third day of the week, whose heavenly signs are the Ram and Scorpion, its Angel Sammeal, and servant Moadim. Amen."

The comet was visible for a number of nights, and its effect was evident in the thoughts of people for long afterwards. From this trying period date a number of hymns which are to be found in the Paradisches Wunderspiel. They were visionary, prophetic, and strikingly indicated Beissel's excited state of mind at that time. The Ephrata record states that the Superintendent "in those days was lifted above the world of sense, and had surmounted time with its changes," so that his hymns then composed were "full of prophesy," and belonged to "the evening of the sixth time-period." They represented "the last times so impressively" that it seemed as though "the kingdom were already dawning." Many wonderful things were revealed to Beissel by the Spirit; and in the spirit, he wrote his "Wunder Schrifft," of which there were subsequently several English editions under the title of "A Dissertation on Man's Fall." It "opened up a far outlook into eternity"; in fact, went "further than even the holy Apostles in their revelations." Beissel's followers also had already reached, or would soon reach, the state of new manhood wherein God would open, or had opened unto them again "an entrance unto the tree of life, so that they again ate of the Verbo Domini, and so satisfied themselves with unceasing prayer as though they had been at some sumptuous banquet; all which Adam forfeited when he descended to earthly things." Some of the monks, it is said, had reached such a state of zeal for "the angelic life" that, as there was "now no secret among them any more how Adam before the fall had eaten" they tried to live without any functioning of the organs of elimination. Beissel had "to restrain many an one in his too great zeal" in this respect, for they had "overcome all mercy towards the body," and probably would have died.

But all and sundry had to "come down to earth" again,—to the prosaic things of the every-day world. The end of the world had not come. The Millenium had not become a present state; indeed, the world seemed to settle down as though the sixth time-period had still many eons yet to run. And therefore the prophetic spirit among the Beisselianer began to grow tired. Soon, "the prophetic spirit had withdrawn again into his chamber altogether"; and then even the startled Prior gave up his inclination to incessantly pen prophetic epistles, it gradually coming to his notice that there were things of moment, of reality, and of pressing urgency, facing him. He saw that the world had returned to normal again, and that much responsibility rested upon him. So he gave his time to matters of every-day business—to the systematizing of the affairs of the Ephrata fraternity.

Prior Onesimus also evidently brought the Superintendent down from ethereal heights to terra firma to hard matters of fact of this world. Not altogether pleasing facts, one might surmise, for the outcome was that the Superintendent, with the change instituted by the Prior in the financial system, had to deliver over to others the custody of the community purse. Formerly, Beissel had held the communal purse, and had never been able to keep it closed. The situation was hopeless from the business standpoint, with Beissel as treasurer. His philosophy was not practical. According to the "Chronicon Ephratense": "Before the government among the Solitary was systematized a certain simplicity reigned among all; the Superintendent was the father of all of them, and they were his children; and, when they travelled, it looked like a hen going with her brood of chicks. He held the funds, and whoever had any money handed it over to him; and he appropriated it in such wise that the Settlement always remained poor. Not until after his death was it revealed that most of it had been carried away by beggars."

Prior Onesimus, however, erred as grievously in the opposite direction. The congregation had been gradually drifting away from the monastic bodies, and especially since the brotherhood had barred them from their prayerhouse, adjoining Zion; consequently the contributions of house fathers to the general funds were becoming seriously less. The Prior realized that the orders must be made independent, self-sustaining economic units, which brought about a state of things the Superintendent deplored; he was "much concerned about this singular economy." It appears that: "the Prior was seized with unbelief, and sank into purely temporal prospects. And as the Mother of the Sisters also fell into this faithlessness, they secretly took counsel together how they might organize the economy so as to provide a living without having to depend upon the favor of the domestic households upon which dependance could no longer be placed. All this had taken place behind the Superintendent's back. * * * Now, therefore, there was instituted in the Settlement a worldly economy for the sustenance of the natural life, which represented a ducal court-economy, wherein the Brethren and Sisters were made men servants and woman servants."

Beissel, it is said, saw that the new financial system "was artificial rather than inspired by the Spirit"; yet he upheld the Prior, in his solution of "how so many young people should be kept employed and preserved from idleness," though at times, when he visited the Brethren "in their sad condition at their matins" he was "deeply moved" by their "miserable state"; so much so that "he often was melted to overflowing."

The basic principle of the new system was that private ownership "was an Ananias-sin"; and any who entered the orders had to deliver over to the fraternity the whole of their worldly possessions. They had to renounce right to them forever, even though they might again go back into the world after only a short stay in the convent. They had no redress, even in the courts. One man, Henry Bone, felt so despondent after being refused the return of his property that he took his own life. This renunciation of property was of course the mill-wheel that was to ensure independence to the monastic orders; but the power was to be derived from the bodies of the monks and nuns. Under the new system, the convents "were so abundantly supplied with spiritual officials that no one could stir a step without them; and the hours of the day and night were so apportioned that no one had any time left for recreation except the holy Sabbath."

At first the men were literally the beasts of burden. The Chronicon notes that "they drew their cart themselves, and were their own horses; when they travelled they went heavily laden like camels, and sometimes the whole Brotherhood might be seen trooping around the hill of Zion." But Prior Onesimus was a pioneer of industry; he "was really pregnant with important projects," and soon changed the crude labor conditions. He introduced labor-saving devices, all the while adding, or planning to add, to the means of revenue.

Hence, in a short while some quite important and profitable industries were established. Brother Agrippa, writing in 1786 of this period under Prior Onesimus, testified that although "much of the primitive simplicity was lost, wherein God had manifested his wonders": "in its stead was opened a wide outlook into the world, for the Brethren, whose intelligence had been widened at their conversion, set up various mechanical trades, which brought in great profits, and which they handed over to the Prior, so that in a short time the treasury became so rich that money began to be loaned out; yes, it is likely that if God had not destroyed this economy, the Brethren would by this time have ships upon the sea."

One can readily imagine that profits would rapidly accrue from labor given for no other wage than one meal each day; and that a very light one. The diarist naively, or perhaps sarcastically, words an entry thus: "* * * it cannot be said that the Brotherhood of Zion had, at that time, fallen away from its holy calling, for their household was regulated in such a manner that one could hardly live, so that whoever was not well accustomed to fasting, had to resort to stealing."

The only "harbor of refuge" was the mill. There the famished monks could get many comforts that were impossible in the cheerlessness of the convent, where there were so many eyes, and so little that hungry eyes could feast upon. A daily market had been set up by the monks in the grist-mill, and to it many pious people came to trade. There the monk could find relaxation. There, probably, the spirit was more convivial than sanctimonious, a state to be deplored perhaps. The diarist reflects how "sad it is that so many otherwise earnest Brethren fortified their calling there." It was evidently a place of good cheer; the air was not so oppressive as that within the cloistered houses; and if there were any "merry monks" at Ephrata in those days they were more likely to be found on the staff of the mills than elsewhere. The diarist points out that "whenever his quarters became too narrow for a Brother at the Settlement, he betook himself to the mill, for there he could live according to his natural inclinations."*

Considered from the worldly standpoint, the industries established at Ephrata, mainly through the initiative and executive ability of the Eckerling brothers, were commendable achievements; but viewed from the standpoint of heavenly gain, they were calamitous and unprofitable. Under the Eckerlings, the Ephrata Community became a strong, financially-sound institution; concurrently it became a religious body of marked decreptitude. The true personalities of the administrators are here indicated. The horse generally answers to the rein. Under Beissel, who cared little for the things of this world, the community was poverty-stricken; under the Eckerlings, who had very ambitious institutional plans, the community soon reached financial integrity.

The first provident planning under the Eckerling régime was the planting of a large orchard, and a row of fruit trees skirting the entire Kloster (Cloister) property. The next business enterprise was the acquiring of the mill-seat on the Cocalico creek, at the foot of Zion Hill. This important acquirement is believed to have been consummated in 1740 or 1741, though the grist-mill at that point dates "from the earliest days of the settlement." After coming into the hands of the community, its power was soon developed. "The mill was rebuilt of stone, and its capacity increased to three runs of stone."

But developments at that mill-seat were rapid. Ere long it was the centre of five different industries of the community. First, a saw-mill was added; next came a paper-mill. This was followed by the establishment of a skilfully-built oil-mill, "with stones the like of which none existed in America." Looms for weaving were set up, and a fulling-mill also erected. The paper-mill became most important, for in it "much of the paper that was used during the provincial period" was made. The oil pressed in the Ephrata mill "was used to make the printer's ink required in the province." Preparations were made to develop a large tannery in the meadow, west of the brotherhouse. Immense vats were dug and framed. A bark mill for grinding the oak and hemlock bark was also built. Ultimately, the product of the community tannery came into good demand, notwithstanding that it came to be derisively known in some quarters as Jesuiten-leder. Its quality was good, and much of this leather was used in binding the books printed in the community printing plant. Shoemaking was also carried on extensively. It is said that a pottery was also operated by the brotherhood; but, though there are evidences that earthenware pottery was made in the vicinity of Ephrata in colonial times, there is nothing to definitely connect the Ephrata Community with that industry. The platters and cutlery used in the convents were mostly wooden. Quarries were opened, and masons were kept busy preparing stone for building and other work. There was much traffic along the roads, and much of it was the outcome of the industries of the community. Under the Eckerlings, three teams (of horses, not men) were constantly in use, taking materials to, or drawing produce from, the community mills; therefore an attempt was made to improve the roads, and to build stone bridges. Prior Onesimus left nothing undone that might ease the way of business. He established purchasing and sales agencies in Philadelphia and elsewhere, among such agents being Johannes Wuster and Christopher Marshall. The convent-houses also were "hives of industry" at that time. One of the earliest industries established in Zion was a bookbindery which in 1742-43 "was the largest and best equipped bindery in the colonies."

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*To fully appreciate this reference to narrowness of quarters, one should visit the convent-houses still standing in Ephrata. There it is seen that the bed or a monk, or nun, was one wooden board, not more than fourteen inches wide—a mere shelf. The sleeper could hardly roll out of bed because the opposite wall of the bed-chamber was scarcely more than a plank's width away. The room was appropriately called a "kammer" or "cell." And no man of greater breadth than twenty inches could get through the doorways, or along the corridors, apparently; at least, the doorways were only twenty inches wide. It seemed as if the aim in house-frame and human-frame was to follow the scriptural injunction that "Straight is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life." But if, in the rigorous "penances" of the monastic life, things physical should go topsy-turvy, and a brother should develop flesh instead of bone, it perforce became advisable to find him more commodious quarters than a cell twenty inches wide.

In the sisterhood various ways of keeping the sisters industriously employed were devised and instituted. The occupations were lighter, though there was a time when the sisters were capable of, or a least had to do, much heavier work; they had to dig their own potatoes, and indeed provide the vegetables for both houses, by no means a light task, for a household of nearly a hundred. The sisters even had to wield the axe, to split wood for themselves. Various duties of the domestic economy naturally fell to them; they baked the bread for both orders, busied themselves with canning, washed for both houses, and did many other additional tasks. Before the famous Ephrata printing-press was installed, the sisters did much copying of manuscript, painstakingly writing not one but many copies of voluminous works. For many years they did the whole of the copying of Beissel's music, and several of the sisters were wonderfully skilled in engrossing. Many beautiful specimens of their skill in ornamental penmanship are in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and in such work the sisters reached lasting and well-merited fame. But in addition to their educational, musical, and charitable work, the sisters were constantly employed in several industries for commercial gain. These industries included spinning, quilting, embroidering, the dipping of sulphur matches, the making of wax-tapers, "curious paper-lanthorns," pasteboard boxes, household remedies, and much else. Whatever they did, there was a sound business reason for it. Their quilting industry was continued "long after the institution had commenced to fall into decay"; in fact, it was the last industry practiced in a "systematic way" in the old Kloster.

The Famous Ephrata Press—The printing establishment of the brotherhood comes next to the quilting industry of the sisterhood in point of long continuance; but of course it was of much more importance. The history of the printing industry in colonial America must give prominent place to Ephrata, and to the Ephrata hand-press upon which some of the earliest and most important American printing was done. While Bradford, Franklin, and Sauer were earlier printers, the Ephrata press was the first in Pennsylvania upon which printing in both English and German was done. It was not until

1747 that Benjamin Franklin issued an imprint in German type, and the first in English type from the Sauer press was in 1749. The Ephrata hand-press was installed in 1742 or 1743, and the first book in German type from that press was published in 1744. In 1745, Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckerling) printed a polemic in English against the Moravians. For fifty years thereafter, the press was in use at Ephrata, and for a further thirty years it was operated in Philadelphia. It now reposes in the museum of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "in much the same condition as when it stood in the Kloster, the only material change being the substitution of an Oram lever in place of the primitive screw after it was removed from Ephrata." Sachse writes:

> Here we have the same lever, or devil's tail, that was pulled by the recluse mystics, the identical stone bed upon which they imposed the forms, the same old rounce, of which the disgruntled Ezekiel speaks, by which he brought the type under the platen. Silent now the old press stands before us, superceded by modern inventions which print more sheets in a couple of hours than could be worked off upon this old pioneer press in a year. Yet, to the historian and antiquarian, the old relic is of greater interest than the latest modern cylinder press.

While in use in Ephrata, forty-three important publications are known to have been printed upon it, some of them very large works in the German language. Almost without exception the works were of religious character. One of the largest and most famous was "Der Blutige Schauplatz, oder Martyrer Geschichte der Taufgesinnten," ("The Bloody Scaffold, or Baptist Martyrology"), which was a reprint, translated from the Dutch, of a work first published in Europe in 1660. The Ephrata edition was an immense folio of 1,514 pages, and was said to have been undertaken by the Ephrata brethren at the suggestion of Mennonites, "for circulation among the Mennonites and the great body of German Baptists." The work began in 1748 and was not completed until 1751, the work representing three years of almost constant labor of fifteen men. Everything was done at Ephrata. Peter Miller was translator and proof-reader, there were four compositors and four pressmen, two presses being used. The other men "wrought in the paper mill," providing for this edition of 1,300 volumes 1,184 reams of "extra-heavy" paper. The binding was "as solid and ponderous as the book itself," the strong leather of home-tanning being reinforced by brass mountings, nails, and clamps. The whole work, when ready, was offered to the Mennonites. They had, at a council, fixed the sale price, which was twenty shillings a volume; but they do not seem to have committed themselves to the purchase of any definite number. In fact, a generation later the Ephrata stockroom still contained 500 or 600 unbound copies; and they were then put to an interesting national use. They were requisitioned by Washington's forces, not for perusal, but to send death to the English. Brother Agrippa, in the footnote of a Chronicon entry writes:

> When there was a great lack of all war material and also of paper, the fact was betrayed that there was a large quantity of printed paper in Ephrata, which then was pretty soon confiscated. Many protests were raised against this in the settlement, and it was alleged among the rest that this might lead to evil consequences, on account of the English army. They (the monks) resolved not to give up anything voluntarily, but that it would have to be taken by force. Consequently, there arrived two wagons and six soldiers, who took possession of all copies of the Book of Martyrs, after making prompt payment for them. This gave great offence in the country, and many thought that the war would not end favorably for the country, because the memorials of the holy martyrs had been thus maltreated. At last, however, they were honored again, for some sensible persons brought in all that were left of them. The tough Ephrata paper made good cartridges or wads, in all probability.

Another noteworthy Ephrata publication was the first American edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, which came from the press in 1754, in German, as "Eines Christen Reise."

It is claimed that the great American Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, was printed on the Ephrata press; but the basis of this claim possibly is in the fact that that important instrument was translated at Ephrata into seven different languages by Peter Miller, who was then the prior. He undertook the translations for Congress so that copies might be sent to the different Courts of Europe, and did it "with the proviso that he was not to receive a penny for his services." But it is doubtful whether Miller was expected to put the copies into print. Possibly they were engrossed, on parchment, by one of the capable sisters of Ephrata. Nevertheless, the Ephrata Press has important place in colonial printing history. Ephrata imprints nowadays are rare and costly.

The printing establishment was one of the vital necessities of the Ephrata Community, which needed a "mouthpiece"; but there is good reason to believe that when Prior Onesimus first installed the plant he was somewhat confidently hoping that it would become his own personal mouthpiece. It was used mainly for the printing of his own epistles when first brought into operation; and he seemed to want to inject his own personality and official status into Beissel's works then printed. (The whole Eckerling editions were burned by the brethren at Beissel's command, soon after Prior Onesimus was expelled; they also cast into the flames the preface the Prior had written for insertion in one of Beissel's works.)

"Hebron," the Convent for the Married—Soon after Prior Onesimus had brought order out of chaos in the convents and had laid the foundations of what he though would bring profit to the community, he and his brothers devised a crafty scheme whereby the financial pillars might be very much strengthened. Undoubtedly, they had been working in poor ground among the monks in Zion, but much profit might come by sowing the right kind of seed in the very rich ground of other parts of the settlement.

The domestic households, the secular congregation, constituted the richer part of the community; and, strictly speaking, they were not part of that community. They had contributed well in earlier years to the needs of the solitary, but the Eckerlings, by simple arithmetic, saw that the profit to the common treasury might be greater by spreading the "private-ownership-an-Ananis-sin" theory among the house-fathers than by merely encouraging them to increase their tithes. So it was brought to the notice of Beissel, in connection with an ingenious proposition, which he was persuaded to sanction.

In due course, it became known that another monastic building would be erected, one in which such members of the secular congregation as wished "to bring themselves to a still higher spiritual condition" might take up their abode. It was hoped in this way to draw into the new convent those members who owned land adjoining the settlement. The new building was to be in two sections, one for fathers, the other for the mothers. A nursery for the children was even projected. Those parents who entered the new convent would of course be expected to "shake the dust of the world from their feet"; e. g., they would be expected to voluntarily divorce themselves, and, in keeping with the conventual thought, would also voluntarily cast their possessions into the common treasury.

It was not until 1743 that plans were perfected, but then the erection of a building, at right angles with Peniel, was begun. The new building was to take the name of "Hebron," which signified "the common tomb of the Pharaohs," but which in Ephrata was to symbolize "the end of conjugal life." By Christmas, 1743, the new house was ready for occupation, and, "in order to fully introduce the monastic discipline," several brethren from Zion moved into the house. On the day set for dedication, January 12, 1744, the whole community assembled in Peniel. Soon a procession was formed, and in the icy flood of the Cocalico those of the brethren and sisters who were to enter Hebron were rebaptized. Later that day all again met in Peniel, and during the religious services "the letters of divorce, which had been prepared by Onesimus, and had previously been signed by the interested parties, were handed to the house-fathers and matrons who had voluntarily divorced themselves, and intended henceforth to improve their spiritual condition by living separate lives in Hebron." Included also in those housed in Hebron were "many poor widows, whom they maintained out of their own means, so that their household resembled a hospital more than a convent."

It soon, however, became evident to the promoters of the scheme that the financial pillars were weak; though the house was filled and the candidates for spiritual perfection faithfully observed the spiritual law by living continent lives, yet they were reluctant to recognize that true piety demanded the relinquishment of the whole of their property. Possibly it was then that the nursery for minors was thought of by the Eckerlings, for it was clear that many of the most desirous landed estates were left in the care of stalwart sons of the divorcees of Hebron, and were not likely to pass to the community. So that when other difficulties came to complicate matters, it is not surprising that the experiment was abandoned, and that the domestic households were permitted to reassemble in their own homes again. But, even if there had been no other deterring reasons, it is doubtful whether the experiment would have succeeded, for the mothers were leaving the convent one by one, unable to resist the call of home and children. Finally, Beissel, "without hesitation advised every house-father to again receive his helpmate and return to his former condition."

One of the most perplexing obstacles that came in the way almost before the experiment had been given life was set by one of the former co-workers of Onesimus. Whether Conrad Weiser was influenced to leave the brotherhood because of this scheme will be doubted, but he certainly expressed his sympathy with "the poor sighing souls * * * who are groaning day and night unto God because of the heavy Pharaohic and Egyptian bond-service with which the congregation is so heavily laden." Conrad Weiser "renounced his allegiance" to the Brotherhood of Zion in September, 1743. He warned Beissel to bring about "a reformation in the church" without delay; but Beissel was either too proud to heed Weiser's advice, or too impotent against the will of the Eckerlings, or—which seems most probable—too deeply involved in the plans of the Prior. Weiser was now a justice of the peace, with power equal to that of a Common Pleas judge of to-day. And he evidently had been embittered against Beissel by his own experiences in the brotherhood, as well as saddened by the then-recent loss of his eldest daughter, who had taken the veil and had succumbed at Ephrata, when just blossoming into sweet womanhood. Weiser denied that he had taken the initiative in one case prosecuted against Beissel personally at about that time. Possibly the justice had been forced to act, though perhaps inwardly glad that the opportunity had come, but certain it is that, very soon after he had broken away from the Brotherhood of Zion, Justice Weiser began legal processes against Conrad Beissel, whom he called upon to answer a serious charge preferred against him by one of the sisters of the Order of Spiritual Virgins, Anna Eicher. She, it was eventually disclosed, had proposed marriage to Beissel, who had replied that "to do that he would have to deny God." He did not agree with her when "she thought he should allow her to assume his name." This angered her, and when, states the diarist, furthermore "her younger sister after the flesh was preferred before her and appointed Mother Superior of the Sisters' Convent, her love changed to hatred, and she sought the Superintendent's life at the risk of her own." In this mood she testified to Justice Weiser, who immediately sent for Beissel, who it so happened was seriously sick at the time. In the words of the "Chronicon Ephratense": "Just at the time this was made known in the Settlement, the Superintendent was in a sad condition, as the powers of darkness, whose lords rule the air, lay heavily upon him, in addition to which sickness came from without." But two brethren hastened to intercede with Weiser. Upon being interrogated further, the sister who had made the grave accusation, "took it all back, and confessed that her temptations had led her to make the charge"; which confession finally disposed of a charge that had been hanging over the Superintendent for several years.

But Justice Weiser and the provincial authorities could not permit the Ephrata monks to ignore the common law of the colony. Probably Weiser was determined to prevent the family disasters that would be bound to follow in the wake of an unchallenged continuance of the "Hebron" experiment. He "took steps to investigate these extra judicial divorces." In the words of the diarist: "The Tempter pressed so hard upon this work that it was sifted to the utmost, and at last broke up." Finally Superintendent Beissel called in all the divorce papers and made the final act somewhat dramatic. "An altar was erected in the angle formed by Peniel and Hebron, upon which, after an impressive divine service, the divorces or articles of separation were solemnly cremated," in the presence of the whole community. Thus ended a remarkable episode in the history of the Ephrata Community. The "widows and the poor" sheltered in Hebron became charges of the Brotherhood of Zion, much of the money advanced by the householders toward the building of "Hebron" was demanded and in part refunded, and, "to pacify the others," the prayerhouse of Zion was again placed at the disposal of the secular congregation for their use—this time for their exclusive use—the householders, in return, releasing all claims against Peniel and Hebron, which henceforth would be for the use of the monastic orders.

The Finalé of "Hebron" marked the end of the Israel Eckerling régime. Prior Onesimus was expelled shortly before Beissel called in the divorce decrees. But before the Eckerlings can be permitted to pass out of this narrative, there is still much to be set down regarding the "war for the cap."

After a study of the Ephrata records of that period, some will find themselves pitying the Prior Onesimus, who had to meet and surmount so many difficulties, and who, from one standpoint, did so well, during the about four years of his responsibility. His perplexities were many. The official records admit that at the outset Onesimus "was so faithful to his spiritual Father" that he did not confide even in his own brothers (of the flesh), and that "this intimacy between the Prior and the Superintendent was often the talk of the whole settlement." But Beissel wanted always to have the status of patriarchal father and dutiful industrious son strictly maintained. He was quite prepared to encourage Onesimus to build up the treasury of the community, even by the most rigorous exactions of personal service and penitential pains by the brotherhood and sisterhood, but he was not willing to accord to the Prior the credit that was his due. Beissel's attitude toward "his first-born spiritual son, Onesimus" was that he hoped the latter would forever "possess sufficient righteousness to humble himself before his spiritual Father," but ever show a bold unbending attitude to his subordinates, holding the brethren to industry, even by "flaying." The diarist writes: "Therefore, as soon as the Prior perceived that in this narrow life the Superintendent never would put any advantage into his hands, but that he would always be obliged to live by his grace, he gradually withdrew from him and joined his own brothers." The Prior thereafter was influenced much by his brothers, and in course of time, with the success of his various enterprises, gained such confidence in himself that he felt he could do without the Superintendent altogether.

Beissel seemed to be torn by two impulses. He knew that the community stood in need of a fuller treasury, which the new industrial spirit was bringing, and "he did not consider it advisable to check it with his own will"; yet he could not bear the thought that the Prior would gain too much power; he could not tolerate any who were not subordinate. He actually procrastinated himself into sickness, at which time also the trouble in the law courts came upon him; and during that sickness the Eckerlings, in unchecked exaltation of responsibility and office, reached so high a peak that a descent could only with difficulty be made. There came a time when the Prior realized that he had climbed to high and that "the ladder was taken away from under him." But the rungs mounted are worth noting.

The secular concerns of the brotherhood had reached such a state of predominance that "everybody could see that the Brethren's household in Zion was not founded on the rock of Jesus Christ, since you heard there no other talk but about buying, selling, taking in and lending out money, dissolving marriages, acquiring land, keeping servants, wagons, horses, oxen, cows, etc." In other words commercialism was rampant and predominant among the executives of the brotherhood. The rank and file however, the "poor brethren," were so "heavily laden that nothing heavier could befall them xcept martyrdom." Still, the Superintendent procrastinated, feeling that "it was as little his part to advise, as it had been God's part to prevent the fall of the angel of envy."

There is no doubt that with success, the Prior increased in self-importance. He was without doubt domineering to the brethren, holding them ever to the task. Once "he and another brother, G. A. Martin, had a violent altercation," the Prior in anger predicting that the other would "have a wife within three years," which brought the ominous rejoinder, "and you will not be in Ephrata after three years," both of which prophesies, states the diarist, were "exactly fulfilled." In extenuation, however, the diarist writes: "All this is not mentioned in order to derogate from the Prior's personality, for there are thousands who have been converted and do not get into such a dangerous position as he occupied at the time; even the Superintendent acknowledged that God stood in debt to the Prior, for he was dragged as by the hair to this office."

Prior Onesimus committed many indiscretions during the incapacity or inertia of Beissel. Either Beissel was incapable of directing the multitudinous affairs of the new Ephrata, the commercial Ephrata, or Onesimus was so confident of himself, so self-assertive, that he did very many things without consulting Beissel. He even assumed control of the ecclesiastical affairs of the community, though it seems that he did so by virtue of the consent and blessing of the Superintendent. Beissel came near to death; indeed, his tombstone "was already made and laid by for use," thanks to the executive alertness of the Prior. Once during his sickness Beissel was visited by the Prior, who begged the "spiritual Father" to "honor the Brotherhood with his blessing," since the "Fathers of the old covenant when departing this life blessed their children." This the Superintendent consented to do; "and these blessings were afterwards entered upon the minutes of the Brethren."

The way thus seemed cleared for Onesimus to assume the headship of the orders and of the Sabbatarian Church, and do so legitimately, "by apostolic succession" as it were. The Prior had great confidence in the future of the Ephrata institutions, and imagined that the time was not far distant when the cloistered buildings of Ephrata would be imposing structures of stone," like the old monastic institutions of Europe." The first of these permanent "architectural monuments" had already passed beyond the stage of plans; stone was already being dressed when the Prior's downfall occurred. And, in keeping with the ecclesiastical dignity that was to come, all rituals and ceremonies were made more elaborate. Furthermore, without an excess of pride, the Prior and Prioress (she preferred the title of Abbess, possibly Onesimus preferred Abbe) thought they might inspire greater sanctity and filial love if they were to bedeck themselves in more priestly robes for the various spiritual functions of their high offices. Consequently, a distinctive robe was designed for the Prior by order of the Superintendent, it seems, the latter treating Onesimus "at the time with all the honor due to his office," and seeming to wish his mantle to fall upon the shoulders of "his first-born spiritual son, Onesimus." The skill of the sisters in designing and in needlework produced for the Prior two elaborate costumes, one for his use when officiating at baptisms, and the other, a much more elaborate costume, was for his use "upon high feasts when officiating before the two orders." It was patterned "after that of the Jewish high-priest, as described in the Book of Exodus." A picture in an old German Bible was taken as a model, tradition stating that it was followed "even to a row of tinkling bells." Furthermore, the Prior added an elaborate bejewelled breastplate of such gorgeous design and costly material that it is supposed to have been specially imported. He wore it, states the Chronicon, as a "sign that he had to bear the sins of his people on his breast, to which fancy, it is reported, he clung until death." The Abbess of the sisterhood, not to be outdone, or perhaps to coöperate the better with the Prior, "forthwith bedecked herself with insignia and robes similar to those worn in the monastic institutions of Rome." Henceforth, for a time, "Prior Onesimus and Abbess Maria revelled in ecclesiastical pomp and show, and assumed the whole management and direction of the community."

But instead of passing from this world to the next, Beissel recovered, "and although very weak, appeared again publicly at the meetings, at which many rejoiced." The effect upon the Prior, states the diarist, was that he "did not know how to conduct himself, for he had already instilled too much of his own will into the work, and did not know how to disentangle himself." He was a proud man, and found it hard to resign his office voluntarily. He also found that there was no need, for it was some time before the weakened Superintendent was strong enough to take up the fight again, at least openly. The Superintendent's usually unflinching spirit was not then equal to the aggressive will of the Prior. So, for a time, other means of reaching the same end had to be used. Onesimus later accused the Superintendent of being the cause of his fall, by having "loaded him with more good than he was able to carry." Sachse was of the opinion that "the dethronement and expulsion of the Eckerling brothers was evidently a premeditated affair, the plans for which were carefully and artfully laid by Beissel." If that be so, they were "killed by kindness," for undoubtedly Beissel went out of his way to shower honors upon Onesimus. Yet, "after the case was carefully inquired into," significantly points out the diarist, "it was found that the Superintendent in everything he did stood under the Prior's influence." And in the same paragraph of the "Chronicon" he notes: "The greatest wonder of the whole play was that the Prior always imagined himself obedient to the Superintendent." It is therefore somewhat difficult to arrive at the true state of things; but it is clear that soon after he had recovered a little of his physical strength, Beissel "charged the Prior with keeping the meetings in the Community," so that he himself might recuperate "quietly in his retirement." This seemed to please the community, and the Prior "conducted the divine service for nine months in Peniel, the chapel of the Community," and did everything else ecclesiastical that would ordinarily devolve upon the head of the church.

As time went on, and the pomp and ceremony of the church service grew in heaviness, there was much murmuring against the Prior. The meetings often lasted four hours, "and were a medley of useless repetitions without any connection in order." Brother Agrippa writes, "it was a wonder that so many gray heads were able to bear all this in patience." They did so, it is explained, out of respect for the Superintendent, and because he had made the Prior his deputy, even to the extent of "consigning his own house to him as a residence," and taking a humble cabin for his own habitation.

However, worries were heaping upon the Prior, who at times longed for his former life. He remembered "how happy he had been while he was still a hermit," and he seemed to try honestly to evade "the guile of the Tempter." Ultimately, he came to believe that he was not succeeding. He was several times heard to say: "If a vessel on a potter's wheel turns out bady, he can work it over again and make something else out of it, but when it cracks in the fire it cannot any more be made use of," having himself in mind, possibly. Finally, he determined "to go out of the way for some time, hoping that meanwhile his place might be filled by another brother." He decided to travel for a while, and, with the consent of the Superintendent take as traveling companions his brother Samuel (Brother Jethune), Peter Miller (Brother Jabez), and Alexander Mack (Brother Timotheus). In his absence, Beissel again took control of the meetings, and installed another brother "as steward of the domestic household in Zion." What it was that weakened Onesimus can only be conjectured, but it may be pointed out that the difficulties of the "Hebron" experiment, in making monks and nuns of self-divorced parents, were then becoming perplexingly great. Beissel did not fear them, because he never was much more than a dreamer; but they may have presented an appalling entanglement to the more practical Prior.

The four brethren commenced their journey on September 22, 1744, on foot presumably. After visiting Baptists at Amwell, New Jersey, they turned towards East Jersey to a place named Barnegat, by the sea. Thence they journeyed to Brunswick, where they took passage on a ship which was about to sail for Rhode Island. They landed at a place called Black Point, about seven miles from New London. In New England they found themselves without friends, "and so despised on account of their dress that whoever saw them ran off." England was at war with Spain at that time, and the monks were suspected of being "Jesuits from New Spain." After a while they took ship for New York. There they were imprisoned, under suspicion of being Jesuits, but fortunately their plight became known to a justice of their acquaintance, so eventually, they reached the Settlement again, "and everyone returned to his work."

According to the Chronicon, the Prior "was greatly deceived in his calculations, for his office called him again, and his former burdens rested once more on his shoulders." Onesimus soon was perplexed. He saw that he could not "get rid of his office," possibly because the Superintendent realized that no other brother was so capable, at least in the management of the commercial offices. The Prior also was soon forced to see that not only was he unable to get rid of his office, but that "far less could he master the same, because the Superintendent stood in his way." At last he became impatient; he could bear the curb no longer. He determined "to act as the Tempter had insinuated and make himself independent of the Superintendent." And although warned by a brother, in whom he had confided, that "he had to do with an old warrior who had learned many a stratagem," and might easily lose, Onesimus then and there, "before the eyes of the Brother, tore up a letter which the Superintendent had sent to him."

An opportunity soon occurred to bring the fight out into the open. Beissel called a meeting of the house-fathers, and they deliberated "who should be appointed over the new domestic household of the Fathers." Several names were proposed, but the Prior then interposed his own name, expressing surprise "that the rule of the covenant was not taken." The Superintendent then entreated the fathers "in the name of God to relieve him of the office, else death would overtake him." They did so, "and thus it came about that the Prior was his successor in office, of which he jocundly remarked: That the Superintendent had made him dance with an old woman."

There was superstitious apprehension in the minds of many when they heard that Beissel, "who stood under a high Guide," had been thus deposed, even though by his own expressed wish; and many held back, fearing "to follow a novice instead." Some said, "the thing could not last, for nobody ever heard that an Apostle had revolted against Christ." But the majority of the households accepted the condition, and permitted the Prior to break bread in their houses. The Brethren were held under such discipline that "at least to outward appearance (they were) obedient to the Prior, and bore their yoke willingly, because they had no hope of regaining their liberty." But in the sisterhood the Prior could make no headway"; there was a heavy stone for the Prior to lift"; and he never was quite strong enough.

The greatest difficulty confronting the Prior was, however, the Superintendent himself, who, though he had abdicated, yet found many ways of hindering the Prior. He would not bow to the new head of the community;

Beissel could not actually bring himself to bow to any man, even though at times his words were examples of humility. Beissel signed himself as "Friedsam, a Nonenity," but evidently did not think of himself as such; and the Prior "could not think of any means by which he might render him submissive." Israel Eckerling there manifested a narrowness of viewpoint that was surprising; a man of broad mind would have probably allowed Beissel to go his own way. Better that, he would argue, than that his former followers should have excuse for believing that their beloved patriarch was being persecuted. But Onesimus did not seem to foresee this. He became angry and desperate with the Superintendent, and "at last seized his person, and obliged him to change his dwelling five times within one half year."

As may be imagined, this did not pass unnoticed. Yet, the discipline was such that no hand was raised against the Prior until his persecution of the "Vater," the founder of the Community, reached the cruel point of insisting that the Patriarch consent to live in one of the cells, like an ordinary brother. The Superintendent had never had to humble himself to such a degree; he had always had a hut, and that hut for the greater part of the time had been the "centre of attraction," the seat of government; in fact, he had at times seemed to believe that he stood upon a higher plane than any other church head—he had refused to meet even Count Zinzendorf, the Ordinarius Fratrum, the founder of the Moravian Church, even though that great churchman and heroic missionary had come to the very "door-sill of Ephrata House." But now to be expected to humble himself to the degree of confining his person, and what remained of his dignity within a room scarcely wider than two feet was "the last straw"; Beissel had never conceived it possible that he, himself, would be called to such a severe school of holy humility. Fortunately, the end came before he could be so crushingly humbled. He had been able to bear the "ecclesiastical show" of the Abbess, in her "virginal pomp" and the papal air of the Prior, in his priestly raiment and jewelled breastplate. Beissel had not felt the difference between their positions and his to be unbearable, even though the bedecked prior and abbess had been strutting around so while he himself still had to sit alone in his little house "forsaken by God, men, and angels." But to have to bury himself in a kammer like one of those poor miserable brethren whose sad state had once melted him "to overflowing," and maybe have to himself also be brought under that stern discipline he had urged the Prior to maintain with "boldness," was a "bitter draught" he would fain not have to swallow.

Downfall of Onesimus—Fortune seemed to look Beissel's way at last. It happened "that God revealed to Brother Jabez (Peter Miller, the noblest of all Ephratans) that the founder of that Community was being persecuted"; and one day, while he worked at the composing cases in the printery he turned to the Prior and asked: "Why did you cashier the Superintendent?" The Prior answered arrogantly, "that is none of your business; you attend to your work." At that very moment the Superintendent opened the door of the printing office. He had overheard; and hope revived in him, for he saw that he had at least one friend. He called Brother Jabez out, "and spoke with him about different matters," and then went his way. The Chronicon entry reads: "The Superintendent, after he saw that God himself had sown the seed of discord between these two Brethren, took advantage of the occasion." He lost no time, soon finding another champion, actually in one of the Prior's own brothers, whom he persuaded "to take up the work of God, which was at its last extremity."

Beissel called the house-fathers together, secretly, presumably. With him were Brothers Jabez and Jotham. He explained the state of affairs, and of the two faithful brethren said: "Two Brethren of Zion have ventured their lives for the general good, whom I hereby recommend to your prayers." He pointed out that "it might likely cost them their temporal lives." And not without reason, "for dark powers had taken possession of the Prior." He seemed to know what was possible in the dark confines of Zion, the stronghold of a mediæval mystical society. But to fortify them in their "highly dangerous" task, the Superintendent "put a warrant" into their hands, by virtue of which they should fearlessly undertake the work of God. In plain words, they were to spread mutiny. They did it openly, going to the Prior and declaring that "their consciences did not permit them to be any longer subject to him, because he had rebelled against his spiritual Father." The Prior was taken aback. There were some present "who considered these proceedings very bold"; but the very audacity of the insubordination paralyzed the Prior. That his own brother and also one of his most esteemed co-workers should rise against him so shocked him that he hardly knew what to do. He tried to temporize. And while he inwardly resolved to stem this rising tide of insurrection by secret forces, he openly excused the offending brethren, or rather, tried to take their words lightly.

The conflict raged for three weeks; but it was not long before the Prior saw that he was losing ground. He then seemed to lose heart, and was "mortified to such a degree that he outdid all the Brethren" in actual manual labor at the sawmill, where nearly all of the brethren were at work, day after day, preparing lumber for the great new convent of one hundred rooms the Prior had decided to build, as a wing of Zion. In the work at the mill the Prior tried to forget his troubles for the moment. But at night, when labor was over and he once more came among the brethren during the social hour, his mortification returned with greater intensity, for he saw that if they did not try to evade him, they were sullen, indifferent, or openly insolent. There he became still more disheartened and demoralized; he tried to find solace, perhaps oblivion, in strong drink. Hardly any other meaning can be put to the entry in the Chronicon, that once during this period the Superintendent "visited the supper-table of the Brethren," and was sorely grieved to see "his darling child," the Prior, whom he had "so tenderly loved," staggering towards the table as if he were going to fall."

Meanwhile, the fight went on. "The Brethren," states the diarist, "began to awaken and to comprehend that the day of their liberation was at hand." They rallied around the two brethren. The conflict came to such a pass on the first Sabbath of August, 1765, that it was seen that the end was nigh. The Prior had opened the Sabbath services in the Zion Convent, but stood aghast when interrupted by his own brother, Jotham. And ere he had recovered his composure, a statement he made was contradicted noisily by two other brethren, Jethro and Nehemia. Certainly the brethren were getting very much out of hand. On the following night, Brother Jabez "assembled ten or twelve of the brethren in the Saal. They "took counsel regarding Onesimus" until well into daybreak. And ere the assembly disbanded they had decided to depose Onesimus; had actually done so, electing Jotham to succeed him. The next act was to issue a general call "for a reformation meeting" of the whole church, the brotherhood, the sisterhood, and the secular congregation. Beissel attended this meeting, which was held on August 8th; and there he denounced Onesimus "as a person who had relapsed to the spirit of the world." Strong measures were taken, the feeling running so high among the brethren of Zion that everything Onesimus had written was gathered together that day, piled high in the meadow, and burnt. Not a single copy of one of the works escaped the flames. Similar clearances were made from the sisterhouse and from the domestic households.

Onesimus was likely to be banned; so also were all his adherents, it was made known. The deposed prior was griefstricken; the probable loss of the fellowship of the brethren was, it seemed, even harder for him to bear than the destruction of his books. "He felt so forsaken that he was seized with sickness"; and he was confined in the very place where the Superintendent had sat alone, "forsaken by God, men, and angels." Strict watch was kept over him, no brother being permitted to visit him unaccompanied. If any brother should show any such desire, should want "to carry water on both shoulders," he was warned that "he should not be considered a brother any longer." As Onesimus grew stronger, "he wept Esau's tears," and tried to get the Abbess to intercede for him with the Superintendent. He bribed her to do so, in fact. And she did, but without avail. A brother of Zion did likewise; but in vain.

The Superintendent had again come into his own, and was firm against all entreaties. At last, in desperation, the Prior appeared before the brethren in writing-school, "reduced by deep grief to be more like an incorporeal spirit than a human being." He begged to be received again by them, saying he could not bear separation from them "in time or eternity." Some took compassion on him, and held a council in the presence of the Superintendent. They decided that he must leave the settlement, but that if he wished he might take over the management of the fulling mill, and there reside. Later, he might be permitted to again live with them, but only as a common brother. Onesimus had begged to be permitted to retain his seat at the table of Zion; he would "even go out into the woods with a chopping axe, as a common brother." This being denied him, he promised to move next day to the fulling-mill. But Onesimus was much under the influence of his eldest brother Samuel, and when the latter came home and heard the resolve of his brother, he said to him, "It is time again to turn to a hermit's life." Then the longing for freedom and for the old life came upon Onesimus, and so it came about that on the following day Onesimus (Israel Eckerling), Jethune (Samuel Eckerling), and Timotheus (Alexander Mack), left the settlement "and moved towards the wilderness." They went southwestward, continuing for four hundred miles until they came to the New River in Virginia, where they settled, "in the midst of a pack of ragamuffins, the dregs of human society, who spent their time in murdering wild beasts." In other words, they came into the company of trappers and fur-traders.

Brother Jotham also had the Eckerling characteristic of aggressiveness; and, like Onesimus, he found it hard to live "by the grace" of the Superintendent. Brother Jotham did not even have time to "get warm in his seat" as Prior, for, within a few weeks after the banishment of Onesimus, "angry words passed between Beissel and Jotham" at a love-feast, "on account of the latter being half an hour late." He was deposed; and the last of the Eckerlings to have authority, Brother Elimelech, whom Beissel had ordained as a priest, was also reduced. The two brothers then took up their abode in the original but then untenanted Berghouse "under the hill." Jethune returned in December for Jotham. Elimelech does not appear to have also gone to New River, though he left the settlement at Ephrata at about the same time, moving into the wilderness, about a mile above Zoard (Reamstown), there to live as a recluse again.

Considerable confusion followed the expulsion of the Eckerlings. At the time of the departure of Onesimus, the mills of the Community were being worked to their utmost capacity. "Piles of logs were awaiting their turn to be sawed; the paper mill commitments reached into "the distant future"; the demands on the capacity of the grist and oil mills were even more pressing. But with the banning of the Eckerlings, it was determined to abolish commercialism. All the mills were stopped, contracts were cancelled, all horses, wagons and oxen sold. Thereafter the great industrial establishment on the Cocalico was to settle down "to the humdrum existence of a country mill seat," this drastic action being mainly decided upon to refute the charge "that the Brotherhood were in reality merely a company of buyers and traders."

These matters "created quite a commotion within and without the community." Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, did not help matters at all by intimating through his news-medium that "any who had contributed anything to Ephrata should make application for it at that place and it would be restored." In the next issue, however, he sought to allay the wild rumors that were current regarding Ephrata. His announcement reads, in part, as follows:

> To rid ourselves of the manifold inquiries about the Brotherhood at Ephrata this much can be briefly said: Five fathers and brothers, and not seventy, went out from the Kloster, not unto Bethlehem, but four hundred miles into Virginia. * * * According to their own statement, they parted not in anger but in love. The change was brought about by their having ordered a bell without consulting the fathers and then wanting to build a steeple on the new proposed convent.
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> Of late some bye-matters gradually increased to such an extent that in a short time the ringing and clinking, tinkling, clanking and dangling at Zion, Ephrata, Kedar, Peniel and Saron would have equalled Rome, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Babylon. * * *
>
> In the future the brethren will be more careful to first consult the father, as all human society must depend upon its fountain head.

Evidently, the bell was the direct cause of the downfall of the Eckerlings; it furnished Beissel with the conclusive evidence he had sought, for, when it arrived from Europe—and incidentally at the same time came a demand note for payment of its value, £80, even the house-fathers could clearly see that Prior Onesimus had conspired to usurp the rightful place of Beissel, their Spiritual Father. Was not the convicting evidence before their very eyes? The house-fathers could not read Latin, but Brother Jabez was a learned man, and could tell them that the damning inscription on the bell: *"Sub Auspicio Viri Venerandi Onesimi Societatis Ephratensis Præpositi"* meant "By order of the Venerable Onesimus, Superior of the Ephrata Society." Such words had been cast into the bell, and would be there forever; and in no place upon it did the name of the persecuted "Father" appear. The evidence was irrefutable, and those who were at the church council angrily resolved "to break the bell and inter the fragments." However, eighty pounds sterling was a lot of money in those days, and the German pioneers were thrifty; therefore, it is not surprising that "on a night's reflection, it was resolved to dispose of it differently; the bell was pardoned from its decreed fate, and sold to the Lutherans at Lancaster." (The bell was destined to call the people of Holy Trinity at Lancaster to church for many years thereafter).

Rupp, in his "History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania" (1844), refers to the Eckerling "conspiracy" and to this bell thus: "The society (Ephrata) was wedded to apostolic simplicity; they desired no tower—no bells. They refused to have a bell to call them to meeting, even the midnight meeting, which was regularly held. * * * Friedsam contending that the spirit of devotion ought to be sufficient to make them punctual to the hour."

Although the commercial period of Ephrata history ended in 1745, when the Eckerlings left, two extraordinary sequels might properly be set down here, somewhat out of chronological order. Feeling was so bitter against the Eckerlings, especially in the heart of Beissel, that he actually gave orders that the fine young orchard of fruit trees planted by Eckerling be uprooted. This was done, not one tree of one thousand being left standing, though all were just about to come into bearing, and fruit was scarce—at least cultivated fruit. The other well-nigh incredible happening was in the destruction of the milling establishments by fire—by the torch, it is surmised.

Beissel dreaded to become "ensnared in the workings of the world," and as long as the mills stood there was a possibility that commercialism would again come in to curse the cloistered societies. Indeed, Ephrata products had come into such wide demand, and the commitments had been so many that it had not been possible to altogether stop the wheels of all the mills. Even two years after the reformation, to be exact on the Sabbath of December 5, 1747, business matters were having the attention of the Prior, in the presence of the Superintendent. After supper, work for the coming week was being allotted, it being ordered, states the Chronicon, "that these brethren should work at the printing press, others in the book bindery, several in the paper mill and flour mill, and others again at shoemaking, etc." The former days of "buying and selling," and the hated commercialism, may have come to the mind of the Superintendent. At all events, he concluded the business that night, states the chronicler, with these "weighty words": "I now withdraw again from all that has been done, and leave it to God, in order to see what kind of a trial will come to me through this whole affair. For as yet I have no proof at hand by which I could know that God approves it."

Early next morning, those brethren assigned to milling work had not proceeded far on their way before they realized that smoke and flames were enveloping the mill-seat. Everybody within call, brethren, sisters, householders, everybody in the settlement, ran to the fire, but they were only able to save the paper mill, and part of the sawmill. The valuable oil mill, the fulling mill, and their most essential plant, the grist mill, were gutted, with the grist mill going their granary, so that the brethren found themselves left with only flour enough to last them for eight days. The catastrophe swept away the very means of life for the brethren and sisters. How did it happen? Was it an act of God, or that of a maniac? Nobody knew, but many came to the same conclusion as to the incendiary. Sachse writes: "There can be little doubt but that this fire was the work of an incendiary. Who it was has never been disclosed. Many persons were suspected, and Dame Rumor had full sway. Among many of the settlers in the township it was firmly believed that Beissel, if so disposed, might have told how the fire originated." The comment of the diarist as to this happening is somewhat significant. He remarks: "Thus did the fire, with God's permission, make an end to all the mammon which the Eckerlings, by their flaying, scraping, and miserly conduct had gathered in the former household."

The monks and nuns were not allowed to go hungry through that winter. In the face of misfortune, the average human being is apt to forget creed and past opinions; it was therfore but the natural sequence that the warm-hearted colonists, regardless of creed, rallied around the monks, providing them not only with grain for that winter, but largely with the means—money, labor, materials— of providing for themselves in subsequent winters, by rebuilding the grist mill. Indeed, it seems that the oil and fulling mills were also rebuilt; Acrelius enumerates them all as being among the assets of the Ephrata Community at the time of his visit to the settlement, September 7, 1753. Brother Agrippa, writing in 1786, of the grist mill, admitted "that it was a great benefit to the household, for the poor Solitary have obtained their bread by it now for nearly fifty years." All applied themselves with such zest to the task of rebuilding that within six weeks of the conflagration one set of stones was again in operation.

Roses of Sharon; Brotherhood of Bethania—There is not much else that needs to be set down in this review. The real story of the Ephrata Kloster ends with the Eckerlings. The subsequent history during the life of Beissel followed a comparatively tranquil course, mainly because there were none who seriously opposed the will of the Superintendent. Many things happened during the subsequent active period of the institutions, but they were mostly the outcome of the normal functioning of a well-established and placidly-continuing religious institution. The days of uncertainty and experiment had passed. A few words must however be written regarding some of the outstanding events of what might be termed the peaceful period of the Ephrata Community. (By the way, happenings in and concerning the Ephrata Kloster during the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars will have part in the Ephrata Township chapter.)

After the failure of the "Hebron" experiment, the house-fathers and mothers rejoined their children in their own homes, the widows were transferred temporarily to the sisterhouse "Kedar," and the sisters moved to "Hebron," which henceforth was to be their sisterhouse. The widows were only temporarily housed in "Kedar," as perhaps Beissel saw that in all probability Zion, as well as Zion prayerhouse, would be transferred to the secular congregation. Still, all affairs concerning the brotherhood were then in an uncertain state, for it was then that Beissel was at issue with Onesimus, and near to the time when Brothers Jabez and Jotham rose against the Prior.

However, that uncertainty affected only the brotherhood; at least, it should have, though if the plans of Prior Onesimus had not been thwarted, one after another by the sisters, he would probably have made the sisterhood become merely an auxiliary to the brotherhood, and under his overlordship. Beissel had foreseen this possibility, so also had the mother-superior, or abbess, it would seem; for it was at her suggestion that the Superintendent, in his capacity of "Spiritual Father," approved the reorganization of the sisterhood at the time that they entered into possession of the new convent, "Hebron," and the saal, "Peniel." He sanctioned the renaming of both houses, and seized the opportunity of renaming the sisterhood, which thenceforward was to be known as the Order of the Roses of Saron, or Sharon, "this designation being based upon the mystical interpretation of the second chapter of the Song of Solomon." Hebron was to be named "Saron," and "Peniel" was to become the "Schwester-Saal." The sisters took possession in July, 1745, dedication being on July 13th, one of the ceremonies being a midnight procession of both orders, male and female, from Zion to the Schwester-Saal, wherein the sisters "dedicated themselves afresh to the Heavenly Bridegroom" with an elaborate ritual, and took vows of allegiance and obedience to their spiritual mother, "Mutter Maria," also acknowledging Father Friedsam Gottrecht (Beissel) as their "spiritual director and leader." Thus the sisterhood became quite independent of the brotherhood. The sisters thenceforth were known as the Roses of Sharon, or Saron. By the way, the first of the sisters to be buried in "God's Acre" was Sister Bernice, who died in Kedar, November 30, 1743, "longing for release." She had suffered such pain in her final sickness that she begged "to be struck in the head with an axe, and thus relieved from this world's suffering." Scarcely a decade earlier she, a beautiful girl barely of age, had left the home of her father, Leonard Heidt, at Oley, and had followed Beissel to the banks of the Cocalico, enraptured with the thought of living a spiritual life. She died of consumption, the scourge that was to carry so many of the brethren and sisters into eternity before their normal time, it would seem. This is not surprising; indeed, most people nowadays would shudder at the thought of having to sleep in a chamber only twenty-six inches wide and seven feet high, and ventilated only by one window eighteen by twenty-four inches.

Another monastic building was erected soon after the community recovered from the Eckerling upheaval. Its erection did not entail much additional expense, for the materials used were those gathered together by Prior Onesimus for his projected 100-roomed wing of Zion. Foundations had actually been laid, beams had been prepared, and the lumber was seasoning in piles at the sawmill. A fundamental change in the plans was made after the general affairs of the community had so far recovered from the Eckerling dethronement that such details could be given attention. And Beissel then came to the conclusion that it would be better to separate the two classes as much as possible, to prevent future friction between the monastic and the secular. With this purpose in mind, it was finally decided not to build upon the foundations already laid, alongside Zion, but to dig new foundations in the meadow, and there build the brotherhouse, near the sisterhouse "Saron." Brother Jabez had suggested this change in plans, it seems; and on March 31, 1746, eight days after he had been appointed Prior, ground was broken. Soon construction was proceeding energetically, under the direction of Brother Shealtiel, an expert carpenter, and by September the building was under roof. It was then seen that much lumber still remained unused. With it the brethren were enabled to build a brother-saal adjoining their house. The frame of this brother-saal was raised in November, 1745, and when finished this saal was the most stately of all the Ephrata buildings. Indeed, the diarist asserted that "its equal was not to be found in North America."

The brotherhouse, which was called "Bethania," was only 74 by 36 feet, but the brother-saal was 99 by 36 feet. Regarding the latter, Bishop Cammerhoff gave interesting information. It appears that he was in Ephrata in the spring of 1747, and was told by Prior Jaebez of the controversy that arose earlier regarding the dimensions. Some recommended that the house be made 66 feet long, some 99 feet, and others 100 feet. Contention ran so high that some of the defeated brethren actually left the brotherhood in consequence. The middle figure, 99, was decided upon, but only after the cabalistic meaning had been explained to some of the brethren by "divine token." The cabalists argued that to accept 66 feet, would place man above God, and to decide upon 100 feet would place man before God. Explaining further, they said that 0 (zero) signifies God, and the downstroke man, hence 66 would signify Man 11 God 00, and 100 would signify 1 (Man), 00 (God), whereas 99 would place God in his rightful place, thus: 00 (God), 11 (Man). Consequently, a majority of the pious monks agreed that ninety-nine feet should be the length of the brother-saal, God being above man.

One rather surprising condition is referred to by Bishop Cammerhoff; he notes that "they (the brethren of Ephrata) had not kept any meetings for six months." This perhaps is explained by the fact that the brethren were without a chapel of their own until the brother-saal was finished. From another remark by the same visitor it seems clear that they had evacuated the hill quarters altogether, giving the secular congregation possession of the Zion convent, as well as of Zion prayerhouse. Bishop Cammerhoff writes: "Back in Zion live the old worn-out or fossil widows and widowers."

The new chapel of the Brotherhood of Bethania, by which name the reorganized brotherhood went into the new brotherhouse "Bethania" from "Zion," was at right angles with the former; and it was put to worthy uses for many decades. It came to be known even in Philadelphia and Baltimore as an educational centre. Which brings to mind one of the most commendable activities of the Ephrata institution, and one that should properly be given place in this review.

We must go back a few years, to even before the administration of Onesimus. Beissel's inclinations were always studious; matters of business, industrial or commercial, were distasteful to him; and when the hermit settlement took monastic and communal form he probably hoped that opportunity for developing an institution for higher education would come. Primarily he was ambitious enough to wish that the Beisselianer would spread throughout America, that the Sabbatarian movement would become universal, and that the Ephrata establishments might become the central training schools for priests of the sect.

The opportunity came in 1739 to begin the educational work, though not in the ambitious way he had planned. Ludwig Hocker (Hacker), who for a time had been with the hermits of the Wissahickon and had conducted an elementary day-school "at a place still known as the Monastery," was converted to the Beisselianer, and moved from Germantown to Ephrata, with his wife and daughter. He entered the Brotherhood of Zion as Brother Obed, his wife became Sister Albina, and his daughter Sister Petronella, of the Sisterhood of the Spiritual Virgins. Brother Obed was very soon afterwards installed as the community schoolmaster, charged with imparting the rudiments of education to the children of the community. He probably used one of the halls of the Zion Prayerhouse for the first schoolhouse. But as soon as the new brother-saal was ready, the village school was conducted there. In that building Brother Obed continued as schoolmaster until enfeebled by old age. At a very early day he compiled and published a German school-book for the use of his pupils. A reprint, second edition, was made at Ephrata in 1786; and from the preface of that work some idea can be had of the methods of instruction he pursued in his elementary school. The preamble reads:

> After the children have learned to spell through the A, B, C, and namebook, we can bring them into this one and let them well learn to spell and read. Thereby they get it into their minds to learn by heart, after which we can teach them the figures. Afterward we can let them read over the Arithmetic, when they will learn to express the compound numbers. And after they are well schooled in this they can read in all books. And with this book we can save with every child a Psalter and Testament, which they usually destroy during their schooling. If they are to learn Arithmetic, we can diligently exercise them in these rules, so that they may comprehend them. Afterward they can be advanced without much trouble.

Reference to the Psalter and Testament brings up the matter of religious instruction, which of course one would expct to find being given predominant place in such an environment. The claim is made by Ephratans that Brother Obed was the founder of the first Sabbath school conducted in the world. Such probably was not so, for Sabbatist societies existed in England in the seventeenth century; and of course the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Hebrews, faithfully observed for very many centuries before the seventeenth. But the Ephrata claim may properly be classed with that which accords to Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, England, the distinctive place in world history as the founder of the Sunday-school movement. Brother Obed opened a Sabbath-school in Ephrata in 1739 or 1740; but it was not until 1780 that Robert Raikes began his Sunday-school in the suburbs of Gloucester. And further research seems to indicate that Ludwig Höcker should be given the honor of founding the Sunday-school movement, as well as the Sabbath-school movement. The Dunkers claim that he conducted a Sunday-school in Germantown as early as 1738 or before; and Sachse states that Brother Obed devoted the first day of the week as well as the seventh wholly to religious instruction in his Ephrata school.

Rupp states that the brother-saal was used for school purposes, "to dispense its blessings among the children of the neighborhood," until September, 1777, when after the battle of Brandywine the building was requisitioned for use as a military hospital. It was probably never afterwards used for school purposes, the authorities perhaps dreading that the scourge, typhus, which took such terrible toll from the wounded soldiers housed in that building would still linger, and perhaps pass to the children. It was not until 1837, however, that the building was demolished. Brother Obed died in 1792, aged seventy-five years; he served as the printer and bookbinder of the Brotherhood "in old age."

Ephrata Classical Academy—But Brother Obed's was not the only academic school established in Ephrata Kloster. After some years the brother-saal was altered, so as to give a second floor; and upon that floor, it is said, a school of higher education was conducted. Brother Obed had little to do with this school, in all probability; and its main purpose was to make classical scholars of the monks and nuns. However, in course of time the Ephrata Classical Academy became widely known and attracted outsiders. It is more than possible that Peter Miller himself presided over that monastic school, for he was one of the ablest Latinists in the province, and the Ephrata Academy became far-famed in classics. John F. Watson is the authority for the statement that "they (the Ephratans) were remarkable as a community, being fine Latinists, writing and speaking Latin as readily as their vernacular tongue." The Fahnestock papers show that the school "soon gained for itself an honorable reputation abroad, and many young men of Philadelphia and Baltimore were sent to this nursery to receive their entire education." Some of the students were known, in later life, "to correspond with some of the Brethren in Latin."

A proposal was once made to the Brotherhood to print, at Ephrata, "an American edition of the classic authors for the Philadelphia Academy." The Ephrata Academy also reached good repute in higher mathematics.

But it is reasonably certain that Ephrata comes distinctively into notice, as an educational centre, mainly because of its unique school of music. Beissel knew little of the technic of music, but the soul of music was within him; and it was this instinctive passion for music that caused him to concentrate his energies upon the study until he had developed such an unique school of music, and such ethereal choral singing, that visitors were entranced, thrilled. Beissel gave several years to the development of the Ephrata system of music—several anxious and strenuous years—after he had once found the key or secret. How that was stolen from him is very quaintly and frankly told in the "Chronicon Ephratense." .The diarist words it thus:

> Now we will again return to the Solitary. Thus far they had sought self-sacrifice in hard labor; but now the Superintendent was urged by his Guide to establish higher schools of which the singing-school was the beginning. This science belongs more to the angelic world than to ours. The principles are not the same all over the world, but the angels themselves, when they sang at the birth of Christ, had to make use of our rules. The whole art consists of seven notes, which form two-thirds and one octave, which are always sung in such a way that you do not hear the tone which stands between two notes, thus occasioning a sweet dissonance, which renders the art a great wonder. It is also remarkable that, although so great a confusion of languages arose, the singing remained untouched. But, as everything necessary in the Settlement had to be stolen from the world-spirit, so also in respect to singing. The Superintendent did not know anything about it except some notes which he had learned on the violin. But a certain house-father, by the name of Ludwig Blum, was a master-singer, and was also versed in composition; he once brought some artistic pieces to the Superintendent, which induced him to make use of the Brother in his church building.
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> Now those of the Solitary, of whom about seventy of both sexes were in the Settlement, were selected who had talent for singing, and the above mentioned Ludwig Blum, together with the Superintendent, arranged a singing-school in the settlement, and everything prospered for a time. But the Sisters at last complained to the Superintendent that they were sold to one man, and petitioned him to manage the school himself, saying that they would steal the whole secret of the schoolmaster and hand it over to him. The Superintendent soon perceived that this advice came from God, for as the event proved, quite different things were hidden under it, for which the good schoolmaster's hands were not made. And now the Sisters told the Superintendent everything that they had learned in the school, and as soon as they saw that he had mastered the art, they dismissed their schoolmaster, at which he took such offence, that he left the Settlement, and did not walk with them any more, and when asked why he had left the Settlement he said: "The singing broke my neck." Before he left he made the following declaration to the Superintendent: "A king's daughter took a peasant's daughter into her company, because she was gifted with various arts and abilities; however, after she had learned all her arts, she thrust her off and banished her into misery. I therefore ask the Superintendent, whether the king's daughter treated the peasant's daughter justly?" The Superintendent thereat showed him all kindness, and promised him, since there was not anything more for him to do in the Community, he would go with him in spirit, and remember him in his prayers before God.

(NOTE—This evidently was an earlier Ephrata Academy than that founded in 1837, "By the Society of Seventh-Day Baptists").

Thus the Superintendent "was against his will inveigled into this important school." He probably gave more of his time to music during the next several years than he did to any other study. And to the English harmony of Ludwig Blum he added his own interpretations of the sublime and spiritual, producing entrancing effects in his composition. Over one thousand pieces of original music were in the Kloster collection "in its halcyon days," many of the musically-inclined among the brethren and sisters following the inspired leading of their Superintendent. It is said that "Beissel took his style from the music of nature, and the whole of it, comprising several large volumes, is founded on the notes of the Æolian harp; the singing, in a word, is the Æolian harp harmonized." The choral singing became the most striking feature of the monastery. Beissel had original theories, and held his choirs of virgins under the sternest discipline. He wished their voices to be as those of angels, and "upon a strict examination" declared all fruit, milk, meat, "to be viands injurious to the voice." The diarist writes:

> One might have thought that he borrowed this from the teachings of Pythagoras, in order to break the scholars of the animal habit of eating meat. * * * When bringing all this before the Brethren for examination, they observed that he crossed some words with his pen, by which he had declared the love of women as also injurious to the voice. When asked why he did this he answered that some might take offence at it. But the sentence was retained with full consent of the brethren, and the writing was added as preface to the hymnbook. This was but fair, for who does not know that carnal intercourse stains not only the soul, but also weakens the body, and renders the voice coarse and rough; so that the senses of him must be very blunt who cannot distinguish a virgin from a married woman by her voice.

"Animated by the spirit of eternity," the Superintendent inculcated into the systems of those monks and nuns who formed his choirs such angelic voices that "the whole neighborhood * * * was touched by the sound of this heavenly music, a prelude of a new world." The effect lasted for many years after Beissel's death. The soul of music was the life of the Kloster. The "Caspipina" letters of 1771 give striking testimony as to this. The Rev. Jacob Duche, who was destined to make the opening prayer at the First Congress, and to become for a short while chaplain to Congress, wrote the letters from Philadelphia in 1771 under the nom de plume of Tamoc Caspipina to some friend in England, possibly to the Honorable James Hamilton, who was four times Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. At the time of the visit of Dr. Duche to Ephrata, all parts were sung by women, "with sweet, shrill and small voices." He writes: "It is impossible to describe to your Lordship my feelings upon this occasion. The performers sat with their heads reclined, their countenances solemn and dejected, their faces pale and emaciated from their manner of living, the clothing exceedingly white and quite picturesque, and their music such as thrilled to the very soul; I almost began to think of myself as in the world of spirits, and that the objects before me were ethereal."

This angelic effect was not brought about by angelic methods; indeed, when the Superintendent was driving the angelic expression into his pupils, he "conducted the school with great sternness, so that whoever did not know him, might have thought him to be a man of unchecked passions." At times he scolded for one or two hours in succession"; and afflictions were so "plentifully imposed upon both sexes" that "a lesson seldom ended without tears" being shed by the sisters, or without "the essence of wrath" being stirred within the brethren. Beissel was hard to please.

Another word-picture of the uncertain eccentric Superintendent is that by the Rev. Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania. He visited the Ephrata Kloster in 1753, and attended Sabbath church, the three classes (the brethren, sisters and the secular) of the congregation all gathering together in Zion Prayerhouse on that occasion. Describing Father Friedman as a preacher, Provost Acrelius wrote:

> Father Friedsam had his seat separate between the high choir and the rest of the church. The Cloister brothers went in through a little door to the high choir, whereupon the sisters immediately followed. * * * In the (body of the) church were people both of their own and of other forms of faith.
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> When they were assembled, they sat for some moments perfectly still. In the meantime, Father Friedsam was seen to be preparing himself; he held his hands upon both his sides, threw his head up and down, his eyes hither and thither; pulled at his mouth, his nose, his neck, and finally sang in a low and fine tone. Thereupon the sisters in the gallery began to sing, the Cloister brothers joined in with them, and all those who were together in the high choir united in a delightful hymn, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Thereupon Miller arose and read the third chapter of Isaiah.
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> Father Friedsam then recommenced his former movements, and appeared rather ridiculous than devotional. Finally he arose with hands clasped together, with his eyes turned upwards, and began to speak. * * *

Provost Acrelius was evidently not greatly impressed by Beissel's logic. Apparently the Father followed the impulse of the moment; he was seated during part of his sermon, and in following the spirit, his points became so contradictory that Acrelius thought "Father Friedsam did not know himself where he was at home (meaning, what he believed)." In fairness to Beissel, however, it must be remembered that the Provost was of another, and an opposing church. Continuing Acrelius wrote:

> All this was spoken with an incomparable rapidity, in hasty language, with rapid gestures. Now he struck out his hands, now he pressed them to his breast, now he placed them upon one side, now upon another, and now upon both. Again, he scratched his head, then patted himself on his nose, and then wiped his nose on the back of his hand. Meanwhile, in the congregation, which he frequently called Jerusalem, some were moved and shook their heads, others wept, others slept, and so on. The sermon was concluded with an Amen.

Sangmeister, the "Disgruntled Monk of Ephrata"—The least that might be said of Beissel, however, was that he was not as other men were; there was evident originality in him; there was personality of such power that he was able to hold men of far superior intellect. During the last years of his life, he was somewhat estranged from both of the solitary orders. Mutter Maria, the Prioress, had cut off communication with him entirely, and never was reconciled with him; and there had been at least one occasion when the brethren had actually put their Superintendent under severe discipline. Twice the diarist finds it necessary to explain away seeming drunkenness in the Superintendent. We read that: "He (Beissel) once appeared to two of the Brethren in the form of one who is drunk." Another entry reads: "He once came to a Brother in the likeness of one who is drunk." While these two cases seem to have been satisfactorily explained away, some of the disgruntled brethren held to the belief that Beissel imbibed too freely of the wine cup; and an echo of this discontent was heard in 1825, when manuscript written by Heinrich Sangmeister (Brother Ezekiel) was found behind the wainscoting of his cell forty years after his own death, and almost sixty years after the death of Beissel. Part of the Sangmeister manuscript was published in Lancaster in 1825-27 in four parts, by J. Bauman, who offered to print the remainder if a sufficient number of subscribers were found to cover him against loss. The remainder was never published, and the parts that were were quickly swept in and, it is said, "designedly destroyed on account of the scandalous charges made against Conrad Beissel and other inmates of the cloister."

The Sangmeister chronicle is referred to in Vol. XVI, No. 5, of the "Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society." Quoting from that brief review, it appears that the Sangmeister autobiography, or rather that part of it published, covers events from 1748 to 1769, though he was not resident in Ephrata for more than half of this period. In it, Sangmeister poses as a "non-partisan chronicler of what he saw, heard and thought there": "He talks familiarly of the daily labors, dissensions, spiritual struggles, the day dreams and visions of the inmates of the community, of Beissel's domineering spirit his double-dealing, drinking, immoralities, jealousy, teachings, and unholy prayers." Regarding the intemperance, or alleged intemperance, of the Superintendent, Sangmeister relates, circumstantially, "that Beissel was drunk for a week at a time; that he fell downstairs on account of his maudlin condition; that he was found at night outside a building, tipsy, groping around and unable to find the door."

Sachse states that Sangmeister was "usually known as the disgruntled monk of Ephrata." Seidensticker deems the writings of Sangmeister to be the "confessions of an unbeautiful soul," adding: "Sangmeister was dissatisfied with himself and the whole world; he was an intolerable wrong head, an envious grumbler, who was always on the lookout for vileness, whose evil tongue we cannot grant unconditional faith."

Men of Sangmeister's pitiable type have been present in all grades of society, and in every age, most probably who, among the readers of this, will fail to find the counterpart of Sangmeister in their own circle of acquaintances? Who does not know one whose inward bitterness embitters his interpretation of the acts of others, whose chronic discontent is evident in every word he utters, every expression he gives? Nevertheless, all that such disgruntled persons complain of cannot necessarily be dismissed as untrue. Seidensticker while so strongly condemning Sangmeister, in general, yet maintains that "we may believe all he relates." Dr. J. Max Hark, who translated the "Chronicon Ephratense" into English, is "of the opinion that what Sangmeister relates may well be believed, in view of the evident effort of the writers of the Chronicon to conceal, or explain away, various happenings at the Cloister."

It may be pointed out that Sangmeister, although not in Ephrata during the Eckerling regime, yet came under their influence during Onesimus's second sojourn at Ephrata. Onesimus returned as an ordinary brother in 1750, but could not tolerate the life for more than six months. Not long afterwards Brother Ezekiel (Sangmeister) followed Onesimus. The longing for the wilderness was contagious. The truth is that Friedsam, Onesimus, and Ezekiel, e. g., Beissel, Eckerling and Sangmeister, were all of dominant type, and there wasn't room for them all at Ephrata. They each wanted to head a following, but all were not equally gifted with the power of leadership. Beissel continued in comparative complacence at Ephrata, Sangmeister drifted with other restless spirits of both sexes into the Virginia Valley and finally was found in a little Dunker settlement at Shenandoah, while the Eckerlings were at New River, where, according to Ezekiel, who was as bitter in his thoughts of them as of Beissel, "they lived chiefly upon animal food." Ezekiel found further that: "Israel (Onesimus) was busy day and night with his mystic speculations, while Gabriel was engaged in murdering animals all day, and Samuel was busy preparing and curing the peltries. Piles of bearskins served as their couch at night while in one corner of the cabin was a mass of skins which could not have been bought for a hundred pounds sterling. Then back of the chimney hung so many sides of dead bears that it made him shudder merely to look at them."

Always the worst side of the picture. Had he been in the company of the Eckerlings during the French and Indian War, and seen Onesimus calmly continuing the writing of a polemic to Ephrata while Indians with torch and tomahawk were firing their settlement and killing and scalping other members of the household, it is doubtful whether Ezekiel would have made reference to it. Such an incident, showing that Onesimus believed so implicitly in divine protection that he would neither defend himself nor attempt to escape, was too commendatory to be pleasing to a man of Ezekiel's type. Far more satisfaction would he have had in passing on the news had Onesimus sank to his knees and abjectly implored the Indians to be merciful. Ezekiel could not praise the bee for his industry; he always saw him robbing the beautiful flowers of their nectar. He could not at any time credit Beissel with the commanding personality that inspires leadership, for he could see, and with telescopic vision, some of the human weaknesses of the leader. He could not see what Sachse saw, who wrote: "* * * it matters little what the frailties of Brother Friedsam may have been,—he was but human,—it is well to cast the mantle of charity over his shortcomings at this late day, and bear in mind only his wonderful career as an organizer and religious leader * * * exercising by means of his sermons, epistles, hymns, music and writings an influence second to no religious leader of his time."

Death of Father Friedsam—Ezekiel could not see anything worthy of remark in the self-sacrifice of Beissel, who three days before his own death and while suffering extreme physical pain, went out to visit one of the oldest housemothers, Barbara Hofly, who was breathing her last and asked for a visit. Ezekiel could not acknowledge that Beissel showed supreme faith in the very last days, when his ailments became so aggravated as to bring almost unbearable pain. Beissel refused then to acknowledge any physical sickness, declaring merely that he was now "nailed to the cross," and that his sufferings were merely "spiritual throes preceding his new birth." Whatever human frailties Beissel may have had, he proved in his last hours that he was in no sense an imposter, that basically he had lived a sincere life of implicit belief in God, in Christ, and in the hereafter.

The Magus of Ephrata "cast aside his mortal raiment" on Wednesday, the 6th of July, 1768. For some days the brethren had very closely watched him, for they knew that the end was near and looked for "strange happenings," many believing that he would be spared the pains of a bodily dissolution and be translated into the realms of bliss just as Enoch and Elias of old." However, the watchers were not immediately apprehensive when they noticed that the sick man arose from his wooden pallet on that morning and attended prayers at the Schwester-Saal. Returning to his cabin, he sat upon his pallet and for a while was silent. Clustered around him were cowled brethren and sisters, silent also. Beissed was the first to speak. According to the Chronicon:

> In his last trouble he clearly showed that he was annointed with the priestly spirit of Jesus Christ, for of all the adverse circumstances which had occurred during his administration in the settlement, he declared himself to be the sole cause, and thus freed and acquitted all from every charge, and especially those who accused themselves of having misunderstood him. Then he desired the brethren to bless him, and to receive him into their fellowship, which was done, for the Prior gave him his blessing with laying on of hands, and thereafter all the Brethren gave him the kiss of peace to take along on his journey.

Then, as the patient was getting visibly weaker, they persuaded him to lie down on the bench. The end came quickly, for "his spirit winged its flight" as he uttered the words: "O wehe! O wehe! O wunder! O wunder!" (O woe! O wonder!). The Chronicon states: "Now the cry was, 'My father, my father! The chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' Yet nobody was seen to shed tears, but all thanked God most fervently that after so long a martyrdom, he had delivered his servant from the body of this death." Ezekiel, the "intolerable wrong head," the "disgruntled monk of Ephrata," was the most visibly distressed. He "fell upon his knees and prayed fervently for the repose of the soul of the departed."

Without delay slips were written by the sisters to notify all householders of the death of the Father; and care was exercised to notify also every hive of bees in the neighborhood, lest they would swarm. And upon receipt of said notification every housefather or housemother hastened to turn over upon the shelf or skid, every barrel, keg, or crock of wine, vinegar, pickles, sauerkraut and preserved fruits, "to prevent them from spoiling." Such was the superstitious age in which Conrad Beissel had lived.

After his death, many looked confidently for his reappearance among them. He had promised to return, and, according to the record, he did return in spirit, not once only but very many times. Spiritual manifestations, indeed, began two days after his "earthly tabernacle" had been interred; he appeared to Brother Luther and to his sister Catherina in their respective chambers. His visits became of nightly occurrence. He appeared to Brother Ezekiel, "to whom the spirit evidently gave an earnest admonition." Further, states Sachse, "Sangmeister gives numerous other instances of spiritual manifestations in which that of Beissel forms the chief figure."

Though Beissel had "differences with almost every person with whom he came into close contact," though his theories caused unrest, in fact undermined the whole structure of the home and kept home circles in a state of nervous apprehension or angry defiance for many years, though he was maligned and execrated very generally by these colonists within Lancaster county who were not among the Beisseliania, yet his life in Pennsylvania is a part—a noteworthy part—of the history of a great colony and state.

He was perhaps fortunate in having as coadjutor a man who brought more than enough goodwill to the institution to cancel the illwill Beissel's peculiar personality fomented. Johann Peter Miller was Prior from 1745, was literally head of Ephrata Kloster for several years before Beissel died, and carried the institution forward with dignity and brotherly feeling until 1796, when he also passed from time to eternity. Peter Miller (Brother Jaebez, or Agrippa, which is the same name Romanized), "walked in harmony of spirit" with Beissel; he walked in harmony with most men, for he had the broadness of mind that comes of much knowledge. Pettiness had only its proper petty place in his actions. Hence he was generally esteemed. He was honored by learned societies, was admitted to membership in the American Society, "one of the oldest and most exclusive scientific societies in America"; was esteemed by the Penns; was one of the founding contributors of books to the Juliana Library of Lancaster; was the man for the great need, the trustworthy scholar sought, to translate America's Magna Charta into foreign languages, for the edification of foreign courts, by which honorary service the name of Peter Miller has honorable place in the records of the First Congress; and by his steadiness he so steadied the always-somewhat-meteoric affairs of the Ephrata Community, that it was carried forward to the time when it could be to some extent perpetuated in another organization, the Ephrata Seventh-Day Baptist Society.

That the monastic institution did not grow, and in fact became soon decadent may be attributed to the faithful adherence, by both Beissel and Miller, to principles that were more devout than practical. The Penn family so esteemed Peter Miller that once "Governor Penn sent for Peter Miller and several brethren and informed them that he had made a grant to the Society of five thousand acres of land on the Cocalico Creek, which he had called the 'Seventh-Day Baptist Manor.'" This grant was declined with thanks "because it was against their religious principles to be possessed of such a large portion of worldly estate."

Nevertheless, Beissel and Miller must have been much disconcerted when in 1764 Samuel Eckerling reappeared in Ephrata and claimed the very land upon which the Kloster stood, the right to which land Father Friedsam (Beissel) had acquired two years earlier, for twenty-seven pounds, from one John Miley, the Eckerling claim resting upon a sale to three of the Eckerling brothers and two others, by the same person in 1739. Samuel Eckerling, the last surviving brother (Onesimus having died shortly after having been transported from Canada to France and admitted into a Catholic order in that country) settled down in Ephrata as a physician in 1764. In the next year the land-title case came before the Assembly in Philadelphia, and, although admitting that the title rested with the Eckerlings, yet admonished Samuel Eckerling "to settle the matter in a Christian like manner." A later record reads: "Which he, as a pious and Just man, allways was willing to do, and of course he actually did by the Performance of his benevolent Grant & Privileges in the year 1770."

This was a tripartite deed, dated February 3, 1770, "between Samuel Eckerline, M. D., of Ephrata, of the first part, and Henry Sangmaster, John Adam Kelp, Isaac Sensemer, John Martin and Christian Ecstein, of Ephrata, trustees, of the second part," and sixteen brethren, twenty sisters, and eight other females, spinsters, of the third part. Notable among those of the third part were Hans Miley, Ludwig Hocker, Jacob Eicker, Peter Miller, and Mary Eicker. The conveyance was of "all that tract of land called Ephrata, eighty acres, together with mills and cottages, to the five parties (trustees) in trust, who were all members of the Christian Society of Ephrata." The deed provided an allotment of one-quarter of an acre to each person, for "garden purposes," and a right to an equal share of all profits from sale of produce. Further, it was provided that: "If any of the members desired to marry they could occupy a cabin, or cottage, by themselves for the space of two years and no longer. When they left the society they were compelled to sign a release of all their interests in the estate to the trustees, and if they required it they were, upon leaving the society, allowed to receive five pounds each from the common fund."

The society was decadent almost from the time of the departure of the Eckerlings, and there were very few accessions thereafter. "Every death among them was a gap in their midst"; there was no young blood. Apparently, in 1770, the celibate orders could not show fifty members, in all.

End of Both Orders—The requirements of the Republican army during the Revolution brought final disorganization to the Ephrata Kloster. The stores of the convents were requisitioned; the buildings were taken possession of as emergency military hospitals; the brethren and sisters gave time and some even life, to nurse the wounded and sick soldiers, so many of whom died of typhus; and some of the fine buildings within the Kloster, notably Zion and Kedar, had to be demolished soon after the war, because of infection.

The monastic bodies gradually faded to dissolution. The last "complete entry in the manuscript chronicle of the Sisterhood, is in the trembling handwriting of Sister Lucia, and relates that Melongia died September 19, 1813, at the advanced age of 87 years and 4 months." Immediately below this entry is another in the same handwriting, reading: "Sister Lucia died in the year 18..." Sister Lucia may have been the last survivor of the original order of Spiritual Virgins, perhaps also of the original Roses of Saron, but there were still some "single sisters" in the residence even thirty years later. Rupp, in his "History of Lancaster County," published in 1844, reported that the Ephrata Kloster still "contains many habitable and comfortable apartments"; further that:

> These are occupied by several single sisters, one of whom, Sister Barbara, has been here for fifty-five years; but under different Government; in former days the whole property and income belonged exclusively to the single brethren and sisters; but now, by legislative enactment, is invested in all the members, single and married. The sisters, since the enactment, in the convent, are not supported out of the common stock and their common labor, but each has house-room, which all the married members are entitled to, who require it, as well as firewood, flour and milk from the society, who still possess some land and a mill, and their labor they apply to their own use, or dispose of it as they see proper.

In 1814 a new community began to take definite shape at Antiedam by the making of a deed by Andraes Snowberger to a board of trustees, whereby the Snow Hill Community was now fairly launched" and a community house built. By legislative enactment in the same year, the Ephrata property passed into other hands, the original trustees having either passed away or become too old to be longer active. The Antiedam movement dated from 1764, and resulted from one of Beissel's own efforts. Later Peter Miller sent Peter Lehman, "a devout young man" of Amish birth, to Antiedam, as a lay brother. In 1788 Peter Lehman was "consecrated as leader of the new congregation," and in course of time it developed monastically somewhat after the Ephrata manner. It began to manifest life when Ephrata was at its last gasp. A brotherhouse of brick was built in 1838. Peter Lehman died in 1823, Andreas Fahnestock succeeding him. He eventually took over the pastorate of both Ephrata and Snow Hill congregations, continuing in office until death, February 5, 1865.

While there is now no trace of monastic life in either Ephrata or Snow Hill klosters, or cloisters, the secular congregations of the German Seventh-

Day Baptist sect have perpetuated the association with comparative vigor. The Seventh-Day Baptist denomination is not one of the numerically strong religious sects of America, having a total present strength of only about eight housand members. Of these, the Beisselianer can only be directly credited with 136 members and three churches, one of which is the historic Saal at Ephrata, wherein the Rev. S. G. Zerfess, who has been pastor for the last twenty years, still holds services at stated times. The other two churches are both in Pennsylvania, Snow Hill church, near Waynesboro, Franklin county, and the Salemville church, in Bedford county.

The brotherhouse, "Bethania," was torn down only a few years ago, but the sisterhouse "Saron" and the schwester-saal, which was the original "Peniel," are still standing, in comparatively good state, with their unique interiors maintained in their original order. They are well worth inspection, being interesting relics of an interesting past. They are worthy also of inclusion among the historic buildings of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EARLY MILLS OF LANCASTER COUNTY.

At one time the nearest mills to Lancaster county were those on the Brandywine, and generally the roads were so bad that wheeled vehicles could only with great difficulty pass over them. It was not uncommon, therefore, for a settler "to load several bushels of wheat on his horse" and take it to the mill for grinding. Sometimes the wheat would be taken to Downington in that way, and exchanged for salt. Still, those were days when the Lancaster county pioneers were merely hewing a living—a scant pittance, but for the game and fruit the wilderness yielded to him. However, clearing of land was the preliminary to tillage, and soon enough grain was being raised to more than meet the consumption-needs of the pioneer households, and the first indication shown of this degree of progress was in the erection of local grist-mills. Invariably, the miller was the most enterprising man of the neighborhood; generally the most monied, too; and almost always one of the most respected and influential. The mill was the mart. It was also the rendezvous at which settlers were wont to gather, and, as their grain was being ground, exchange views and impart news. Life in the wilderness was solitary, and oftentimes even adjoining neighbors would not meet once in a month, excepting perhaps at church, for in most cases a dense stretch of well-nigh impenetrable wilderness would isolate the families. So it will be easily imagined how glad the settlers were to meet together at the mill. Even the monks of Ephrata were glad to work in their mills on the Cocalico, where they could meet the outside settlers in brotherly intercourse. Oftentimes the miller embraced in his own establishments all the marts of commerce. He was most likely the storekeeper, and also the inn keeper. Always his enterprise, in a pioneer community, was a true indication that the settlement was progressing.

It is difficult to determine which of the early mills of Lancaster county was the first to be erected, and the compiler of this review will not attempt to decide the point, more than to suppose that the Mennonites, who were the first to settle, would be most likely to first need a mill. Eshleman thinks the first mill in Lancaster county was built before 1714. He writes: "Before

1714, Christian Schlegel had a mill on Conestoga, or a branch, because in that year he complained 'that a certain person hath seated himself near the mill he built lately at Conestoga!'"

Some of the first mills erected in Lancaster county were the enterprises of settlers in the Lampeters. Mrs. Mary L. Robinson, in volume II of the Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, refers to one as "the very first mill in Lancaster County. She writes:

> Between Graeff's Landing and Reigart's Landing was built in former days the very first mill in Lancaster county. As far back as 1718, Stephen Atkinson paid taxes on land in Conestoga township. * * * A very wild perilous tract it must have been, for it is also noted (Ellis and Evans, p. 23) that "there was paid to Stephen Atkinson, 5th month, 30th day, 1722, £2 for two wolfs."
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> According to Rupp, it (the fulling mill) was built at great expense in the same year that the town was laid out, 1730, and the earliest mention of the fulling mill in any deed I have seen is in Record Book L, p. 62, when for the sum of £40 and for his natural affection, Stephen Atkinson, under date of March 30, 1739, conveys to his son Matthew this property. * * * Around him were the "lands of Jacob Lundis (Landis?), William Hughes and Ulrich Lowry." On the east ran the Conestoga. * * * Stephen Atkinson propably died in 1742. * * *
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> Matthew Atkinson, like his father, was a fuller. His will bears date April 7, 1756. After Matthew, his mill was conducted by his son Stephen, (who) married Jane Halliday. His will was signed September 5, 1765. * * * After the death of Stephen the mill property and dam were sold by the executors, Thomas Halliday and Christian Hare, at public auction, and was bought by one Thomas Douglas, who bid £1,275 for it. The deed bears date March 7, 1769. Here comes a hiatus in the records, (for on) February 9, 1770 (Book N, p. 175), Thomas Halliday mortgaged the property to Christian Hare for £729. Of the sale to Halliday there is no record, but the mortgage was satisfied July 28, 1795.
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> Again the mill was to change owners. It was sold at Sheriff's Sale, June 7, 1775, for the sum of £1,005, to Jane Atkinson. * * * On August 2, 1775, "for £150 paid for her use and her brother Sam," Jane Atkinson sold to Margaret Atkinson "all that certain Plantation and Tract of land with the Fulling Mill, Mill Races, situate in Lampeter Township, described in Book N, p. 175, of which Matthew Atkinson died seized and possessed." Recorded August 5, 1775, Book T, p. 44.
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> By the will of Margaret Atkinson, September 7, 1798 (Book H, p. 345), she directs that "the house and a certain Plantation in tenure of George Ross, in Lampeter Township" be sold, and on the deed recorded (Book T, p. 44), it states that "George Ross being interested in the premises, Frederick Kuhn was present at his request. Discharged August 16, 1803."
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> * * * I should be grateful to any one who can give the name of the present owner of the site of the old dam and fulling-mill. Of them no vestige now remains.

Atkinson's mill was probably, the first fulling-mill erected in Lancaster county, but there is reason to doubt the claim that it was the "very first mill in Lancaster county." The erection of a grist-mill was one of the first conveniences sought for by settlers, and Atkinson's mill was not erected until two decades after settlement began. It would seem that the first mills in Lancaster county would be the grist-mills of the Conestoga country, Pequea, Conestoga, or Mill Creek valleys. However, John Galbraith, one of the pioneer settlers in the "Upper End" of Lancaster county, had a grist and saw mill in operation on his Donegal holding as early as 1720. Samuel Evans describes Galbraith's as "the first grist and saw mill above the Conestoga." Inferentially, there were earlier Conestoga mills. Again, Diffenderfer, in his historical sketch of "The Three Earls," claims for West Earl "one of the first and perhaps the first mill erected in Lancaster county." It was a landmark referred to by the township boundary commissioners in 1729, as "Hans Graff's mill." Another mill which came into the same official notice in 1729 was

"David Priess's mill," both referred to in defining the boundaries of Warwick township. The name given to the watercourse betwen the Conestoga and Pequea, Mill Creek, is in itself significant. It was known by that name very soon after the settlement began, certainly as early as 1719, and along the two Chickies creeks there were several mills in the 'twenties of the eighteenth century. John Gardner settled at the mouth of Chickies creek in 1720, "and built a hemp mill"; Henry Haldeman had a mill on that creek in 1826; Rhoddy's grist-mill was built "as early as 1721 or 1722," and Patrick Hays built a carding and fulling mill in that region "about the year 1730." So that Atkinson's fulling-mill, built in 1730, may not even have been the first of that class. However, if the statement made by Samuel Evans in 1896, and printed in No. 5 of the first volume of the Papers of the Lancaster Historical Society, be correct there is some ground for according Stephen Atkinson the distinction of having been the first to bring a fulling-mill into operation in Lancaster county. The statement by Mr. Evans reads:

> In 1716 Stephen Atkinson, to whom liberty had been granted about two years before to settle on a neck of land between Edmund Cartlidge and the Conestoga creek and to build a good fulling mill, a warrant was made out for the neck of land and 10 or 20 acres over the creek next his dam.
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> In the year 1728 he took 138 acres in the bend of the Conestoga. This mill was located in the bend of the creek, between Reigart's and Graeff's Landing. The mill and dwelling were on the south side of the creek and fell in Lampeter township, when the county was organized. This was the first mill in the county which obtained its water power direct from the Conestoga river. After Mr. Atkinson built his dam, it proved to be a complete barrier against the ascent of shad and other fish to the upper part of that stream. The citizens residing along the watercourse above the dam came down in the night-time and tore the dam away. The Legislature compelled Mr. Atkinson to construct a passage way in his dam to allow the fish to ascend the stream.

Of the early mills of the Lampeters, that of Joseph Boughwalter was perhaps the reason for Mill creek being so named. Joseph Boughwalter (Buckwalter), a Palatine, received a patent from the Penns in 1719 for one hundred and fifty acres which lay on the creek now known as Mill creek. The warrant for the tract was originally owned by one Isaac Hendrich. Joseph Boughwalter evidently built the mill, for the mill property and water right are referred to in his will. Abraham Buckwalter, his son, continued to operate the mill until 1798, the property then passing to his son Benjamin. "With the next transfer this mill passed out of the Buckwalter family, having been in their possession for eighty years." In April, 1799, William Hamilton acquired it, for $10,800. He was a cloth manufacturer, and, in partnership with James Porter, converted the Buckwalter property into a fulling-mill. Hamilton died in 1831, and his son-in-law, James Porter, Jr., carried on the business until 1842, when Benjamin Eshleman entered into possession. The property, which probably was the original mill, though perhaps enlarged, was destroyed by fire in 1850. It was rebuilt the same year, by Benjamin Eshleman, and retained by the family though operated by a tenant, Aaron Hartman. Earlier reference to this historic mill has elsewhere been made.

The Gibbons mill has been written of briefly in the Lampeter chapter. James Gibbons is stated to have erected the original mill in 1760, but an inscription on the mill reads: "Built by James Gibbons and Deborah G., 1770." The Quarter Sessions records have the following entry, under date May 25, 1772: "This day James Gibbons, miller and boulter of Flour in Lampeter Township, produced his brand-mark as follows: J. Gibbons; which he requested might be entered with the Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court according to law." James Gibbons was the miller until he died in 1810, his daughter Rachel, wife of William Daniel, of Bart, inheriting the property. William Daniel carried it on for nineteen years, adding the third story to the mill. At his death in 1829, Henry Espenshade bought the property. He sold to Amos Bushong. He was still in possession a century after the close of the Revolutionary War, and at that time it was "the only mill of provincial days still standing in the township.

The mill erected by Felix Binckley at Millport, on Mill creek, in 1767, on land patented in 1719 to Felix Landis, was operated by him until he died, and by others of his family later. In 1820 John Binkley (Binckley) sold to Jacob Charles In 1839 the administrators of the estate of the latter sold to Jacob Fritz, who in the same year transferred to Daniel Potts. In 1857 Samuel Curtis bought the mill from Daniel Potts, and twenty years later sold to D. B. Landis, who in 1882 sold to Isaac Graff. In that year the old mill was torn down and replaced by another of brick. The cornerstone of the old mill is now the cornerstone of the enginehouse of the new plant.

Along that part of Mill creek which is in Upper Leacock township, several grist mills were operated during the provincial period. The first probably was the one-story stone structure erected along the creek and on the Newport road, by Jacob Becker, in the first half of the eighteenth century. Just when in that half cannot be stated, but in about 1760-65 Becker sold the property to Benjamin Longnecker, who afterwards passed it on to his son. The latter erected the first saw-mill on Mill creek in Upper Leacock. Marcus Graaf (or Groff), son of Hans Graaf (Groff), acquired this mill, his son Marks later coming into possession and erecting a large mansion of stone on the hill opposite Groff's store about 1790. A century later, the house was remodelled, and is still in use. Stauffer's mill, in the southwestern corner of Upper Leacock township, along Mill creek, was built in 1802, by Christian Stauffer. His son John succeeded to the property in 1835. There were other millers prior to 1870, when John Buckwalter bought the property.

A carding mill was established about 1810 in a small building near the Stumptown road, along Mill creek. It was the enterprise of Peter Landis, a carder. He a few years later added a dyeing-house, and conducted the business until 1841, when his son David bought the mill. David had learned the trade of fulling as well as carding, and about 1852 removed the old mill and erected a large woolen factory. For some years quite a number of persons were employed in the mill, which changed hands in 1860, Amos Rudy then purchasing it. In 1870 it was sold by the sheriff, Peter Buffenmyer becoming the next owner. It was never worked after 1870, however.

About 1846 Henry E. Leaman built a mill on Conestoga creek, near a place called Pinetown, and conducted a rifle-boring industry there until 1865, when the plant was removed to Lancaster. Leaman Shirk bought the old mill. Later, an attempt was made to convert it into a powder mill; not with success however.

Regarding the early mills of Strasburg township Hildebrand writes:

> From the most authentic records, the first mill erected in Lancaster county was on Pequea creek, about one mile northwest from the borough (of Strasburg), along the Strasburg and Millport turnpike, and known for many years as John Musselman's. It was built by Martin Kendig about the year 1720, on the northwestern part of his one thousand acre tract, and he sold five hundred and thirty acres, together with the water right and grist mill, to Emanuel

Herr. The deed is dated the eleventh day of November, A. D. 1725, and recorded at Lancaster in Book WW, p. 305. The mill is now (1896) in possession of Kendig and Pugh, and has been converted into a roller mill. Previous to the building of this mill, the people had to go to Wilmington, Delaware, for their flour, and it took three days to go and return.

About one mile southeast from the borough, along the Mine Hill road, is quite an old mill, built in the early part of the eighteenth century by Jacob Eshleman, on the north branch of Little Beaver Creek. The head of this stream is the famous "Kelsey Springs." Some old records say that the first French burrs introduced into the county were in this mill and it was at that time called Eshleman's Big Mill, but later became known as the Little Red Mill. In fact the mill never was red, but a very large double-decker barn standing near the mill was painted red.

On September 25, 1728, a patent was granted to John Herr for eleven hundred acres of land, and on this tract, in the extreme northeast corner of the township, he erected a two-story stone mill on the Pequea, about the year 1740. The original mill is yet standing, but was converted into a distillery about the beginning of the nineteenth century, at which time a new mill was erected about fifty yards further down the stream. That part of the original tract, containing about fifty acres, upon which the mill stands was yet owned by one of his descendants.

In the year 1759, Joseph Haines sold to John Herr a tract of land and saw mill located on the Pequea about midway between Strasburg and Lampeter, and in 1769 John Herr sold to Abraham Herr the saw and grist mill. This mill is on part of a tract of land patented to Jacob Miller, containing one thousand acres. This deed is dated June 30, 1711.

In the year 1733 James Scott settled on a tract of land about two miles south from the Borough, on the south side of Bunker Hill, on the road to New Providence, and erected on Little Beaver creek the first fulling mill of which we have any record. On June 12, 1767, he sold the fulling-mill tract, containing about one hundred acres, to Jacob Neff. He and his descendants carried on the fulling-mill business for many years. A later Jacob Neff was a very conspicuous citizen of this section of the county. He was prominent before the war as a Democratic politician, one of the faithful adherents of the late Col. Reah Frazer. His homestead was notable for striking architectural quaintness, and an immense chestnut tree which stands at the old gateway is a landmark. His two sons, Aldus and Jefferson, both went into the Union army, and died early in that struggle.

About that time John Neff built a mill about one-half mile east from the fulling-mill tract on the south branch of Little Beaver, and after some years he was succeeded by his son, John Neff, who became a Mormon, and in the year 1844 he left his large farm and mill property in charge of Samuel P. Bower, Esq., and moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, a town founded by the Mormons in 1840.

Mr. H. G. Book wrote of Strasburg township and borough history in 1883, and has the following to say regarding some of the mills: "Emanuel Neff's mill is situated on Pequea creek, immediately below Moyer's. It is a three-story stone structure, with its power furnished by Pequea creek, and a twenty horse-power engine. It was built in 1797 by Wendal Bowman, who failed and the property was sold. In 1820 it came into the possession of Christian Brackbill, in whose name it was kept until 1874, when it was purchased by Henry Neff, who held it until his death in 1881. In April, 1881, it was conveyed to Emanuel Neff."

The mill built by John Neff, the Morman, passed in 1872 to Henry Trout. Mr. Book further writes: "C. W. Shultz's mill on Big Beaver creek, about one-half mile west of Martinsville, was built about the year 1790 by John Barr. He was succeeded after many years by Benjamin Barr, who was succeeded by Christian Shultz, who died in 1876. It was operated as a merchant and custom mill. * * * It was entirely rebuilt and remodelled in 1881." John F. Shenk is the miller at Martinsville now. Another mill has its history interwoven with that of the Strasburg railway, and reference to it will be made in appropriate place.

Frederick Wise, a German, built a small grist-mill, hemp-mill and distillery at the base of Mine Hill, in Paradise township in 1760, at what was eventually called Wolf Rock road. This probably was the mill inspected by George Washington. It was owned by Wise for fifty years. After he died it was managed for a while by George Eckert. Twenty years later J. R. Eckert acquired it, and a few years later sold to Jacob Eshleman, who owned it for twenty years. Nathan Sharpless was the next owner. Later owners were Rice and Doner.

One of the earliest mills in the valley was that which was erected in the southwestern part of the township, about one mile south of Strasburg road, and for many years known as Rohrer's mill. The original small mill was torn down and a larger one built on its site. In 1834 Henry Rohrer purchased from the Denlingers the frame mill which in 1852 passed to Christian Rohrer, his son, who removed the old mill and built a large brick grist and saw mill in its place.

A small mill was built about the year 1800 on London run, near the centre of the township. It was of stone. A saw-mill was later attached. In 1858 it passed from the Carpenters to John Ranck, who fifteen years later rebuilt it with brick. A mill supposed to have been erected and operated by Joseph Ferree was acquired by David Witmer in about 1800. It was destroyed by fire about 1873, at which time it was owned by the Brua brothers, who immediately rebuilt. The last mill on the Pequea creek in Paradise township is that which was erected in 1825 by Michael Mussleman, who owned it for about fifty years. The next owner was George Beiler. A mill known as the Evergreen, a large three-story mill on Pequea creek, was operated under lease for many years from the Eshleman estate by Christian Hershey. Another Eshleman mill was known as London Vale; it was on London run, and leased. Osceola mill was originaly an old forge, the Springwell forge. In 1800 George Eckert erected a mill upon the site, and owned it until 1867. The Rohrers then came into possession of it.

Among the early mills of Colerain was one erected about 1790 near where the White Rock Forge was later erected. The saw-mill was operated until about 1830 by Samuel Reynolds. In about 1820 a saw-mill and nail factory were erected near the confluence of the two branches of the Octorara creek by Phineas Ash. Morrison and Beyers' mills on the main branch of the Octorara were among the very early mills.

There were, as one would suppose, several flouring mills in Drumores. Stauffer's, on the Conowingo, has been referred to. The mills on Fishing creek, the course of which is almost southward through western Drumore, included those built by Jesse Lambourn, George McCullough, Henry Bausman. The first erected is believed to have been that of Jesse Lambourn. He operated the property as a carding, clover, and saw mill, but when James Mode bought it in 1860 he changed it to a chopping mill. George McCullough was operating a mill as early as 1743; it was of stone, and after several changes of ownership passed to Israel Penrose, from executors of Julius Hubert, in 1827. Henry Bausman bought a mill property in 1789 and operated it as a flouring mill, though at that time there was a clover-mill on the premises. It passed eventually to the Pennocks.

Along the Susquehanna, in Drumore, was a saw mill probably before the Revolution. Upon its site Benton Station was established in 1880, and the right of way granted to the Columbia & Port Deposit railroad swept away the mill. The first mill passed into the ownership of James Barnes, from David Mitchell, in 1785. In 1840, James Barnes, Jr., rebuilt the mill on the same site, from which it was removed in 1875, for the reason stated, and rebuilt by James Cain.

In the extreme eastern limit of Drumore, on the west branch of the Octorara and Stewart's run, was a mill property owned as early as 1743 by Matthew Brown. Four generations of the Eckman family later owned the Puseyville mill, the Pusey family eventually taking over the property. Samuel Pusey removed the old mill and built one of stone; Mahlon Pusey later added a frame portion. At the point on the Conowingo where the road from Chestnut Level to Fulton House crosses it and half a mile from the latter place, is the site of the second oldest mill along the Conowingo. It marks one of the early settlements within Fulton township. Mr. Maxwell writes:

> It was originally owned by the grandfather of the illustrious inventor, Robert Fulton. William Fulton took up 393 acres on Conowingo creek, which by warrant No. 121,742 was surveyed to James Gilespie (who had married his widow), and to this he added other pieces of land, making a total of 546 acres. On this in 1751 he erected a corn mill, one story and a half high. The first story was of stone, while the half-story or garret was of frame. In 1764 Gilespie had become involved in debt, and the sheriff sold his property, that on the west of the creek, including the mill, to George Ross and John Bickham, and that on the east to Robert Fulton, the elder, who also involved himself by the purchase and suffered a like fate. It is surmised by some that as Gilespie married the widow of William Fulton, the claims of the heirs of the said Fulton formed a part of the liabilities for which the property was sold; and as Robert Fulton became a purchaser, he was one of these heirs. If this were so, it would make William Fulton, settler, the grandfather of Robert Fulton, the inventor. Ross and Bickham, the owners of the mill property, were residents of Lancaster City, the former being the George Ross, of Revolutionary renown.
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> In 1774 these gentlemen sold the property to Jacob Gryder, who added a saw-mill and sold it in 1792 to Martin Gryder, who passed it to Christian and Martin Gryder; and from thence it passed into the hands of Joel Smedley, a practical miller, who in 1833 rebuilt the old mill and added a sorghum factory." In 1893 it passed to F. C. Pyle, who refitted it with a good set of rolls; and the sorghum press and saw-mill were abandoned.
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> A mile and a half below the Fulton mills, Joshua Brown, from Nottingham, Md., built a mill in 1758, purchasing the property from Joshua Denny, son of Walter Denny. It was part of a large tract taken up by the latter, south of the Gilespie tract, in 1741. Joshua Brown was a Quaker leader or minister, and he frequently went to Quaker meetings in Virginia and the Carolinas. He was once arrested for espionage in South Carolina and imprisoned for six months, before his innocence was satisfactorily established. In 1775 the mills were sold to Jeremiah Brown, eldest son of Joshua. Jeremiah enlarged the mill, adding a story of brick and another set of burrs. This mill was operated during the war to the advantage of the British, it is said, one of Brown's teams carting flour to Christiana, Delaware, for shipment in sloops and other vessels, to depots of the British. Most of the wheat ground by Brown at this time came from the Pequea Valley, and from York county. Jeremiah Brown was one of the original stockholders of the Farmers' Trust Company of Lancaster; and he had the distinction of making the largest individual subscription to that stock, in 1810. He was still the largest stockholder in 1831, when he died. His son, of same name and another scion of that family, come distinctively into Lancaster county records, as eminent jurists. Slater Brown, son of Jeremiah, Sr., took over the mill ownership in 1820, and at his death in 1855, Jeremiah (3d), his son, became miller, operating a plant which had been enlarged by his father, until 1877, when the property passed out of the possession of the Brown family altogether. From 1877 to 1895 the old mill was operated by J. Penrose Ambler. Fire razed the buildings in 1895, but a new mill of frame construction and more modernly equipped was soon raised. It is interesting to note that " a piece of timber, bearing the date 1704 rudely cut into it, was rescued from the flames," this seeming to point to the establishment of a mill at that point earier than that raised by Joshua Brown in 1758. Opposite the store at Goshen, Jeremiah Brown built a mill in 1818, for feed, clover, and saw. It passed to the Wood family, which was related to the Brown family.

Two miles down the stream and a half-mile east of Wakefield is the site of the oldest mill on the Conowingo. Regarding it, Mr. Maxwell wrote in 1897:

The present mill is owned by Amos K. Bradley, and the first story may be a portion of the original. It was known to exist as far back as 1733, when a road was laid out from King's mills to Octorara. This proves an earlier settlement of James King and others, or a road would not have been needed. He was a Friend, or Quaker. His neighbors were perhaps of the same persuasion, and the direction of the road clearly points to the Nottingham settlement of Friends. Mr. Bradley has in his possession papers showing that James King had his land patented June 10, 1742, and a deed for five hundred acres from the Proprietors dated November 14, 1745. In 1756 James King deeded his property among his children, so that there might be no dispute after his decease, as an old writing states. The corn mill and 110 acres of land became the property of his son Thomas, December 12, 1785. It became the property of Michael King by legacy from his father, Thomas. Michael King sold to Vincent King, September 9, 1800. He added a carding machine and saw mill, and sold in 1810 to Jeremiah Brown, who gave it to Jacob Kirk and Deborah, his wife (who was Jeremiah Brown's daughter), for the consideration of five dollars. In 1846 Jeremiah Kirk bought it from his father, and in 1853 sold it to Isaac Bradley, from whom the present owner, A. K. Bradley, bought it in 1881. (It later passed to Frank Bradley, son of Amos K.). This is undoubtedly a landmark which we do well to keep in memory, having marked the place of changing grain to meal for more than one hundred and sixty years.

Down the stream about a mile the Little Conowingo empties into the Conowingo. At some place near the junction of the two streams there once stood a clover and saw mill which was built in 1817, and at one time had a feed mill attached; in later years it was moved to the point where the road from Lancaster to Port Deposit crosses the Conowingo, and here continued business until destroyed by fire in 1850.

The mill erected nearest the border, on the Conowingo, was that built by Strohm, father of "Honest John Strohm," in 1784. Strohm sold the mill and ten acres of land in 1804 to Levi Brown. Situated about a mile south of Pleasant Grove. Levi Brown lived the remainder of his life as miller and storekeeper, and after his death the property passed to others of the Brown family, and eventually through marriage to the Woods family. The mill and store were rebuilt in 1861. The mill site was originally part of a tract of land taken by Emanuel Grubb in 1713; Mr. Magee traces this more fully. (See New Britain township chapter).

About one hundred and twenty years ago Michael Haverstick built a stone mill, 40 by 50 feet, containing four runs of French burrs. It was situated on the Conestoga creek in Pequea township, and was a good property. Haverstick sold to George Christ, and the mill passed from Christ to Abraham Snavely in 1832. Thirty years later Snavely sold to Dr. Musser, of Lancaster, who sold in 1872 to Gabriel Smith. Two years later, Daniel G. Groff became the owner. In 1876 the mill was totally destroyed by fire, but soon afterwards another mill, of frame construction, was raised upon the original site, with one less run of stones.

Jacob Smith erected a stone mill in about 1800, on the Pequea creek, about eight miles from Lancaster. The mill had one run of stones and one of burrs. Thirty-six years later his heirs sold to Abraham Mylin, who enlarged the building and added a second water-wheel. In 1857 the property passed from him to Benjamin Harnish, who in 1868 sold to Jacob B. Good. The latter sold two years later to Thomas Baumgardner, who remodelled the mill, running it as a merchant and custom plant, with four runs of burrs. Near the one built by Jacob Smith, about a mile further down the Pequea creek, Isaac Heiney erected a mill of brick about 1814. It had four runs of stones, and a good business was done; but Heiney seems to have become financially embarrassed, and the property passed to the Lancaster Bank. In 1830 the mill was bought by John Keeports, who owned it for twelve years, then disposing of it to Jacob B. Good. Twelve years later, while the property of Mr. Good, the mill was burned. It was rebuilt and eventually passed to Thomas Baumgardner.

In 1896, Dr. J. W. Houston contributed a paper entitled "Early Industries on the Octorara," to the collection of the Lancaster Historical Society. Quoting therefrom, we get a brief review of the activities along the eastern branch of the Octorara, which is formed by the union of the waters of Buck run, Williams' run, Pownall's run, and Pine run, all of which rise near the Mine Hill range. This region is included in the township of Sadsbury.

It is asserted that in no other part of Lancaster county has the water-power been so thoroughly utilized, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century. The longest tributary to the eastern branch of the Octorara river is known as Buck run. "It is an intra-county branch, and rises on the southern slope of the Mine Hill ridge, on the farm owned and operated for years by Hon. William Hamilton, recently Senator." This branch, about three miles long, meanders through the farms known as Maxwell's, Webster's and others, received contributary branches. "Where it enters the farm of Jacob Townsend it is now and has been for more than a half century under contribution to the Townsend sawmill, which was built in 1841 by John Townsend. * * * Near to the sawmill is the Smyrna Creamery, recently erected." Half a mile down the stream is Spring mill, built by John Townsend, Sr., in 1841, and now owned and operated by John F. Reed. On the road leading from Smyrna to Christiania, the stream furnished power for mills of Christopher Corbett. Further on, in the western part of Christiania, stands an unused flouring mill erected in 1816 by Dr. Robert Agnew. This mill was known as Earnest's, and later as Hanway's. The Williams' run rises on the Maxwell farm a few hundred yards from the source of the Buck run, and passes through the farms of Moore, Calvin, and Slokom, and forms junction with Buck run on the western border of Christiana. The Pownall run rises on the Hathaway farm, runs southerly, crossing and recrossing the Pennsylvania railroad, and merges with Williams' run, near its confluence with Buck run. Near the confluence is the Noble mill-pond. Pine run rises near the site of the original Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, on the Shaw farm in the Gap hills. Half a mile south are the ruins of Lear's mills; these flouring, sawing, and clover mills were formerly known as Gest's. Continuing south, near to the Sadsbury meeting house, at the time of the Civil War was the Amos Townsend saw-mill. Below these ruins is the site of the Denny machine shops, long unused. Within the borough of Christiana, Pine run was utilized for nearly sixty years, ending about 1890, for power needs of foundry and machine shops of the Christiana Machine Company. The head waters of Pine run are utilized by the borough for its residential water supply.

The water is conducted by small pipes leading from springs to a common reservoir or basin, from which it flows to the borough through larger pipes by gravity, a distance of two miles. Within the borough there is a head-pressure of one hundred and sixty feet, making fire-engines unnecessary. The water is generally distributed through the town, and is assuredly an excellent system of water supply, furnishing as it does to Christiana the most potable water of any borough or town in Lancaster county. Near the confluence of Buck and Pine runs in Noble's dam, the name of the Eastern branch of the Octorara is given to the stream. This dam is in the southern part of Christiana and furnishes power to drive a flouring and feed mill. Years ago there were saw and plaster mills attached. These mills are yet known as Noble's Mills. Forty years ago (1856) they were owned and operated by Thomas Whitson, of Anti-Slavery fame. * * * South of Nobleville, on the old Noble farm are found the ruins of a woolen factory which was burned fifty years ago. Near this locality, the stream is reinforced by the waters of Valley run, which rises in Bart township, flows in a southerly course past Bart meeting house, then adopts an easterly direction to its mouth. The first utilization of its waters was sixty years ago (1836), when Hood's tanyard exacted tribute. Only tradition can point the site. Journeying down the stream we find the chopping mill and creamery of Cyrus Brinton. This building half a century ago was a woolen factory, known as Rose Hill; later, lime spreaders were manufactured in it. Both enterprises were managed by Lewis Cooper.

One mile east are the ruins of Burnt Mill. It was built by Samuel Irwin in 1825, and at one time known as the Brick mill. For years Ellis Irwin owned the property, and later William Spencer operated it; it was burned in 1853. "This mill was being operated during the time of the Christiana riots by Castner Hanway, who with Elijah Lewis and Joseph Scarlet was tried for treason to the United States by reason of being implicated in this first battle of the great American conflict for human liberty and the emancipation of the American slave. The scene of this resistance to tyrants in obedience to God was on the south bank of this stream, about two miles distant from Christiana." Valley run and Glen run join the eastern branch of the Octorara not far from each other, though heir sources are far apart. Glen run rises in Sadsbury, Chester county, flowing southwestward through the borough of Atglen. On this stream years ago was the Buckley forge, known as Greenwood. The Chalfont Company later used the plant for manufacturing sad-irons and iron novelties. In the southern part of the town are found the ruins of Crawford mill, on Glen run. On a branch of Glen run are the ruins of Boyd's mill. Near the mouth of the stream is a flouring mill once known as Ann's, and later as Ferguson's. Below it is Mercer's dam, which seventy years ago furnished power for two flouring mills, which were supposed to have been built in the eighteenth century by one Downing; another version states, by Sterrett, in 1781. It was a busy grist mill in early Republican days. John Mercer operated it for many years. Eventually, one of the mills was converted into a paper-board mill.

Among the industries on the West branch of the Octorara were the Downing and Georgetown mills, and the Cooper woolen factory, near Georgetown, in Bart township; and Shultz's, Millville and Bassler mills, in Eden township. Downing mill was erected about 1747 by Samuel Downing, about a mile below the Green Tree Inn. The grist-mill remained in his possession till his death, soon after which the Hurfords purchased it. They rebuilt it in 1830. Later owners were Eli Kerns, Horation Kerns, and the Heyburgers. It was burned in 1877. About a mile and a half below this mill is a framed structure, a grist mill with sawmill attached. The first grist mill on that site was erected in the early part of the nineteenth century by General James Caldwell. Fire destroyed it, and the present mill was soon afterwards built by Maris Kerns, who bought the property. It later passed to David Jackson.

The Georgetown mill was at first a saw mill. It was erected in the latter part of the eighteenth century by the landowner, Felix Baughman, or by his son George. The Baughman family had received patent to the land in 1765. Soon after the saw mill was put into operation, a small grinding mill was added. In 1803, the property was sold to James Baxter; in 1816 the sheriff took possession, and sold to James Downing, who in the next year added two runs of stones for grinding wheat. In 1826, William Downing became owner, and in 1834 Morris Cooper. In 1842 Cooper demolished the old mill and erected a better grist and saw mill a short distance further down the stream. Both old and new mills were built of stone, the new mill having three runs of stones. In 1855 Jeremiah Copper, son of Morris, took over the property. It was purchased by Harvey Glendenning in 1883.

About a quarter of a mile down the stream from the Georgetown mill is a woolen mill erected in 1842 by William P. Cooper; it was of stone construction, and had machinery for the manufacture of woolen cloth and satinet. In 1862 the interior was gutted by fire, but soon rebuilt. Later the property passed to James Bond, who installed modern machinery and operated the plant until 1876.

Benjamin Breneman erected a mill at Camargo, Eden township, in 1825. To the grist mill was soon added a saw mill, and Mr. Breneman operated both for about fifteen years, then it passed to Henry Breneman, a brother, who rented it to several different millers during the next eighteen years. It was then purchased by Christian H. Shultz. Ross Rohrer has been the miller at Camargo for many years.

William Downing, it is said, erected a mill on the site of the Millville mill in 1754, and it is reputed to have been of service to the patriots during the Revolution. The present mill was erected in 1870, by Christian H. Shultz. At the time when Mr. Shultz bought the mill site a saw mill was upon it.

The Bassler mill, on a branch of the Big Beaver creek, in Eden township, was erected by John Bassler about 1825, and operated by him for thirty years thereafter, his son, Christian B., succeeding to the property in 1855. The latter operated it for two years, but thereafter rented it until 1882, when he sold to Henry H. Lefevre, who soon sold to B. F. Florey.

The early mills of Salisbury township included that erected by Daniel Cookson, to which reference will elsewhere be made. It was the pioneer in Salisbury township. The Gault family was among the earliest to settle in Salisbury township. In the Pequea tax lists of 1720-21 appear the names of James and Robert Gault; James was the son. They came from Ireland, and "are supposed to have settled about the year 1710," on the headwaters of the Pequea. "Robert Gault landed in New Castle, and started out in search of a place to settle in Penn's Woods. He selected a spot at the headwaters of one of the branches of the Pequea creek. He went back to New Castle for his family, but on his return could not find the place, and located on a well-watered tract farther north." Here he purchased a large tract of land, and the Gault family still own part of the original tract. One of his family erected the mill known as Galt's (or Gault's) mill. Robert Gault was one of the founders of the Pequea Presbyterian Church.

The Houston family was early in the township, and is still represented in its citizenry. John Houston erected a mill near the Leacock line about 1753. Christian Hess acquired the property, and erected another and larger mill upon the original site about 1800. Frantz's mill was built by John Anderson in the last decade of the eighteenth century, it is recorded. Wilson's mill took the place of an old distillery about 1825. Samuel Martin erected a fulling-mill prior to 1820; it passed into the possession of the Shippen family, but ultimately was gutted by fire, and never rebuilt. Josiah Haines built a mill which was used for many years for hulling clover seed, but eventually was converted into a saw mill by M. P. Cooper. The Haines family settled in Salisbury about 1734, Jacob Haines then purchasing a large tract owned by Richard Evanson. Josiah is believed to have been the son of Jacob.

David Henderson built a mill near Millwood; it was rebuilt by F. Diller Baker in 1844, but later passed to the Ebys. The Hendersons came from Ireland about 1727. The progenitor in America was Thomas, and David must have been a grandson, or of a later generation, because the sons of Thomas Henderson were Archibald, William, and Thomas. The Ebys were of the pioneer German family of that name, but Peter Eby, the first of that family to settle in Salisbury, did not come until 1791. He was later a Mennonite bishop. Leonard Ellmaker erected a mill, which was rebuilt about 1853 by John Newhauser, and later passed to the Seldomridges.

One of the first mills erected in Lancaster county was that built prior to 1729 by Hans Graaf, of West Earl township. Claim has been made that it was the first, but priority of building seems to be due to at least one other. "Hans Graaf's mill stood on the south side of the Conestoga, right at the point where the Cocalico unites its waters with that stream," wrote Mr. F. R. Diffenderfer, in 1876; adding that "it was made a corner of Warwick township when that district was organized in 1729, and only through that fact has its existence been preserved from utter oblivion."

In 1876 there were six mills in Earl township, six in East Earl, and six in West Earl. The first in Earl township, perhaps, was that built by Hinkle, at Hinkletown, successive owners to 1876 being Hinkle, Bushong, Werntz, Shriner, Martin. The others in Earl township, Diffenderfer states, were: Sensenig's, later Bear's; Galt's, later Erb's; Overholser's, Zimmerman's; Brubaker's, formerly Horst's; Rein's, later Roland's; Swope's, Neff's, Hoober's; and Martin's. All excepting Martin's had saw mills attached; Sensenig's and Galt's were on the Conestoga, Horst's and Rein's on Mill creek, and Martin's on Martin's spring. Sensenig also had a small clover mill, and a small chopping mill, known as Hildebrand's, was near the head of Mill creek. The six mills of East Earl were Rupp's, formerly Shirk's, Henry Martin's and Joseph Overholser's, all on the Conestoga; David Martin's, formerly Frantz's, and Martin Frantz's formerly Dosch's, on a small stream near the Sorrel Horse; and Binckley's on Mill creek, near the Welsh Mountains. In West Earl were six grist mills, all save one with saw mill attached. They were H. B. Grabill's; Wolf's, later Wenger's; Bitzer's, later Martin and Burkholder's, all on the Conestoga; Abraham Groff's, and Abraham Martin's, on Groff run. There was also in 1876 a saw mill, that of Benjamin Sheaffer, and two woolen mills, John K. Zook's and Jacob Musselman's; Zook's mill being on the Cocalico, and the others on Groff's run.

The first industry in the Welsh settlement was a saw mill. According to Dr. J. B. Lincoln the first mill was erected during 1718. To this saw mill was added a grist mill in 1721. It was owned by Gabriel Davies, and was located upon his tract along the Conestoga river. Part of this mill was later, in 1765, as used joists for the colonial mansion then built by John Jenkins, ironmaster. The mill property had passed to the Jenkins family, and a new mill had been erected in 1750 by John Jenkins. Another mill was built upon the old site by George Jenkins in 1816. It is still in use, and is known as Hertzler's mill. It stands about a mile and a half southeast of Churchtown. Two other mills were erected west of Churchtown by Jacob Light, about 1750. One is now known as Caernarvon mill, and is owned by the Martin family; the other, known as McCormick's mill, later as John's mill, is also owned by the Martins.

The milling industries of the Ephrata Community are referred to extensively in another chapter; those were among the earliest mills operated in the original Cocalico township. But there were many other mills. On Indian creek a filling and carding mill, with sawing attachment, was built soon after the Revolution by John Hibshman. It passed from him to Samuel Eberly, and later to Benjamin Hemegay. Forty years ago it was the only carding mill in West Cocalico.

In 1793 Nicholas Keesecker built a mill on the Cocalico, near Cocalico post-office. It was a large mill, three sories high, of sandstone, and had four runs of stones, also saw-mill attachment. It eventually passed to the Weist family. About 1810 Jacob Zinn erected a mill on the Cocalico creek, it had two sets of burrs and two pairs of choppers, also saw-mill attachment. It passed to the Landis family. Not much farther down the creek was an old fulling and carding mill which later became a boring mill, under Daniel Lutz. Half a mile further down he had another boring mill. The old mill was bought by George Burkholder in 1864, and replaced by a grist mill having three runs of stones; it passed to the Weinhold family about fifty years ago. Another on the Cocalico in West Cocalico township was John Hacker's saw mill. On Harnish's creek Samuel Harnish built a mill about 1840; William Bechtel later owned it. Nearby was John Kurtz's mill, grist and saw. Henry Mishler built a grist mill on Swamp creek early in the nineteenth century. Later owners were Samuel Buffenmoyer, Samuel Bucher, Henry Keller, Peter Gerhart, who made it a flour and feed mill about forty years ago. Binckley's mill on Stony run is comparatively modern. A four-story merchant and custom mill standing on Cocalico creek, half a mile from Reamstown, was built early in the nineteenth century by Daniel S. Kinsey, who in 1851 sold to Henry Shirk. It passed from Michael Shirk to R. A. Leinbach in 1881. Steam power was not installed until then, though droughts were often serious. Attached to the mill was a machine shop owned by Henry Shirk, and at one time, fifty years ago, used for manufacture of threshing machines. There were two other earlier mills in that vicinity; the earliest was built farther down the stream, and the second almost on the site of the Kinsey mill. Christian Knop built a mill below Kinsey's, on Cocalico creek in 1817. It was situated about three-quarters of a mile from Reamstown, was of stone, two stories high, and latterly equipped with two runs of burrs and a run of chopping stones. Upon the site once stood an old oil mill. The grist mill passed from Knop to Sebastian Gochley in 1821. His executors in 1853 sold to Benedict Bucher, the latter's son Monroe inheriting part of the property in 1864, and purchasing the interests in it of other heirs.

Near the old Hershberger mill, near Stevens, stood an old fulling-mill erected probably earlier than the Hershberger mill, by a Moore. Honas Moore sold to John Moore in 1814, and eventually it passed to John Dougherty. The Bare (Bear) mill near Denver was built in the eighteenth century; it was of stone, with four runs of stones. The Keller family eventually became the owners.

The original Addams grist mill at Adamstown, stood about seventy-five yards farther up the stream than the mill later built by Daniel Moore. Subsequent owners of the Moore mill were Daniel Moore, Jr., Jacob Moore, Abraham Kappis, Sebastian Miller and Philip Vanida, Jacob Vanida, William Mohn and Mohn Brothers. The Mohn operations were extensive; in fact, the mill had twice been rebuilt and much enlarged since Daniel Moore's time. Latterly, under the Mohn Brothers, Pierce C. and Wayne C., the plant had been principally used for the manufacture of hosiery. In January, 1923, this historic Adams mill property, which had been a conspicuous landmark for almost two centuries, was sold at a sheriff's sale to satisfy a mortgage. The purchaser was John Warren, of Reading, who acquired the property for $4,550.

The first mill in Warwick township is said to have been that erected by George Eby, at the junction of Hammer and Cocalico creeks. It was perhaps built earlier than 1733, and not later than 1760. It was torn down in 1835. Near its site another was built by Jacob Shaeffer, Jr., later passing to the Brubakers. Another early mill bordering on Warwick and Earl townships was Hans Graaf's mill, which was made a corner Warwick township when the township boundary was delineated in 1729. It has already been referred to. The Lititz mill, erected in 1756, is referred to in the Lititz chapter; also a fulling-mill established at Lititz in 1765.

Peter Wieland (Wiland) erected a frame grist mill soon after he had settled, on Middle creek, near what became the village of Clay, in the township of that name. It passed from him to Jacob Erb, who in 1787 built the present two-story stone mill at short distance below the old mill; Mr. Erb then permitted the latter to be converted into a schoolhouse. Isaac, son of Jacob Erb, sold to his brother in 1820. John Erb was the miller until 1841, then transferring it to his son Hiram, who added a saw mill in 1841. He sold in 1870 to Michael S. Eberly, and the Eberlys still own the property. Mr. Eberly enlarged and remodelled it in 1875, installing the roller process.

The Weidman grist and saw mills on Middle creek were built in 1755 by Christopher Weidman, who operated them until 1811. Michael Shepler then bought them, built a fulling-mill where the saw mill stood, and operated it until 1833, when the property was acquired by James and Jesse Pennabecker. The fulling-mill became a rifle-barrel factory, and in 1861 Jesse Pennabecker rebuilt the grist mill three stories high.

The Elser family came into possession of a saw and hemp-rolling mill on Middle creek in provincial times. Michael Kitch settled there in 1738, or later, possibly; but he became financially embarrassed, and in 1749 the land was surveyed for Martin Weidman, who in the year 1750 was granted patent. On April 30, that year, he conveyed the land to Henry Mock, who subsequently conveyed it to Peter Elser. Frank E. Schnerer, writing in 1912 of the "Elser Homestead and Family History," makes the following statements regarding the mills:

> Henry Mock and wife (who was the widow of Hans Adam Elser, father of Peter Elser), April 20, 1761, conveyed the farm to Peter Elser. The house, standing near the tail race and adjoining the saw-mill, was erected by him in the year 1770. * * * It is with regret that I am not able to give a date when the saw-mill was erected. Family tradition says that Henry Mock built the first one a little to the east of the present one. The building is about 56 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 8 feet high to the square. * * *
>
> The Hemp rolling mill was about twenty feet square and two stories high, the first being of limestone and the second of frame, and stood on the east side of the penstock. When the building was erected I will not venture to say, but tradition says it was erected by Peter Elser, Sr. An extension was built to the penstock, from which the water was supplied to run the water-wheel. * * * Hemp and flax culture was extensively carried on by the early settlers, and this being the only mill in this part of the country, it had a large patronage. About the year 1882 John O. Elser remodelled the mill, whereby the speed was trebled. * * * Further changes were made by Joseph Barnett. * * * The mill had been in operation for a period of 150 years, but for the past two years it has not been running, and before long will be a thing of the past.

A stone mill was built on Middle creek by Jacob Eberly in 1774, and upon its site there may have been an earlier wooden mill. The land was warranted to Ulrich Stealy in 1737, and patented in 1757. In the same year he sold to Jacob Eberly, who in 1766 secured patent for thirty-one acres on Middle creek. He sold the premises in 1784 to Henry Eberly, whose son, Henry, Jr., became the owner of the grist mill in 1836, the property in 1878 passing to his two daughters, Mrs. John B. Wissler and Mrs. Israel W. Groh.

Lincoln mill, a three-story one of stone, was built in 1842, by Jacob Wissler; but there probably was an early mill at that point on Middle creek, John Jacob Graff having settled there in 1724. Graff's daughter married Andrew Wissler, and inherited the homestead of 202 acres of land. From Jacob Wissler the stone mill passed to Christian Wissler, who died in 1878, his son Benjamin then taking charge and continuing the mill.

Michael Kline built a three-story stone grist mill on Hammer creek in 1813. He died in 1842, and of his fourteen children, Joseph became the miller. He sold the mill in 1869 to George Flory, who added a saw mill in 1870, and in that year sold to A. B. Snyder. Isaac Erb built grist and saw mills on Indian creek in 1823, selling to Jacob Hershberger in 1832. Subsequent owners were John Oberlin, Samuel Millinger, and William Stober. The last named remodelled and modernized the mills in 1882. Jacob Snavely built a flouring mill at what became known as Junction, in Penn township, about 1807. It was converted from water power to steam about 1882.

The early mills of the Hempfields included a grist mill with sawing attachment, erected on Barber's or Strickler's run, about 1750, by Ulrich Shellaberger; Musselman's mill, built on Big Chikis creek, about a mile south from Pedan's Tavern, prior to the Revolution; a hemp mill erected near the mouth of Chikis creek, on the east side, upon land owned by Thomas Ewing about 1740, and purchased by John Haldeman soon after the Revolution; a grist and saw mill erected on Shawanese run, about two miles from its mouth, by John Hamaker, and purchased by George Getz about 1810; a grist mill built by Hans Greider, possibly before the Revolution, at or near the head of Silver Spring run, quarter of a mile north of the village of Silver Spring; a four-storied brick grist mill about four miles from Columbia, on Big Chikis creek, built by Christian Hertzler about 1808; a log grist mill a few hundred yards above the Hertzler mill, and built "before the country was organized"; a two-and-a-half-story frame grist mill erected on Strickler's run, about two miles from its mouth, in 1815, by Abraham Zook; grist, hemp and saw mills erected at the head of Kauffman's run prior to the Revolution, by George Kneisley; a three-storied brick grist mill on Swarr's run, about three miles west from Lancaster, erected about 1778 by Jacob Neff; a grist and corn mill erected on Swarr's run, by Peter Swarr, prior to 1750, and rebuilt by his son John during the Revolution; grist and saw mills built by Christian Kauffman, Sr., at the close of the Revolutionary War, a two-storied frame mill on Kauffman's run, about half a mile southeast from Landisville.

The assessment list for Manor township for an early Republican year (1780) contains the names of 281 persons. Among them, the following are shown as millers: Christian Burkholder, (2 mills); Jacob Goodman, Rudolph Harr, (oil mill); Abraham Harr, Christian Harr, (saw mill); John Keller, Jacob Kauffman, Yost Mosser, (saw mill). The mills a century later (1880), on the Little Conestoga were: Brenner's, to the north of Millersville, on the road to the Columbia turnpike; Groff's, half a mile northwest of Millersville, on the road to Washington borough; Bickhart's, a mile west from Millersville, on the road from Millersville to Masonville; Stehman's, on the old road from Millersville to Safe Harbor; Landis' mill, on the west branch of the Conestoga, on the road from Millersville to Washington borough; Doerstler's, on the West branch, on the road from Millersville to Masonville; Shopp's, farther westward; Taylor's steam grist and saw, at the upper end of Safe Harbor; G. A. Taylor's saw mill, just above Safe Harbor; Oberholtzer's woolen mill, nearby; Kneisley's, Kauffman's, Reigart's (Hoover's) and Eby's, on the Little Conestoga; and Stauffer's fulling-mill, above Safe Harbor.

The first mill, and also the first "ordinary," or tavern, in the Donegal region were enterprises of the Galbraith family. John Galbraith built the first grist mill on Spring creek, or Donegal Meeting-house run, as it was called, in 1720 or 1721. It has been earlier referred to in the Donegal chapter. About half a mile above Galbraith's mill along Spring creek, from about 1730 it is thought, was a stone mill two stories high. For some years before 1773 it was owned by George Clingan; in that year he sold the mill and seventy-six acres of land to Abraham Stauffer, who eleven years later sold the mill to Jacob Kreybill. For a century thereafter almost it was known as Greybill's or Kreybill's mill, until laterly operated by Mr. Nissley. Jacob Kreybill tore down the stone mill about eighty-five years ago; and some years earlier, about 1830, he built a three-storied brick mill across the road from the old mill.

On the northeast branch of Spring creek the first mill was Zook's carding and fulling-mill, to which reference has already been made. Nearby was Worke's tannery. A mile above Worke's is a very old corn mill which for eighty years was known as Breneman's mill. It dates well in to the provincial period, probably, and is believed to have been erected by Gordon Howard. It was built of stone.

At the head of Spring creek the Nissly family built a grist mill in about the year 1762. There was a saw-mill attachment. The property has always been known as Nissly's mill. It was built on land originally owned by John Wilkins, the Indian trader.

John Gardner erected his hemp mill at the mouth of Chikis creek about 1720, on the eastern bank. The large stone merchant mill at the mouth of Spring creek was built by Christian Haldeman about 1837. It was later owned by John Baker, who also owned a rolling-mill nearby.

At the junction of the Big and Little Chikis creeks, Henry Shearer built a very large stone merchant mill in 1809 or 1810; it was later known as Johnson's mill. At the lower point of Rapho township, at the junction of the two Chikis creeks, a carding mill was erected by Christian Martin before 1750. The ditch for the head-race is still evidence of what originally stood there. Half a mile above the mouth of the Little Chikis creek Abe Hiestand had a fulling and saw mill in the first years of the nineteenth century. It was a very old mill, and was erected by Nathaniel Lyttle, it is thought.

Roddy's grist and saw mills were built as early as 1721 or 1722. Upon their site Risser's mill was built. The present brick mill was built by Mr. Houtz about eighty years ago. The stone building behind the brick mill was the original Rhoddy mill, or part of it, and was used as a clover mill after the erection of the new mill. Mr. Rhoddy died in 1733. About two years later his son Alexander erected a grist mill along Conewago creek. In 1745 James

Rhoddy, son of Alexander, sold the mills and 350 acres to John Forry and Joseph Sherrick; part of this property remained in the Sherrick family until within thirty years. Tobias Miller owned the mill about 1770. He later sold his mill property to the Stauffers. Patrick Hayes built a carding and fulling mill, which stood above the stone arch bridge at Myers. The foundations are still visible and the stone walls of the old mill stood for more than 150 years. It was erected about 1730. Jacob Brubaker, grandson of Hans Brubaker, the pioneer, built a fulling mill on Little Chikis creek before the Revolution, below Mastersonville.

The first grist mill above Rhoddy's was that built by David Hays, about 1730. John Hamaker, who was one of the county justices in 1772, was a later owner of the mill. It was a log structure, and 150 years later was in use in part as a dwelling house. John Hertzler purchased this mill in an early year of the nineteenth century. He erected a new mill of brick, four stories high and about seventy feet square, and made a tunnel through solid rock from the dam to the new mill. The Shenks were the next owners. Eventually Michael Moore bought the property. Above the Hays mill, the Greiders had a mill in early republican days. Commodore Greider is said to have erected a large stone grist mill about the year 1804. This also passed to the Moore family.

Above John Gamber's anthracite furnace, which was erected about 1849 and long since dismantled, stood the Musselman grist mill, erected by the latter in about the opening decade of the nineteenth century. It later became known as Bender's mill, and still later as Barr's mill. In Barr's time a distillery business was also done. Above Barr's mill, at the crossing of the old Paxtang and Conestoga road, Samuel Scott settled, and built a grist and saw mill on the west side of the creek about 1729 or 1730. Two years later the road was opened, and Scott saw that a tavern was needed. It became a famous tavern during the French and Indian wars, and during the Revolution. "When the officers and troops marched to join Braddock's and Forbes' armies they invariably halted at Scott's tavern to dine, it being a convenient distance from Lancaster." Scott died in 1777, his nephew, Captain Hugh Pedan, inheriting the property. John Pedan, son of Hugh, eventually owned mill and tavern. Henry Shenk bought the mill and water right, and built a very fine stone grist and merchant mill on the east side of the creek; the mills later passed to the Garbers.

The Shawnee corn and grist mill was built of stone, near the mouth of Shawnee run, about the year 1730, by Samuel Blunston and James Wright, who settled where Columbia is in about 1726, and early became prominent in county affairs. "During Braddock's war, and afterward when General Forbes was organizing his army at Fort Rays or Bedford, in 1758, James Wright supplied these armies with flour packed in kegs and carried to Bedford on pack horses. He also supplied the Indians on Turkey Hill with flour."

In 1796 Samuel J. Atlee established a tanyard near the Shawnee mill. Seventy-five years ago Shawnee Furnaces absorbed most of the land and water belonging to the tanyard. At about that time George Getz had a grist mill about a mile above the tannery, and he was at times so short of water as to be forced to tread his water-wheel himself. When the turnpike to Chestnut Hill was built, about sixty-five years ago, the mill was torn down.

Abram Hess, of Conestoga, purchased several hundred acres of land from James Logan about the year 1730. It was situated along and near the creek which empties into the river at Vinegar's Ferry. The mill was erected soon after Mr. Hess took possession of the land, and was operated by him until 1760, when the property passed to John Grove (Groff, Graaf), also of Conestoga. In 1787 John Grove conveyed the grist and saw mills to his son Henry. The latter in 1795 sold one hundred acres of land and the mills to Abram Shock, of Manor township. Soon after the Revolution, Conrad Ziegler settled above Shock's mill. In about 1845 the sons of Conrad Ziegler built a large stone grist mill on the Ziegler farm, along Grove's run, about a mile from the river. At or near where Ziegler's mill was built, Huber earlier had a grist mill; and very nearby was the trading post of James Le Tort.

In about 1750, Jacob Downer, who founded Maytown ten years later, built a tannery along the same stream, at the point where the road from Galbraith's mill to Conoy creek crossed. At the mouth of Conoy creek, a hundred and twenty-five years ago, possibly earlier, Melchoir Breneman and his son-in-law, John Haldeman, built a large stone merchant mill and saw mill, and also a still house. Then or soon afterwards it passed to John Haldeman and his wife Maria (Breneman). It stood on Conoy creek, near the Susquehanna river, a mile below Bainbridge, and upon land which had originally belonged to the Galbraiths. The mill was burned about 1800, but at once rebuilt. The mill had four runs of stones, and a large volume of milling was done. Three generations of the Haldeman family operated that property. In 1855 it was purchased by John H. Smith, who later sold to John Wiley.

About a mile above the Wiley mill Conrad Wolff built grist and saw mills in 1756, upon land he had bought from John Galbraith. Dewald (David) Wolff, son of Conrad, sold a one-third interest in the milling business to George Bambaugh, of Derry. Bambaugh transferred his interest to Henry Nissly in 1769. The latter sold to John Engle and Adam Brenneman, Engle eventually selling his share to Brenneman, who in 1798 erected a new mill of stone. When finally closed, it was the property of the Erb family, and known as Erb's mill. About a mile above this mill was one erected by Alexander Hutchison in the early days of settlement. In 1749 the Hutchisons sold the mill to John Wilson, who sold to John Engle about 1770. A century later it was known as Horst's mill. There was another mill about a mile furthe up the stream in the early years of the nineteenth century. Brubaker's mill was above it, and above Brubaker's was Roots, Gish's mill being even higher up. Philip Gloninger built a grist and saw mill on Conoy creek, upon the site of one of these mills—Brubaker's or Root's—as early as 1740. Nine years later Gloninger sold to Nissly.

At a point where the road from Hummelstown to Harris' Tavern crosses Conestoga creek, Captain Harris purchased a grist and saw mill from Captain Samuel Smith in the year 1750. The latter moved to the Juniata Valley. The Harris family moved to Deer creek, Baltimore county, Maryland, in the year 1766. The first mill on Conewago creek was called Nissly mill, as early as 1815. There was probably a grist mill there long before that. The Grubbs built a forge where the Pennsylvania railroad crosses the creek, about the year 1800; and in the year 1820 they built Mount Vernon Furnace. Some years later they built a grist and saw mill. Patrick Allison erected a grist and saw mill below where Colebrook Furnace later stood. Allison's mill was in operation as early as 1840. John Mais had a fulling mill in operation on Little Chikis creek as early as 1730. It was situated about one and a half miles south of Mount Joy, and for nearly a century it was steadily operated. David Cook and his son had a grist mill on Chikis creek in provincial times.

In 1840, according to Rupp, there were 244 mills in the county, this number including grist, saw, hemp, and other grinding mills. In 1839 it was claimed in a memorial then submitted to Congress, that Lancaster had 201 grist mills and 117 saw mills, "besides * * * fulling mills, hemp mills, oil mills, clover mills, card mills, paper mills * * * and plaister mills." Milling was one of the most important industries in Lancaster county during the period in which the East was largely a grain-growing region; but as the "grain-clad prairies of the West," Middle West and Northwest extended their acreages in grain, so did the milling industry in parts of the East like Lancaster decrease in importance. Since 1860, according to Dr. Roddy, eighty grist mills have gone out of existence in Lancaster county, and the saw mills have been reduced from 179 in 1860 to 30 in 1916. Many of the well-built stone mills of former days are now the centres of busy knitting and underwear factories. Nevertheless, while the number of grist and flouring mills in operation is less, Lancaster county is still a food-growing centre of considerable importance. The statistics of the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs show that Lancaster county produced in 1922 flour and grist-mill products to a value of $4,917,800. Eshleman's mills in and near Lancaster are the largest now being operated in the county.

The present business of John W. Eshelman & Sons, Lancaster and York, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1842. The business was started by John Eshelman in a small grist mill located about two and a half miles from Lancaster, and has grown to be one of the largest mixed-feed manufacturing plants of the East. Until the death of the founder in 1862, the business made little change, and only such growth as was possible doing a local country business. Conditions changed rapidly, however, after the present owner, John W. Eshelman, now in his seventy-ninth year, took hold.

At that time Rochester, New York, was still the milling center of the country. Minneapolis was beginning to come to the front, but at that time the Northwest was largely wilderness, and the "grain-clad prairies of the Northwest" had hardly been opened to tillage. Rochester flour dominated the eastern markets and improved transportation was bringing keener competition to the small mills. At the same time, the dairy industry of Pennsylvania and New York was going ahead in rapid strides, and the farmers were beginning to find out that better results could be obtained by feeding mill-offal, cottonseed-meal and other concentrates, than by depending on home-grown grain as they had in the past. Cotton and oil machinery were being perfected, and a new industry, feed-manufacturing, was just ready to turn its wheels.

The new opportunities in the mixed-feed business were foreseen, and in the course of time J. W. Eshelman established a city feed-store, gradually abandoning the grist mill, until in 1907 he built a large warehouse and grain elevator, starting to manufacture poultry feeds, first by hand and later by machinery. In 1910 this building was destroyed by fire, but was immediately replaced with a larger structure, now a part of the large modern mixed-feed plant in Lancaster. This really marked the beginning of the expansion in business that has put the Eshelman concern in its present enviable position. In 1917 the Lancaster Mill and Elevator Company was organized to operate a separate plant for the manufacture of molasses, horse and dairy feeds. The operation of this plant, however, was taken over by the larger organization, and a partnership was formed in 1919 under the firm name of John W. Eshelman & Sons. In that year an extensive addition was built to the original plant to take care of the increased demand for Eshelman products. In 1920 a third large mixed-feed plant was erected at York, Pennsylvania, which was completed and put in operation early in 1921. For the convenience of its three plants the firm operates a bag factory at Lancaster under the name of the Keystone Bag and Burlap Company. This plant has a capacity of 15,000 burlap and cotton bags, printed and ready to pack each day. At the present time the three plants are loading out more than 10,000 twenty-ton cars yearly.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PROVINCIAL FURNACES AND FORGES.

The History of Mining, Smelting, and Working of Metals in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1708-1922.

William Penn was an ironmaster in England, or at least was the owner of iron furnaces there prior to coming to Pennsylvania, and this industrial connection may to some extent have influenced his thoughts in planning the exploitation of his province in the new world. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the potential mineral resources of Pennsylvania were uppermost in his mind when he toured the province. He, as an ironmaster, would see greater possible profit from the exploitation of what mineral deposits might be discovered than from the settlement and tillage of the vast virgin surface-spaces of his province; and it is possible that he had some of the high land of Lancaster county in mind when in 1683 he wrote of the existence of "mineral of iron and copper in various places." A study of the life of William Penn shows how greatly Penn's hope of monetary advantage from his provincial possession was centered in its mineral wealth. His circumstances had become straightened financially by the meagreness of the settlement-yields during his first two decades as Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania; yet in 1708, when rumors reached him that "the King of the Shawnee Indians was quietly working mines for Mitchel" and others, including his own lieutenant-governor, John Evans, presumably in behalf and for the profit of the Propriety—Penn was jubilant and optimistic. He was evidently in such a frame of mind when he wrote to James Logan, Secretary of the Province, in part as follows: "I am glad * * * that mines so rich are so certainly found, for that will clear the country and me of all other encumbrances, and enable me to reward those that have approved themselves faithful to me and to my just interest. Clap somebody upon them, as servants for me, and by the next opportunity send me some of the ore, to get it tried by some of the ablest separators here."

Apparently, the rumors were not well based. Penn later wrote to his secretary: "Pray go to the bottom with Colonel Evans about the mines, and what has become of Mitchel? Who are let in the secret where are they?" In 1709, Secretary Logan replied: "Mitchel has been with me, and by him and T. Grey I learn the misunderstanding between the late Governor and thy self, if they say true, has cost me dear; for they assure me he and company may, and they believe do, make £100, if not twice told, weekly. The Indians chiefly discovered the mine and work it on the spot, and he told me the way of it. It is the King of the Shawnee Indians, and some few of his subjects that perform the business for him, viz., Colonel Evans."

Further investigation enabled Logan to write to William Penn, regarding Evans: "That story of his getting, by the mines, I believe to be very fiction. Evans has been very free with me upon that head. There has been none opened, and I fear Mitchel has tricked us all,—he has gone over to England with an intention we believe of putting his countrymen, the Swiss, upon purchasing from the Queen a tract beyond the Potomac, where he thinks they lie. It will therefore nearly concern thee to have an eye to all his notions. He is subtile and not to be trusted."

Conjecture only is possible, yet there is some reason for believing that the mineral region Mitchel hoped to profit by was in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, possibly on Mine ridge, where the Gap copper mines later developed, and where eventually much nickel was obtained. Day's "Historical Collections" give the information that on Mine ridge, "a few miles south of Lancaster," as the paragraph has it, "in 1843 the remains of an ancient shaft were visible." The chronicler adds: "They were supposed to have been opened by French adventurers, or persons from Maryland, about the time of Penn." As will be later shown in this chapter, the copper deposits along the Gap ridge were actually being worked by Marylanders in 1718, though not for long, for as soon as this encroachment upon the rights and territory of William Penn's heirs became known to the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, Sir William Keith, the intruders were ordered away. Other reasons supporting the belief that the rumored operations ten years earlier, by the King of the Shawnees with Mitchel, Evans and others, had been in land within the limits of the present county of Lancaster are, that a Shawnee Indian town was seated near the Pequea creek; that Mitchel and Grey were identified with Bazaillon and LeTort, well-known Indian traders in Lancaster county at that time; and that the names Bazaillon, LeTort, Evans, and Mitchel all appear on the first assessment-lists for Conestoga township of Chester county, when that township had jurisdiction over almost the whole of what is now embraced in Lancaster county. James Mitchel was one of the first settlers in Donegal township, which was formed in about 1720 from part of Conestoga township. He was evidently not a newcomer in Pennsylvania, and was represented as a surveyor by profession before coming to Donegal. He was appointed a justice for Donegal township of Chester county in 1722, and in the same year was commissioned to survey Springettsbury Manor for the Proprietaries. Still, there is nothing that definitely connects him with the Mitchel whom Logan in 1709 described as subtle and crafty.

However, we may pass from the hazily conjectural to a confident conjecture that William Penn looked upon parts of what is now Lancaster county as at least potential in mineral wealth. And with these brief introductory statements, let us pass on to a more detailed reviewing of the direct history of mining, smelting, and ironworking in Lancaster. It will perhaps be proper to begin with the Gap copper and nickel mines.

Gap Copper and Nickel Mines.—In 1681 William Penn "leased and released" to William Bacon, of the Inner Temple, London, five thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania. Bacon released the tract to Humphrey Murry and John Budd in February, 1718, "and the said Murry and Budd by deed dated the 26th of March, 1720, did sell to James Steel, Gent, 1,500 acres." Included in this tract surveyed for steel was a tract described as "100 acres mine land at Octorara retained by said Steel." A further 150 acres passed to Steel by purchase and survey in 1730, the latter purchase being of land originally secured by William Markham. The "return of 250 acres in Lancaster county surveyed the 9th of November, 1730," is certified by Jacob Taylor, and the paper is endorsed on the back as follows: "James Steel 250 acres in Langcast'r County, the Gap Mine Land, now belonging one-sixth part to the honorable Prop'r Thos. Penn, one-sixth part to Andrew Hamilton, one-sixth part to James Logan, or assigns, one-sixth part to Wm. Allen, one-sixth part to Thomas Schute, or assigns, one-sixth part to James Steel."

There is therefore documentary evidence that as early as 1720 it was known that minerals were in part of the Bacon tract. An "Historical Atlas," that printed by Everts & Stewart, states "that some Marylanders discovered the mine in 1718," and that Sir William Keith drove them away, and worked the mine in 1719, "spending much money in opening it, and being stopped by the proprietors." It would seem that the purchase by Murry and Budd in 1718 was prompted by some knowledge of mineral possibilities. Certainly Steel knew of it in 1720; and during the next ten years he sold 1,400 acres of 1,500-acre tract, retaining only the mineral land. But it was not until 1730 that the first regular and systematic working of the mine was undertaken. The Markham tract was added to the Bacon 100 acres in November, 1730, and the first company began operations. Some old residents testified in 1793, above their signatures (Elizabeth Rocky, John Shorts and John Brackbill) that they "were frequently at the copper mines in Lancaster county, known by the name of Gap mine, during the time the said mine was working by James Logan & Company." The certificate further reads: "And we further certify that we have often seen quantities of the ore got in this mine and frequently heard the miners say that it was a very rich mine if the water could be kept down so as they could work constantly. At this time there were eight pumps working in this pit, which turned out so much water that it overflowed a meadow and destroyed the grass so effectually that most of the places the water used to cover are barren at this time."

Operations were continued with more or less persistence until 1763, in which year John Penn ordered Surveyor-General John Lukens to survey "to the Gap Mine Company," another 300 acres. His reason for so ordering was that "the said company have at great expense erected divers buildings and others works for the carrying on of the said undertaking and for the use and benefit thereof, as well on the 250 acres as on the said 300 acres." In 1786 a resurvey of some of this land names William Allen as owner. An attempt was made in 1797 to organize another company to work the mine. The "Proposals" review the history of the "Gap Copper Mines," stating that "Mr. Penn joined in the expense of opening the mine, etc., in doing which they discovered one of those uncommon vitriolic springs * * * i.e., water strongly impregnated with the vitrol of copper, but notwithstanding this invaluable discovery, it does not appear that any of the gentlemen were acquainted with the value of the water." The prospectus further stated that Benjamin Franklin had experimented with a bottle of water from the spring, and had found that "his knife, which being for a short time immersed in the water, would assume the appearance of copper." It was planned to mine the ore and precipitate fine copper "from the ziment water," and the promoters expected that their operations would yield a profit of $81,288 in the first year, and $256,726 in the second. There seem to be evidences that the promotion, at least, was successful, even though the subsequent mining may not have been. Captain Charles Doble wrote from "Nickel Mines, January 15, 1897," to R. J. Houston, stating that "there is strong evidence that Mr. Henfrey's plans, or a part of them at least, were carried out." (For further details see Lancaster County Historical Society's Papers, vol. I, p. 297).

The next era of activity at the Gap Copper Mines began in 1849, when another stock company was organized, under the same name, the Gap Mining Company. Operations were upon a larger scale than formerly, and considerable quantities of copper ore were shipped to smelters in Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere, during the next few years.

In 1852, Captain Charles Doble, who was destined to be superintendent of the mines for several decades, began to work in them as a miner. He soon discovered "that what what was termed mundic and thrown away as worthless, was not mundic, but some other material." Samples were analyzed in Boston and Baltimore, with disappointing findings; but in the winter of 1852-53, Prof. F. A. Genth, of Philadelphia, made an analysis and found that the discarded mineral was nickel. Very soon thereafter the name of the mines changed to Gap Nickel Mines, and a separate company was formed to smelt the nickel ore in Philadelphia, the Gap Mining Company continuing as the mining company. A year or two later, another company erected a smelting plant in Paradise township, about three-quarters of a mile north of the mines. For a few years thereafter the ore output went to this smelter, but both mining and smelting operations were unprofitable, and the smelting works changed hands several times before 1859, when the Gap Mining Company acquired the plant. Within a year this company ceased all operations, both mining and smelting, and the whole property was abandoned.

In November, 1862, Joseph Wharton, a Philadelphia Quaker, purchased a part-interest in the Gap Mining Company, and leased the whole property for a term of years. Very shortly afterwards he became sole owner and began operations at the mines and smelter and also in Philadelphia, equipping a plant in the latter city for the refining of the nickel "matte," which was the product of the Gap smelter. In course of time and by intelligent perseverance, Mr. Wharton overcame "all obstacles, built up one of the most nearly complete nickel establishments in the world, one which brought "many thousands of dollars monthly into Lancaster county." When in full operation the Gap Nickel Mines and Furnaces, as the establishment was called, found employment for about fifty men at the mines and one hundred at the furnaces. A company-town sprang up at the mines, and there was a general indication of substantial business. Mining was done by shafts and tunnels, and reached a depth of 235 feet. There were about nine or ten shafts. Operation continued through the lifetime of Mr. Wharton, and Captain Doble was superintendent throughout. About seven hundred tons of ore was the average monthly output for many years, and the whole enterprise made Mr. Wharton wealthy during the period in which his was the only nickel mine operated in the United States. However, the finding of richer nickeliferous deposits in Ontario, Canada, brought about the abandonment of the Gap mine.

Iron-mining in Hempfield Manor—Hempfield Manor contained a deposit of hematite ore which has produced millions of tons of iron. While the Penns had no part in the exploitation of the immense deposit of ore on Chestnut Hill in Hempfield township, their early plans for a vast Hempfield reserve, or Proprietory Manor, and their tenacity in adhering closely to these plans until financial embarrassments made a change imperative, are understandable, if one thinks the Penns had an inkling that the region was rich in minerals. William Penn may not have known it, but the later Proprietaries apparently did. There is evidence that the government officials almost two centuries ago knew that iron was in the vicinity. Samuel Blunston, a government surveyor, wrote to John Taylor, who was then surveyor-general, in 1737, asking whether any land had been surveyed and returned "on the Iron Hill on this side of young Andrew Hershey's?" Hershey lived southwest from Salunga. William Bennett, who was part-owner of Martic Furnace in the 'sixties and was not able to prevent a sale of the furnace by the county sheriff in 1769, later discovered iron ore on land of Colonel Alex. Lowrey, near Marietta, but could not induce the latter to exploit it. The land was in the possession of John W. Clark about 1850; he delved into the drift abandoned by Bennett, and came upon the ore, which he steadily worked until the deposit had yielded him iron to the value of about $30,000.

After Colonel Lowrey had rejected Bennett's plan to work the Lowrey ore deposit, Bennett purchased twenty acres of ore land upon Chestnut Hill, and also ore lands in other counties. These lands he sold to Hon. John W. Kittera, who was then Congressman from Lancaster county; the latter lost heavily on the enterprise, and sold to Thomas Neill, who built Codorus Forge, in York county. In 1802 Neill sold the ore lands and the forge to Henry Bates Grubb, grandson of Peter Grubb, the pioneer ironmaster. It remained in the possession of the Grubb family, passing from Henry Bates Grubb to his son, Clement B., and from the latter to the next generation represented in Charles Brooke Grubb. The Grubb property was considerably developed during the middle period, under Clement B. Grubb.

It was, however, not the only iron-mining done on that hill, or ridge. The Haldeman family comes into the history of West Hempfield iron-mining and smelting, and was financially interested in a stock company formed in 1851, especially to work the Chestnut Hill ore deposits. Samuel Evans stated that "the largest and principal ore-bank on Chestnut Hill was not discovered or developed until about the year 1835," which statement is substantially the same as that made by one of the Haldeman family, Horace L. Haldeman, in a paper he delivered before the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1896, on "The Chickies Furnace: The First Furnace Using Coal." Regarding the Haldeman source of raw material, he wrote: "The principal ores used at the Chickies furnaces were obtained from the Grubb and Haldeman ore mines at Silver Springs, some six miles from the furnaces * * * The several ore properties at Chestnut Hill, which adjoin each other, are, when taken as a whole, one of the largest hematite ore deposits in this State. Ore was first discovered there on the Greider farm, between 1825 and 1832, by Simeon Guilford, and mining has been carried on since the first discovery up to the present day. Most of the furnaces in and around Columbia and Chickies depend on these mines for their principal supply of ore."

The Chestnut Hill Iron Ore Company was organized in 1851 by New York capitalists, including Moses Taylor, August Belmont, and W. F. Havermayer. Also identified with them were Jacob M. Haldeman, Dr. Edwin Haldeman, of Chikis; and Archibald Wright, of Philadelphia. The last-named was then operating the Shawnee Furnace, in Columbia. The Chestnut Hill Iron Company was expressly organized to mine ore at the Big Ore Bank at Chestnut Hill, and much of the product went to Shawnee Furnaces. Eventually the company had to take over the latter, to secure themselves for ore supplied. In the 'eighties the Big Ore Bank was owned by the heirs of Moses Taylor and by Jerome L. Boyer, jointly, the latter then being superintendent and general manager of mines and furnaces, also the old Shawnee Rolling Mill.

Regarding iron-ore operations in the Hempfields, Mr. D. B. Landis, editor of the Landisville Vigil, wrote as follows in a paper entitled "Mineral Deposits and Works of the Hempfields," in 1904:

> At the present period, Charles B. Grubb owns the Chestnut Hill property. The mine, as now worked covers an area of about ten acres of ground. The depth of it is 110 feet. The ore is shipped to the Reading Ore Company, and amounts to about 800 tons monthly. The present force of employees is nearly fifty men. * * * The Chestnut Hill Iron Ore Company operated one of these banks in the early eighties. The old ore mine near the Grubb property, south of Silver Spring, once owned by the New York company, is now in possession of H. M. North, Esq., of Columbia.
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> An iron ore pit was opened about 1865-67 on the farm of David Baker, Sr., by him and Peter Summy, in East Hempfield township, and afterwards operated by Hy. Watts & Son, Marietta. This for a time was the scene of considerable activity. The place was finally abandoned for mining. * * * Evidences of iron ore crop out in many parts of the Hempfields, and at various times pits have been dug to ascertain their commercial value. During some explorations for zinc near Bamfordville, in 1882 or 1883, strong traces of iron were found in a number of narrow holes sunk on the hillside of the Hoffman farm. The mineral was not, however, in sufficient quantity to continue the search. In the spring of 1884 a number of holes were drilled for iron ore upon the Shirk property, adjoining the old Shirk mines, in West Hempfield township, and at other nearby places.

The Cornwall Ore Banks—Rupp states that "Kurtz established the first Iron Works in 1726, within the present bounds of Lancaster county." "Hazard's Register" makes the same statement. Day asserts that Kurtz was first, though Peter Grubb's works "were a close second." Not much is known of Kurtz's works, but Dr. Egle states that they were on Octorara creek; therefore, in all probability ore was discovered and mined in that part of Lancaster county at that time.

The evidence is conflicting as to Grubb. Rupp states that he "commenced operations in 1728." Samuel Evans states that he did not reach America until "about the time the county was organized," (1729). The Committee on Historical Research of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, in their publication "Forges and Furnaces in the Province of Pennsylvania," found that the Grubb family reached Pennsylvania in 1692, "landing near Wilmington, Lower Counties, on a spot afterwards called

Grubb's Landing." John Grubb, the American prognitor of that family, was father of Peter and Samuel Grubb. Peter Grubb, according to Evans, "remained some time (from 1729) at the furnaces erected by Branson and Nutt in Chester county." This was Coventry Forge, on French creek. Evans further states that Grubb "at once commenced to prospect for iron ore," and adds that "in 1733 we find him along the banks of one of the branches of the Swatara, which flows along the northern base of the Blue Ridge mountains. There he discovered an immense deposit of ore." The great ore banks of Cornwall Furnace became "foremost among the natural glories of Pennsylvania; * * * three solid hills, from which rich ore was dug at very low cost." It was a wonderful discovery. The ore mines cover about 110 acres, and although now in Lebanon county, they were until about 1813 in Lancaster county, within the bounds of the original township of Warwick. These ore mines, ore quarries, as they really are, brought into establishment some famous furnaces," and now, after having been worked for one hundred and seventy years (1914), they seem inexhaustible." Rev. Israel Acrelius, provost of the Swedish Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania in the middle decades of the provincial period, wrote in 1756 of the "Cornwall of Grubb's Iron Works in Lancaster County" as follows: "The mine is rich and abundant, forty feet deep, commencing two feet under the earth's surface * * Peter Grubb was its discoverer." The Land Office records show prior owners of that land, but, states H. C. Grittinger, in a monograph on "Cornwall Furnace": It is to be presumed that it was Peter Grubb who first developed and used the ore, as the two individuals who preceded him in the ownership of the land, and who both sold their holdings for nominal amounts, evidently knew little or nothing of the ore deposits; and they were both iron masters and members of the company that had built and were operating Durham Furnace in Bucks county in 1727." The Penns warranted 5,000 acres of land to Joseph Turner, of Philadelphia, on May 8, 1732. The land was sometime later assigned to William Allen; and the latter, by agreement dated April 5, 1734, sold three hundred acres of this tract to Peter Grubb, for £135, the patent when issued three years later being to Peter Grubb. The brothers Peter and Samuel Grubb later made two other purchases direct from the Proprietaries, as the land bought from Allen did not embrace all the ore hills. The operations of the Grubb furnaces and forges will of course be reviewed some pages further on in this chapter; but the magnitude of the iron-mining operations of the Grubb family may be realized when it is stated that much more than 20,000,000 tons have been taken from the Cornwall ore banks, which were situated within the original bounds of Lancaster county. Down to the year 1908, states Swank, "these mines had produced more iron ore than any other single iron ore property in the United States, including the most productive of the Lake Superior mines." Cornwall mine does not still hold that status however, for some of the immense open-pit mines of the Mesabi Range of Minnesota have since been producing far more yearly than Cornwall did in its best year.

Other Mining in Lancaster County—Professor Roddy, of Millersville, states that "a lead-silver deposit north of Marticville and known as the Pequea mine, was worked about the middle of the 18th century." This probably was but one of the mineral products of the mine that supplied Martic Furnace.

David Jones came into Caernarvon township as early as 1719; at least a David Jones is shown in the assessment-lists for that year, though the name is a somewhat common Welsh patronymic. However, the David Jones Furnace in Lancaster county was "one of the first furnaces in colonial days in eastern Pennsylvania." And "Jones' mine holes" are also referred to. Still, it is not generally supposed that iron-ore was discovered in Caernarvon township until the fifties of the nineteenth century, the operations ending in 1878, when the mining became unprofitable. The Evans mine at Beartown, Garman's Shirk's and many other smaller mines southeast of Churchtown, in Caernarvon township, were worked during this comparatively recent period, the output going to furnaces at Birdboro and Joanna, in Berks county. Very possibly the "Jones mine holes" of the previous century were in the same region.

Dr. Roddy states that pits near Fruitville once furnished some limonite, hematite and magnetite iron ore; that the deposits on Chestnut Hill, near Silver Spring, were richer; that those worked near Quarryville and at Beartown were similar; and that lean iron ores also occur in the northern half of the county, and once were worked.

The early industrial history of Eden township includes a period important for its iron mining and making. Several extensive deposits of iron ore were discovered in the township; one near the northern boundary of the township developed a mining property known as the Conowingo mine, which was opened early in the nineteenth century. The ore won was transported to the Conowingo Furnace for smelting. The furnace was abandoned eventually, and the ore thereafter was taken to Lancaster in wagons. Later a branch railroad was built to the mine from a point on the Lancaster and Quarryville railroad, two miles above Quarryville. Cabine & Company, of Philadelphia, operated the mine for many years, but eventually it passed to the Coleman estate; it has long since been abandoned. A quarter of a mile east of the Conowingo mine another was opened about 1838 by A. & J. Withers, to supply Mount Eden Furnace, which they operated. With the abandonment of the furnace, the mining was discontinued. It was reopened about 1872 by the Montgomery Iron Company, and operated by them for a short period. In 1882 the mine was purchased by Shultz and Hess.

Other mines in the vicinity include one on the Kunkel property, near the State road, two miles east of Quarryville. It was opened in 1840 or earlier, by the brothers Withers, but was not long operated. An adjoining mine was opened on the Livingston property by Myers & Hildebrand about 1872. In all cases the ore mined was hematite.

Some iron-mining has been done in Pequea township. As early as 1816, John Bean opened up some deposits in his land in the eastern part of the township, scarcely a mile from the Pequea creek and the West Lampeter township line. The first ore taken from the mine was transported to the Conowingo Furnace, but after a short time the mining operations ceased. The mine was not again worked until 1845. For about five years thereafter it was operated by Christian Geiger. Later operators were Mr. Knotwell and Michael Grove, and Jacob and Henry Bushong, of Reading. The mine was abandoned in 1882, at which time it was owned by Eli K. Mylin. The ore was a hematite of good quality, and from time to time much of it was taken to Lancaster, for smelting.

Regarding mining operations in Strasburg township, Mr. Jacob Hildebrand in 1896 wrote as follows: "The iron ore mining interests of Strasburg township are not very extensive. The Eby mines, located about two miles south of the borough, were first opened in the early part of the present century. They were worked for about twenty years and then abandoned; reopened in 1862 and operated by the Phoenix Iron Company until 1870, when they were again closed. The ore is of very good quality but expensive to mine. * * * In 1879 Peacock & Thomas opened and operated a mine on the farm of Daniel Helm, about one mile north from New Providence. The ore is of a very superior quality; it was hauled to New Providence by wagons and shipped on the Lancaster and Quarryville railroad. * * * There were two other mines operated for a short time near Refton, but on account of the dull times they have been closed."

The Eby mines were leased from Christian Eby, the owner, by the Phoenix Iron Company. The two at Refton were opened by Daniel Herr of Pequea, and by Martin Pfoutz, the former in about 1845. The ore went mostly to Lancaster.

Mention must also be made of the then unique operations of the Pequea Iron Company, which, it is said, was the first corporation in the United States to attempt to take a low-grade ore, and after pulverizing it, put the powdered ore through a process to concentrate the iron content up to a percentage at which the ore is workable. The Pequea Magnetic Iron Mining Company was organized January 23, 1881, with the following officers: John J. Zeigler, president; Samuel Wilson, secretary; F. F. Bernadon, treasurer, all of Philadelphia. With three Foster crushers of 150 tons daily capacity, and three concentrating tables, the company commenced operations. Experiments of like purpose have been since carried on in the Old World and the New by some of the world's most capable engineers, backed by leading capitalists, but the expenditure of millions has not up to now brought into operation a quite satisfactory and profitable method of increasing the iron content of low-grade ore.

Apparently another attempt was made in Lancaster county, Dr. Roddy writes: "A large deposit of magnetic iron ore near Marticville was worked for some time about the year 1905. But the hardness of the gneissic matrix of the ore rendered the mine unprofitable. The method of separation attempted was that of crushing and pulverizing the rock and then picking out the magnetic iron with powerful electro-magnets."

The Bamford Zinc Mines—Iron was not the only mineral deposit of the Hempfields that was exploited. About the time of the Mexican War, Samuel Pickel, a fence-maker, was digging post-holes on the farm of Henry H. Shenk, about a mile and a half east of Landisville. Some of the rock taken from one or more of the post-holes, Pickel and Shenk thought must have some mineral content. They took the rock to Lancaster, where it was analyzed by Dr. Fahnestock, and found by the latter to contain lead and zinc, and also traces of silver. Preparations were soon made to manufacture oxide of zinc for painting purposes, from that deposit; and buildings for that purpose were soon erected on the Shenk farm. A company named the Lancaster County Mining Company was organized to undertake the work, those identified with the company being John Shenk, Christopher Hager, David Hartman, Christian Bachman, and David Longenecker. Perpetual mining privileges were granted by the owner of the land, Henry H. Shenk, for a consideration of $25,000, under date of December 13, 1847. The operations were unsuccessful, and the buildings were torn down. In 1872 a mining expert, Captain Tamblin happened to hear of the zinc deposits, and after making satisfactory arrangements with the local company, through Mr. Shenk, he went to England and interested Charles Bamford, "a member of the millionaire firm of Bamford Brothers, pork packers, with offices in Chicago, New York, and Liverpool, England." Samples of the zinc left with Mr. Bamford were taken to an English assayer and pronounced good, showing about 75% of zinc. This seemed to be too good to be true, and Mr. Bamford, with the caution of the successful capitalist, decided to take his own samples. "One night, he came on to Landisville, without any one's knowledge of his presence and purpose. Quietly he went down the shaft of the old mine about midnight, and, with the aid of a lantern and pick, broke off at several places from supposed solid rock pieces of the mineral." These were analyzed, one piece showing about forty per cent, and the others about half that much. However, they were rich enough to bring Mr. Bamford to a decision to work the deposit. Even before he did any mining, he caused to be erected crushing and separating machinery and large furnaces in the vicinity of the mine; and the plant began to operate under the management of a practical mining expert, a Mr. Spillsbury. However, barely enough mineral was found to keep the furnace fires lit, most of the deposits were in "pockets," which soon became exhausted. The whole of the operations ceased in the fall of 1877, the experiment having cost the Bamford Brothers about $300,000. For a while, materials for and from the mines had to be hauled to Landisville Station in wagons, but ere long a special siding was built to connect with the Pennsylvania railroad system.

For six years after the closing of the Bamford operations, a lone watchman, David Uren, stayed on the ground, the fine buildings and costly machinery depreciating from non-usage. In 1883 the Lehigh Zinc and Iron Company, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, leased the mines for a period of ten years, also the concentrating plant. During the summer of 1883 the Bamford works were again operated, under the superintendency of Captain P. O. Dwyer, but again disastrously. The mines filled with water, and the machinery that was not shipped to the Lehigh Company's smelting works at Bethlehem was left to rust away. But there are still some who think that zinc-bearing rock in regular veins will some day be discovered in the Hempfields. It seemed in 1900 that a resolute attempt to find it would be made, by the firm of Longenbach and Morton, zinc smelters, of Canton, Ohio. They had secured mining leases, and had planned to operate on a large scale, sinking sufficient shafts to maintain an output of about 3,000 tons a day. The area leased covered a distance of about 1¾ miles. However, the project did not go beyond he preliminary stage.

Furnaces, Forges, and Rolling Mills—The first iron works in the United States were at Falling Creek, Virginia, erected near Richmond by the Virginia Company in 1619. That probably was only a bloomery, or forge. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut also had iron works in operation in that century, and while there is a faint basis for the statement made in the "Encyclopedia" that "not until 1692 do we find any mention of iron having been manufactured in Pennsylvania," it is not believed that Pennsylvania had an iron works before 1716. The "mention" of an earlier iron works was probably that by Richard Frame, in his rhymed "Description of Pennsylvania," which was written in 1692, and published by Bradford. It reads, in this connection:

A certain place here is where some begun
To try some mettle and have made it run,
Wherein was iron absolutely found
At once was known about some forty pound.

The "Pennsylvania Gazette," however, in an issue dated March 5 to March 13, 1729-30, states in an obituary notice of Thomas Rutter, Sr., then recently deceased, that "he was the first that erected an iron works in Pennsylvania." Thomas Rutter, an English Quaker, built a bloomary forge, called Pool, on Manatawny creek, near Pottstown, about 1716. It is described in one of Jonathan Dickinson's letters, written in 1717, as follows: "This last summer one Thomas Rutter, a smith, who lives not far from Germantown, hath removed further up in the country and of his own strengh hath set upon making iron. Such it proves to be, as is highly set by all the smiths here, who say that the best of Sweed's iron doth not exceed it; and we have accounts of others that are going on with iron works."

Rutter is described as a blacksmith in his will; and it seems likely that he was truly described. He was probably more of an ironworker than an ironmaker. Indeed, the earliest attempts at ironmaking in Pennsylvania did not differ much from that of the Spanish forges of the tenth century, the Catalan bloomery of that century being the model for the first bloomeries in Pennsylvania. Rutter's, Nutt's, McCall's, Grubb's, Potts', and other early bloomeries, probably, "were not unlike a large blacksmith fire with a deep firepot, in which the blast was introduced at the side instead of at the bottom of the fire, and while yielding but a small output a day, they were used on account of the small expense and labor involved in their erection." In the forges the pig iron from the furnaces was made into lumps or blooms of malleable iron, though the statement is made that the Massachusetts iron works of the seventeenth century made bar iron "directly from the ore in a bloomery." The blooms were hammered by smiths into flat and square bars. The furnaces were usually built into the side of a hill, for convenience in charging. All were charcoal furnaces; and this charcoal need developed a distinct industry in Lancaster county during the provincial and early-republican periods. Dr. Houston some years ago read a paper before the Lancaster County Historical Society on "Some of the Lost Industries of the Octorara Valley." He stated that there were many charcoal pits in that part of Lancaster county during the period in which the forges were operating along the Octorara creek. He estimated that the six forges and foundries along the East Branch in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century needed each year all the charcoal that could be obtained from about 20,000 cords of wood. Approximately 2½ tons of ore and 180 bushels of charcoal produced about one ton of metal. This requirement of charcoal called for incessant lumbering operations. Wherever there was a furnace, there were woodsmen; and undoubtedly much of the clearing of timber land in Lancaster county was done by woodchoppers employed by the ironmasters. Dr. Houston writes: "There were a few professional woodchoppers, who were engaged during the entire year." Some were able to cut four cords of 128 cubic feet in a day.

The men lived in the woods much as the lumberjacks of to-day do. The charcoal-burners, or colliers as they were called, were skilled workmen; and they commanded high wages, for it was easier to burn a pit of thirty or forty cords of wood than to char it. Among these colliers were the brothers John and Samuel Montgomery, the brothers John and Guy Hetherington, the brothers Waterson, and Henry Noggle; and later, two sons of Samuel Montgomery, Samuel, Jr., and William; John Hetherington, son of Guy; and Billy Burgin. These colliers generally owned small farms, on which their families lived during their summer season of coaling. They were well-to-do, thrifty citizens, and some were well educated.

Charcoal was used for all smelting operations in the Lancaster county furnaces during the first century, 1741-1840. The first anthracite, or stone coal as it was called, seen in Lancaster county, was that rafted down the Susquehanna and brought into Marietta in 1816 by an enterprising raftsman. There was no sale for it, and almost another generation was destined to pass before anthracite took the place of charcoal in smelting operations in Lancaster county. Horace L. Haldeman, in 1896, wrote as follows:

> Prior to 1840 no pig iron was successfully produced in this county, or in fact in any other portion of the world, except with charcoal as a fuel. Attempts had been made to use charcoal and anthracite mixed, and the latter alone, but they were failures. With the discovery of hot blast, the conditions changed and it was then found that anthracite coal alone could be successfully used in the production of pig iron. As the timber to produce charcoal was not plentiful in Lancaster county, the change to anthracite created quite a little "boom" for those days, in our county especially as there were many local deposits of brown hematite, or limonite, ores that could be used to considerable advantage. The fever became contagious, each one seeming anxious to be an "ironmaster," in which name there seemed to be something particularly attractive; and many paid dearly for the honor.

The first manufactured iron sent from the American colonies to England was the product of the pioneer Pennsylvania plant, Rutter's Pool Forge, or of Nutt's Forge. Jonathan Dickinson wrote in 1719: "Our iron promises well. What hath been sent over to England hath been grealy approved. Our smiths work up all they make, and it is as good as the best Swedish iron." However, that importation created such consternation among English ironmasters that in 1719 a bill was introduced in the English Parliament "to prevent the erection of rolling and slitting mills" in America; and although it failed of passage, other efforts were made, and in 1750 succeeded in the measure then enacted to "encourage" the importation of pig-iron from the American colonies, but to discourage the establishment of rolling and slitting mills. Provost Acrelius, who was in Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1756, stated in his "History of New Sweden" that "Pennsylvania in regard to its iron works is the most advanced of all the American colonies."

The furnaces and forges of Pennsylvania during the provincial period, or at least, the important plants were as follows:

> Pool Forge, in Philadelphia county, later Berks, erected in 1716; Coventry Forge, on French creek, in Chester county, in 1719; Coalbrookdale Forge, in Philadelphia county, later Berks, in 1719-20; Reading (or Redding) Furnace, on French creek in Chester county, in 1720; Sir William Keith's Furnace, on Christiana creek, near Newcastle, in 1724; McCall's or Glasgow Forge, on Manatawny creek, Berks county, 1725; Kurtz's Iron Works, on Octorara creek, Lancaster county, in 1726; Abbington Furnace, on Christiana creek, Lower Counties, in 1726; Durham Furnace, in Bucks county, 1726-27; Spring Forge, No. 1, in Philadelphia, later Berks county, in 1729; Pine Forge, in Philadelphia county, later Berks, before 1730; Green Lane Forge, on Perkiomen creek, Montgomery county, in 1733; David Jones Furnace,

in Caernarvon township, in about 1735; Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French creek, in Chester county, 1737; Mount Pleasant Furnace and Forge, on Perkiomen creek, about thirteen miles above Pottsville, in 1739-40; Hay Creek or Birdsboro Forges, in Chester county, later Berks, in 1740; New Pine Forges, in Berks county, in 1744, or before; Hopewell Forge, on Hammer creek, in Lancaster county, later Lebanon, in 1742; Cornwall Furnace, in Lancaster county, later Lebanon, in 1742; Mount Joy or Valley Forge, on Valley creek, in Chester county, in 1742; Sarum Ironworks, in Chester county, later Delaware, in 1742; Crum Creek Forge, in Chester county, now Delaware, in 1742; Windsor Forges, in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, in 1743; Oley Forge, Philadelphia county, now Berks, in 1744; Charming Forge, on Tulpehocken creek, in Berks county, in 1749; Elizabeth Furnace, near Brickersville, Lancaster county, in 1746 or 1750; Hereford Furnace, in Berks county, in 1750; Quitapahilla Forge, later known as Newmarket Forge, in Lancaster county, later Lebanon, in 1750; Maria Forge, in Carbon county, in 1752; Martic Forge and Furnace, on Furnace run, Martic township, Lancaster county, in 1751-55; Pottsgrove Forge, in Philadelphia county, now Montgomery, rebuilt in 1751; Offley's Anchor Forge, in Philadelphia, in 1754; Peter Dick's Bloomary, on Coderus creek, in York county, 1755; Roxborough, later Berkshire Furnace, in Berks county, 1755; Hopewell Furnace, in Berks county, 1759; Spring Forge II, Berks county, before 1760; Speedwell Forge, on Hammer creek, in Lancaster county, later Lebanon, 1760; Mary Ann Furnace, in York county, by George Ross and others, in 1761; Moselem Forge, Berks county, in about 1760; Spring Forge III, on Coderus creek, in York county, in about 1762; Carlisle Ironworks, in Cumberland county, in 1762; Oley Furnace, in Berks county, in 1765; Codorus Forge and Furnace, in York county, in 1765; Windsor Furnace, in Berks county, before 1768; Gulf Forge, in Montgomery county, in 1768; Salford Forge, in Montgomery county, in 1771.

The ironmasters of Lancaster county were counted among the industrial leaders of Pennsylvania; and while it is not possible or advisable here to go further into the history of these Pennsylvania forges and furnaces that are not within the bounds of Lancaster county, it should be stated that many of them came into operation through the enterprise of Lancaster ironmasters. The names Grubb, Old, Steigel, Jenkins, Coleman, Jacobs, Haldeman, Sproul have entered into important industrial history of the Commonwealth. More will be written into this chapter regarding their enterprises as ironmasters in Lancaster county. However, before we take up the reviewing of individual plants of the county, may we not add to the foregoing list of Pennsylvania furnaces and forges of the provincial period, the list of those forges and furnaces that have been built in Lancaster county since the Revolution. Briefly, they are: Pool Forge, built in 1779; Spring Grove Forge, 1789; Mount Hope Furnace, 1785; Coalbrook Furnace, 1792; Black Rock and White Rock furnaces, Sadsbury, Ringwood and Buckley forges, early in the nineteenth century probably; Conowingo Furnace, in 1810; Mount Eden Furnace, 1812; Mt. Vernon Furnace, 1820; Coalmanville Forge, 1828; Shawnee Furnace, 1844-45; Conestoga Furnace, 1846; Marietta, later Cordelia, Furnace, 1844-45; Donegal and Rough and Ready furnaces, 1848; Safe Harbor Furnace, 1849; St. Charles Furnace, 1852; Chikies and Eagle furnaces, 1854; Musselman, later Vesta, Furnace, 1868.

As has been already stated Kurtz's Iron Works comes vaguely into the record as the first iron works brought into operation in Lancaster county. It was "on Octorara creek"; and Kurtz was "possibly an Amish Mennonite." The name does not appear in the early tax lists of the original Sadsbury township. Possibly it was the same plant as that to which Dr. Houston refers to as "inaugurated by one Duquesne," and which Samuel Evans says was built by Michael Withers "prior to the Revolution." It will be again referred to a few pages further on.

Swank thought that Peter Grubb's first essay in iron making was with a bloomary forge in 1735, near he site of the later Cornwall Furnace. Grittinger found "small pieces of slag and several pieces of white iron" about a mile from Cornwall Furnace, which pieces he deposited with the Lebanon County Historical Society "as a sample of the first iron made in Lebanon county." Peter Grubb lived about six miles from Cornwall Furnace and Ore Banks, and there, on Hammer creek, six miles southeast of Cornwall, on land which he acquired in 1737, he is supposed to have erected one or two forges, though in what year is not known. Maybe they were the successors to the first forge nearer Cornwall, and quite possibly were erected at about the same time as Cornwall Furnace (1742), to complete the ironmaking by taking the pig iron from the furnace.

As to Cornwall Furnace, the preparations for its building were proceeding in 1739, as the below-quoted indenture, still possessed by the Grubb family, indicates: "On the 22nd day of September in the thirteenth year of the reign of King George the Second over Great Britain, France, &c., Anno Domini 1739, between Peter Grubb of the township of Warwick, in the County of Lancaster, of the Province of Pennsylvania, Iron Master, with Samuel Grubb, of East Bradford, in the County of Chester, a Charcoal Furnace to be built, & to be called Cornwall."

Cornwall Furnace came into blast in 1742. Three years later it and the Hopewell Forge were leased to twelve persons who managed it for a few years only, under the name of the Cornwall Company, thereafter being conducted for the remainder of the term by Jacob Giles, of Baltimore. Acrelius, writing in 1756, names Gurrit & Company as the operators. Peter Grubb remained sole owner of the ore banks until his death, in 1754, when his sons, Curtis and Peter, inherited his estate, Curtis receiving two-thirds as elder son. Samuel Evans states that the Grubbs purchased Hopewell forges and land from Jacob Giles, "a merchant of Baltimore county, Maryland," on October 19, 1765. Seemingly, the Cornwall Furnace reverted to the Grubbs, for later history of it was of operation by Curtis Grubb. Evans states that in the division of the estate of Peter Grubb the Cornwall Furnace and 6,520 acres "belonging to Cornwall" went to Curtis, and that Hopewell forges, and the 3,741 acres belonging to them went to his younger brother, Peter, Jr. According to Grittinger, the early bloomary and Cornwall Furnace were on the old Paxton road.

Both of the brothers Grubb held military commissions during the Revolution. Curtis was colonel of a battalion of militia, and a member of the General Assembly during the vital years 1775-8, and again in 1782. He died in 1788. During the Revolution the Grubb iron works were to all intents munition plants of the Continental army. Cannon, shot, shell, and other requirements were cast at Cornwall, and detachments of Hessian prisoners were sent up to Cornwall and employed there. In 1783, Curtis Grubb conveyed to his son Peter "the full equal undivided one-sixth part of all his estate, including the Cornwall ore banks or mine hills." Two years later the son sold this one-sixth interest to Robert Coleman. Several transfers within the Grubb family followed, but by 1798 Robert Coleman was the owner of five-sixths of the Grubb estate, the other sixth being possessed by Henry Bates Grubb. In addition, Coleman became, in that year equal partner with Henry Bates Grubb in the Mount Hope Furnace and Hopewell forges, the latter having inherited by Peter Grubb (2), brother of Curtis, and father of Henry Bates Grubb, Mount Hope Furnace, which was situated near the head of Big Chikis creek, in Lancaster county, about three or four miles distant from the Cornwall Furnace, was erected by Peter Grubb (2), in 1785, after he had purchased 212½ acres of land at that point, which land straddled the line of Rapho and Warwick townships. In 1802 the dual control and ownership was ended by mutual agreement, Robert Coleman taking Hopewell forges and 2,311 acres, and his former partner, Henry Bates Grubb, being allotted Mount Hope and 2,307 acres. The Coleman operations will be reviewed later in another connection; and further reference also will be made to the Grubb family, but it might be stated here that Henry Bates Grubb died in 1822, and that in the division of his estate the Mount Hope property fell to his sons Edwards and Clement B., the latter in 1845 transferring his one-half interest to his brother Edward, who also had other properties, including Mount Vernon Furnace, in Conoy township. The heirs of Edward B. Grubb eventually joined partnership with the Haldemans in the operation of several properties in Lancaster county.

Among the prominent Lancaster county families identified with the iron industry of Pennsylvania, was that of Jenkins. Windsor Forges, in Caernarvon township are linked with that family name, though the Jenkinses had no more important part in the establishment of Windsor Forge than to sell the land upon which it was later built. However, as will be seen, the Jenkins family later acquired an interest in the property and eventually became sole owners of the Windsor Forges. The family was of Welsh extraction, and had been in Pennsylvania since the last decade of the seventeenth century, settling in the Chester Valley, and moving over with other Welsh families into Caernarvon township in 1722 or 1723, it is thought. The tax lists for the year 1723-4 are missing, but those for the year 1724-5 for that part of Chester county record the name David Jenkins. John Jenkins, his son, comes into Land Office records of the year 1733, a tract of 400 acres of land situated about one mile westward of Churchtown, in Caernarvon township, being then warranted to him. It adjoined the Gabriel Davies tract, part of which was deeded by the latter to John Jenkins on April 1, 1741.

At about the same time John Jenkins sold his land to William Branson, of Philadelphia, who had been a partner with Samuel Nutt in the Coventry Forge and Reading Furnace on French creek, and who was then continuing operation of these, with the son of his deceased partner. Samuel Nutt, Jr., does not, however, seem to have been connected with the Caernarvon township enterprise. The land warranted to John Jenkins in 1733 was patented to William Branson on December 28, 1742. Soon afterwards William Branson erected a forge, which later was known as the Lower Windsor Forge. According to the "Forges and Furnaces in the Province of Pennsylvania" (Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1914), it was erected in 1743, as chiselled "on the stone over the door." But there is now no part of the forge that is standing, so its exact site cannot be positively determined. Conjecture, however, places it nearer the Windsor mansion than the forge built by Mr. Lardner in 1753. The Windsor mansion built by Mr. Branson is still occupied by one of the descendants of John Jenkins—Miss Nevin. He also built a palatial residence, which became known as Windsor Mansion. The forge was known as Windsor Forge. In 1744 Mr. Branson deeded a life interest in his Windsor Forge, and all of his Lancaster county estate, to three of his daughters, Rebecca, wife of Samuel Fowler; another, wife of Bernhard

Van Leer; Hannah, wife of Richard Hockley. In 1750 he deeded a quarter interest in his estate to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Lynford Lardner. Mr. Lardner removed to Windsor Forge in that year, and assumed the management of the iron works for his wife and her three sisters.

His clerical assistant at the Windsor Forge was David Jenkins, son of John Jenkins. As time went on, David Jenkins was able to purchase some of the shares of Branson's grandchildren. In 1773 he held a half-interest, and just before the outbreak of the Revolution he was able to buy the remainder It was one of the important industries of the infant republic, and the Jenkins family became one of the wealthiest in Lancaster county. David Jenkins managed the business until 1799, his son Robert then taking charge. The business passed to the grandson, David Jenkins, in 1848, and was continued by him until 1850. David Jenkins, son of John, and Robert, son of David, were both members of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Robert also sat in Congress during a trying period, 1807-11. Robert Jenkins died in 1848, and his son David two years later. For eighteen years thereafter Windsor Forge was continued, the last owner being John Mentzer, of Pottstown. In May, 1875, about seven years after the old iron works had been abandoned, the structure of the lower forge collapsed, "the walls, roof, and chimneys, all in a mass of wreck." It had stood for more than 120 years, though it may not have been the forge erected in 1743. The centre stone of the doorway was marked "L. Lardner, 1753," signifying perhaps that the forge had been rebuilt by Mr. Lardner in that year.

Elizabeth Furnace, on Furnace run, a tributary of Middle creek, in Elizabeth township, was erected by John Jacob Huber. The year of erection is doubtful. Many records show it as 1750, but in the Wast Book A, Elizabeth Furnace, 1756, now possessed by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, there is an entry which reads: "Began to take the hearth out of the furnace, October 6, 1746." This may have been a clerical error, a "4" being written instead of "5," or it may have been copied out of an earlier book. Still, by general acceptance, Elizabeth Furnace was built in 1750, by Huber, the only German then in America who knew how to make iron, if one accept the statement to that effect chiselled into a stone tablet which was placed in the stack of Elizabeth Furnace. Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel came from Europe in 1750, and in 1752 married Elizabeth Huber, the daughter of Jacob. The movements and occupation of Stiegel from 1850 to 1857 are not known; it is recorded that he "explored the region of Shaefferstown and the Furnace hills," met, and on November 7, 1752, married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Huber, the master of Elizabeth Furnace. It is very probable that he was at first employed at Elizabeth Furnace. In 1757 Stiegel bought the Elizabeth Furnace from his father-in-law, and in this had as partners, John Barr and the brothers Stedman Alexander and Charles, the Stedmans being the Philadelphia agents of the ship on which Stiegel crossed to America from England. It is said that in 1757 Stiegel erected a new furnace, and named it Elizabeth, in honor of his wife; but the records show that Huber's earlier furnace bore the same name. Possibly Huber had so named it in honor of his daughter, who married Stiegel. Part of Warwick township was detached to form Elizabeth township, that division taking the name Elizabeth undoubtedly because the Stiegel furnace was its principal industry. Stiegel laid out the town of Manheim in 1761, and in that chapter his life has been lengthily reviewed. In 1763 Stiegel bought lands adjacent to Tulpehocken Eisenhammer, near Womelsdorf, in Berks county, where Charming Forge had been erected by John George Nikoll and Michael Miller in 1749. It seems to have been acquired by the Stedmans, perhaps at the time they bought an interest in Elizabeth. In February, 1763, Stiegel purchased from the Stedmans an undivided one-half of that furnace, and 859 acres. Stiegel is described by Rupp as the "manager of Elizabeth Iron Works" for many years when they were owned by Benezet & Co., of Philadelphia. However, it is doubtful whether this was Stiegel's correct status from about 1768, when Daniel Benezet made a loan of £3,000 to Stiegel, the latter executing a mortgage deed for part of his property. Further difficulties brought others into possession of mortgages for the remainder of his property; but he seems to have remained in control of operations at his furnaces and glass works until 1774, when creditors became so pressing that he was jailed for debt. He was referred to as "a languishing prisoner in the Gaol of Philadelphia County," by John Penn, on April 28, 1775, in authorization he then sent to "Edmund Physick, Keeper of the Great Seal of Pennsylvania," to affix said seal "to an act for the relief of Henry William Stiegel." However, the Legislature had passed the act four months earlier, on December 24, 1774, and immediately after passage Stiegel had been released. Robert Morris, the great financier of Revolutionary times, bought Stiegel's Manheim mansion, and Robert Coleman in 1776 rented the Elizabeth Furnace estate for a term of seven years, from John Dickinson, Charles Stedman, and Daniel Benezet. George Ege, nephew of Stiegel, was owner of Charming Forge in 1775 and through the Revolutionary period. Coleman employed Stiegel as foreman at Elizabeth Furnace in 1776. Hessian prisoners were sent up from Lancaster in 1777, the pressure of government orders for shot and shell being great. Stiegel left Elizabeth in 1778, and for some time thereafter was a bookkeeper for his nephew at Charming Forge. He even taught school for a while, but after the death of his wife he did not struggle much longer against poverty. He died at Charming Forge on January 10, 1785, aged fifty-six years.

Coleman succeeded at Elizabeth Furnace. He wrote: "Success crowned my endeavors. A new and regular system was adopted, by which the business of iron work was made to resemble more a well-conducted manufactory than the scenes of confusion and disorder which had before that time prevailed in that business." Apparently, Stiegel was not a good business man. He had broad vision, fearless enterprise, but not the essential executive ability to stabilitate his magnitudinous operations. Coleman was of different characteristics. Stiegel lived a life of baronial splendor, though he was never a baron; Coleman, on the other hand, held closely and unostentatiously to his business affairs with such success that he was able to acquire the interest of John Dickinson in Elizabeth Furnace in 1780, and four years later he also bought the one-third owned by Charles Stedman. He was, however, unable to buy the Benezet one-third until 1794. From 1776 Coleman lived in Elizabeth. There he once entertained General Washington. In 1809 Mr. Coleman removed to Lancaster. He became a millionaire, and one of the most respected citizens of Lancaster, where he died in 1825. Elizabeth Furnace was steadily continued in operation until about 1856, since which year it has not been worked, though the property still belongs to the Coleman family.

Robert Coleman, in his autobiography, states that he came to America when sixteen years old "to seek his fortune." He was born near Castlefinn, in County Donegal, Ireland, November 4, 1748. For nearly two years after crossing the ocean he was clerk to Mr. Read, prothonotary, in Reading, Pennsylvania. Restive and longing for a more active life, he "obtained work" from the Grubbs at Hopewell Forges, in 1766 or 1767. What this work was he does not state. Samuel Evans states that Coleman was clerk to Peter Grubb. Six months later, states the autobiography, he "got a better position at Quittapahilla Forge," in the employ of James Old, who then operated the forge under a lease. Another record states that the "young man from Ireland" was first employed by Mr. Old as a woodcutter; later going to Mr. Old's other forge, Speedwell, as clerk. "Mr. Old found the young man so intelligent, industrious and generally satisfactory that when he moved to Reading Furnace, on French creek he gave Coleman a higher position and took him with him." There it seems, in October, 1773, Robert Coleman married Anne Old, a daughter of his employer. They were married by Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of the Episcopal churches of the Lancaster district. But Robert Coleman's fortune was not based on that of his father-in-law, or on the latter's influence. Young Coleman had been thrifty, and soon after his marriage he became an ironmaster, renting Salford Forge, near Norristown, for three years. In 1776 he leased Elizabeth Furnace, as has been earlier narrated. Coleman's purchase of the greater part of Cornwall Ore Banks has already been stated, and while he never made his home at Cornwall, the Cornwall property probably yielded him the bulk of his wealth. During the Revolution, Robert Coleman was an officer in the Pennsylvania militia, had part in the framing of the State Constitution in 1790, and was a member of the State Legislature. He also was an associate-judge in Lancaster for nearly twenty years. After his death in 1825, his son James inherited the Elizabeth property, and his younger sons, T. Bird and William Coleman, took over the Cornwall interest. The Coleman family still own the principal interest in Cornwall. The excellent work of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, upon which so much of this article is based, quotes Hazard's Register of 1831, as stating: "Robert Coleman, Esq., became the most successful proprietor of iron works; to untiring industry and judicious management he added the utmost probity and regularity in his dealings, and to him Lancaster county is especially indebted for the celebrity it has acquired from the number and magnitude of its iron works and the excellence of its manufacture."

An instance of the confusion that existed in so many departments of American affairs following the upheaval during the Revolution is afforded by one incident of the Coleman family history. Anne Old, who married Robert Coleman in 1773, had never been confirmed. Two years later the English churches in America were closed, and many years elapsed before the Protestant Episcopal church became the ecclesiastical head of the congregations that formerly were of the Church of England. Mrs. Jenkins had to wait until she was eighty years old before opportunity for confirmation came; yet for very many years she had been a communicant at St. James' Church at Lancaster, in the graveyard of which her husband's remains were interred.

The Old family has good place in the iron history of Lancaster county. James Old was born in Wales, but evidently was early in this country. He is stated to have been operating Speedwell Forge with David Caldwell in

1750, when he was but twenty years old. Other records, however, give the year as 1760, which is more probable. It is stated that James Old was at one time a puddler in the Windsor forges in Caernarvon township. This would probably have been during the 'fifties; and during that decade he married Margaretta, daughter of Gabriel Davies, original owner of Windsor Forges tract. In about 1760 James Old erected Speedwell Forge, on Hammer creek, a short distance below the Lower Hopewell Forge. It was "a chafery or bar-iron forge, on land bought from David Caldwell, who had purchased it from Jacob Huber, the warrantee who had first owned Elizabeth Furnace," states one record. Many conflicting accounts regarding the life and work of James Old are in print. Among the "Notes and Queries" of volume xi-7, of the Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, is the following:

> James Old was born in Wales in 1730. He emigrated to Pennsylvania previous to 1750. He died, May 1, 1809, at the home of his son-in-law, Cyrus Jacobs, in his 79th year, and is buried in the graveyard of Bangor Church. He was one of the early successful ironmasters of Pennsylvania. His brother William was employed at Windsor Forge and later embarked in the manuafcture of bar iron on his own account.
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> James Old was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1791, 1792, and 1793. He married Margaretta Davies, a daughter of Gabriel Davies, of Lancaster county. Davies is supposed to have been the owner of the site on which Pool Forge was built.
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> James Old was first employed by an English firm at Windsor Forge as forgeman. Somewhere about 1750, in partnership with David Caldwell, a Philadelphia merchant, Mr. Old built Speedwell Forge, on a tract of land containing 1,700 acres, located on Hammer creek, now in Elizabeth township, about 3½ miles west of Elizabeth Furnace. In 1762 he purchased David Caldwell's interest in this property for £4,000, and in 1785 he sold the entire property to his son-in-law, Robert Coleman, for £7,000. About 1765, according to one authority and not until 1779 according to another, when Mr. Old returned from Reading Furnace, he built Pool Forge, on Conestoga creek, about a mile below Windsor Forge. In 1779 he owned a grist mill on Conestoga creek. He owned Quitapahilla Forge, near Lebanon, and other forges in Chester, Lancaster and Berks counties. In 1773 he was lessee of Reading Furnace, on French creek, where he cast cannon and shot for the Continental army. In 1795 he conveyed Pool Forge, with about 700 acres of land attached, to his son, Davis Old. James Old had a son William, who married Elizabeth Stiegel, the daughter of Baron Steigel; and he also had a daughter Ann, who in 1773 married Robert Coleman, the latter a prominent ironmaster.

It does not seem that Robert Coleman, though at one time a clerk to James Old, purchased Speedwell from him. According to "Furnaces and Forges in the Province of Pennsylvania," William Old, son of James, "seems to have inherited Speedwell and to have lived there." Joseph Old, son of William, married Rebecca, the only daughter of George Ege, nephew of Stiegel and owner of Charming Forge. Margaretta, daughter of James Old, married Cyrus Jacobs, who became almost as well known and successful as Coleman, the other son-in-law of Ironmaster Old. Cyrus Jacobs' life almost parallels that of Robert Coleman. Both were introduced to ironmaking by Mr. Olds; and both branched out as independent ironmasters seemingly without aid from their father-in-law. Cyrus Jacobs was born in Pennsylvania, but of Welsh-born parents, with whom perhaps Mr. Old was acquainted. Cyrus married Margaretta (or Margaret) Old in 1782, at which time he was a clerk in Mr. Olds Pool Forge. Cyrus continued to assist his father-in-law in that enterprise until 1789, when he launched an independent ironmaking venture. Having acquired the original Thomas Edwards tract of 285 acres, Cyrus Jacobs there began the construction of a dam and forge. His forge had two hammers and his water-right was the best on the Conestoga river. Soon his forge was producing as much in one day as the Windsor and Pool forges combined could do in two. In 1799 he acquired the Pool Forge also, paying £10,000 for it to his brother-in-law, Davis Old. He soon had this forge in full operation with double hammers also.

Cyrus Jacobs has been likened to Andrew Carnegie. Every effort he made seemed to yield a good return. At his forges the fires were always glowing, the hammers were incessantly pounding, but this constancy of operation was the outcome of unceasing effort by the owner. Dr. Lincoln gives some information as to Mr. Jacobs and his methods, and seeks to place him in the first place among early ironmasters. He writes: "When we take into consideration that Mr. Jacobs owned no iron ore mines, no furnace to produce pig iron, but made his fortune in buying pig iron, hauling it twenty miles to his forges, there converting it into charcoal blooms and bar iron, then hauling it to Philadelphia fifty miles distant, we feel that as an early charcoal ironmaster he stood alone, a tower of business ability and financial integrity." He built the Spring Grove Mansion, facing south on the Conestoga, in 1795. That stone house of thirty-two rooms stands to-day "as one of the finest old-time mansions in Lancaster county." During the last years of his life, Mr. Jacobs lived at White Hall, near Churchtown. In it he died suddenly in May, 1830.

Elizabeth Furnace, in Elizabeth township, was the source of most of the pig iron used in the Windsor, Pool, and Spring Grove forges. No furnaces were ever erected along the Conestoga river, east of Lancaster, though there probably would have been had the Caernarvon township deposits of iron ore been discovered before the era of railways.

Martic Forge brought Martic township into some prominence early in provincial days. Date of erection is not quite clearly established. It seems that a warrant was issued to Abram Smith, James Smith and Thomas Smith, on March 17, 1737; and this is supposed to be the first "recorded sale of any portion of the property now known as Martic Forge." But other records seem to point to the fact that Martic Forge was built in the 'fifties, at about the same time as the Martic Furnace, on Furnace run, in Providence township, was built by the Smiths. William Smith in 1728 took up 152 acres of land along Beaver creek, where the village of New Providence now stands. There he built a grist and saw mill; the mill and about five acres of meadowland, however, were in Strasburg township. The balance of the land ran in a southerly direction within the limits of Martic township. In 1731 a public road from Lancaster was constructed to his mill, and a few years afterwards another road led from the mill to navigable water, at the mouth of Rock run, in Maryland. It became possible even for him to conveniently reach tidewater at Charlestown, Maryland, from his mill, and considerable quantities of his flour passed along that road. He and his sons, Thomas and William, became wealthy and influential citizens. Thomas had his father's land patented in his own name in 1736, and in 1740 acquired adjoining land on the west, later owned by the Mylins. In 1752 Thomas Smith was elected sheriff of Lancaster county. In 1755 Thomas Smith and his brother William purchased several hundred acres of land about 3½ miles northwest of Smith's mill. There they built a furnace. In the same year, it is said, they built "a forge about four miles south of their furnace, along Pequea creek." This was in all probability Martic Forge. They gradually purchased farms around their furnace and forge properties until they possessed about four thousand acres of land. But they went beyond their means, and Thomas, at least, lived very extravagantly in Lancaster. They had to sell their grist mill and part of their Martic township land in the 'fifties, Michael, Jacob, and Christian Groff purchasing the property. Three acres of iron ore land were reserved however, "for the use of Martic Furnace." In 1760 the Smiths sold an interest in the iron furnace and forge to William Bennett and Samuel Webb, of Maryland, and Ferguson McIlvain, who was their manager at the furnace. But in the same year a bill of sale on the whole plant was given by Smith and Bennett to Wallace and Fulton, Philadelphia merchants. The two last-named in the next year purchased a one-third interest, and a larger interest a couple of years later. All seemed to be expedients to stave off the inevitable. In 1769, Thomas Smith was imprisoned for debt, and James Webb, Jr., sheriff, advertised the property for sale, describing it in part as follows:

> A furnace, a dwelling-house, store and compting-house, a large coal-house, eight dwelling-houses, grist-mill, smith- and carpenter-ship, six log stables, with four bales of hay, etc., a number of pot patterns and some flasks of ditto, stove moulds, etc., mine bank so convenient that one team can haul three loads per day, fifteen acres of meadow belonging to furnace.
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> Forge, four miles distant, with four fires, two hammers, wooden bellows, a dwelling-house, store and compting-house, with six dwelling-houses, two coal-houses for six months' stock, three stables, smith and carpenter shop, two acres of meadow land and fifteen hundred cords of wood, at both places plenty of water in the dryest season, two slaves, one a mullattoe man, a good forgeman, and the other a Negro man, late the property of Thomas Smith, James Wallace, and James Fulton.

Many changes of ownership occurred before the property passed mainly to Robert Coleman and George Ege at sheriffs' sale, in 1793. The extent to which the ownership had been earlier divided may be imagined from the fact that one conveyance was for one-thirty-fifth part. At the sheriff's sale in 1769, Ferguson McIlvain bought the property. He sold in the same year to Adam Hoopes, who the next year conveyed to John Malcolm, George Munroe, Samuel Patterson and John McCalmont. In 1771-72 very many more names come into the record during the Revolutionary period, including Michael Hillegas, William Montgomery, James Fulton, Matthias Slough, and George Ege. Martic Furnace went out of blast during the Revolutionary period, and was not blown in again; but the Martic property was an important munition centre during the War for Independence. Samuel Evans writes (in vol. ix, Papers of Lancaster County Historical Society), as follows: "There was also a boring mill at a run opposite Martic Furnace, run by the Harts before the Revolution. Another boring mill on the creek that empties into the Pequea creek below Martic Forge. It is possible that the barrels were forged at Martic Forge." Robert S. Potts, the last owner of Martic Forge, is quoted in "Forges and Furnaces in the Province of Pennsylvania" as stating: "There was also a charcoal furnace called Martic, six miles east of the forge. It was owned and operated by the Martic Forge Company, when, or how long, I cannot learn. The old cinder bank is still visible (1886). During the Revolution, round iron was drawn under the hammer at the forge and bored out for musket barrels at a boring mill, in a private road, doubtless with a view to prevent discovery by the enemy." One furnace in that neighborhood, possibly Martic Furnace, was fully charged when news came that the English were very near. The men left their work, and the furnace cooled and remained in that state ever after.

The original owners of Martic Forge were ruined by prosperity, or unbalanced by popularity. Edward Shippen stated: "Tom Smith, the sheriff, was almost ruined by the office." The Martic property was a good one, and had Smith carefully managed his own business, he might have done as well as Coleman and others.

In 1828-31 James Coleman, who inherited Martic Forge from his father, erected a steel furnace. In 1855 his heirs sold the forge to George Steele, who three years later sold to Robert Potts. The plant was again in the hands of the sheriff of Lancaster county in 1862, and was then sold to the firm of Davis & Potts.

Slave labor was used at Martic Forge up to the first, and, maybe, the second decade of the nineteenth century; their burial-ground may still be seen in a copse on the left-hand side of the public road from Marticville to Mount Nebo.

Colemanville dates from the time when Edward Coleman, son of Robert, built the Colemanville Forge, rolling mill and slitting mill "upon the old Martic Forge property," in 1828. Nails were made in forge, rolling mill and slitting mill "upon the old Martic Forge property and about two miles farther down the Pequea creek," in Conestoga township; that was in 1828. Nails were manufactured in these works, and for thirty years Maris Hoopes was manager. The pig iron they used was hauled in wagons from Elizabeth Furnace. After being idle for many years, the works came into operation again in the 'eighties, under the management of William J. Rutter. At that time the works were making charcoal blooms for boiler-plates. With the death of Robert S. Potts in 1886, the operations at Martic finally ended, excepting a brief exploitation of low-grade ore upon the property in 1905.

Martic, however, was not the only part of the southern half of Lancaster in which ironmaking was an appreciable industry. Some very substantial plants were those along the Octorara and Conowing. Dr. Houston sketched the industries along the former, in 1896, and his article is the basis for the following: Flowing into Mercer's dam, on the eastern branch of the Octorara in Sadsbury township, from the Chester county side, is an unnamed stream on which sixty or seventy years ago (from 1896) was a tilt-hammer shop operated by James Moore, who manufactured scythes. Dr. Houston writes:

> Down the stream from the Mercer mills, along the Brosius road, are found the ruins of Sadsbury Forge No. 1, known as the Upper Forge, and Sadsbury Forge No. 2, known as the Middle Forge. They were purchased by James Sproul (who moved there from White Rock Forge, Little Britain township, in 1828), from John Withers, who also owned and operated Mt. Eden Furnace in Eden township.
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> A half mile down the stream we come to a break in the Lancaster county range of hills which led to the Sproul Mansion, near which on the surrounding plateau were erected barns and stables required to accommodate the great number of horses and mules used in transporting the smelted iron from Lancaster to the Sadsbury forges, and to return the finished bar-iron to water transportation. This was before the era of the Pennsylvania railroad. Teams were also necessary to haul the charcoal for the surrounding country to the forges. I well remember, during the boom of 1844, seeing processions of six to eight six-horse teams all engaged in hauling the product of a single furnace plant to the Pennsylvania railroad.
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> Near to the headquarters mansion the No. 2 Sadsbury Forge was in operation. No. 1 Forge furnished chafery iron, which was manufactured in No. 2 Forge into octagonal bars, and were largely sold to a New England company, the Whitney, to be used in manufacturing gun barrels. After Mr. Sproul's death, which occurred in 1847, No. 1 Forge was unused. Mr. Goodman and son continued for some time, but the scarcity of charcoal and their efforts to manufacture coke having failed, this forge was abandoned and only ruins remain.

> Journeying southward, the next utilization of the stream was without doubt the first effort to manufacture iron on the Eastern Branch, and probably was inaugurated by one Duquesne (Evans says by Michael Withers, about the middle of the eighteenth century). This forge afterwards became the property of James Buckley, who purchased a large tract of land in this locality, a portion of which became the property of James Sproul in 1837, he having purchased it from Buckley Brothers, sons of James Buckley. Even the ruins of this forge are almost obliterated, a high stone wall, part of a coal house, alone remaining to mark the site of the Duquesne Forge.
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> A half mile down the stream we come to the ruins of Ringland Forge, which was built by the Buckley Brothers early in the present century (19th). John McGowan became proprietor of this forge in 1837, and here manufactured forge iron until 1848. Charles Cloud was engaged here for some years as proprietor, when Thomas Bailey succeeded to the business. Bailey attempted to manufacture iron from the slag of former operators, but failed. His assignee, Wm. Borland, however, was successful in the enterprise. Twenty-five years ago a freshet tore out the plant, which was not rebuilt. Three-fourths of a mile below Ringwood Forge, a stream known as Knott's run contributes its waters to the swelling East Branch. On this run General Steel built a large cotton factory. The stream though not abounding in water, furnished ample fall to guarantee sufficient power. This enterprise was a failure, and for years only stone walls remained to tell the tale of the General's venture. Thirty years ago a paper-board mill was erected on the site, but this attempt was abortive.

The quotations made from Dr. Houston's article deal with the utilization of power of the eastern branch of the Octorara creek on the Lancaster county side only.

There were some important plants in Colerain township a century ago, the Black Rock Forge and White Rock Furnace, both of which were erected by Thomas Clark as the nineteenth century opened. James Sproul became owner and sold to Major John Caldwell, who dismantled the old forge and sold the furnace to a Mr. Babbitt. Eventually, in 1837, the firm of Charles Brooke, Jr., & Company, of Philadelphia, acquired it. Two years later, Robert B. Cabine, of Philadelphia, bought a part-interest, and the firm name changed to Brooke, Cabine & Company. In 1841 Mr. Cabine retired, but the other partners continued the plant until 1856, when the furnace was blown out, and the real estate sold.

White Rock Forge was near what is now White Rock Station, on the narrow-gauge railway. The forge enterprise began with the partnership of Frank Park and James Sproul, in 1830, but the latter was sole owner before the plant was brought into operation. John Alexander was manager at the forge for more than twenty years. Eventually the plant was closed, and the real estate sold by Mr. Sproul to Thomas Whitson and Frank Hobson. Alexander W. Morrison became a later owner, and demolished the forge buildings, and the land later passed to the King family. The Forge Company's "Mansion House" was purchased for residential purposes by Levi Barnett, in 1861.

Mount Eden Furnace, near the head of the west branch of the Octorara creek, in Eden township, about a mile north of the Great Valley road, was built in 1812 by George Michael and John Withers. In 1837 it underwent repairs, and was put in blast again by Augustus and John Withers, Jr., the sons of John Withers, Sr. Operations were discontinued about 1843.

The early industries along the Conowingo creek were reviewed in a paper so entitled by E. Beverly Maxwell, and read by him in 1897 before the local historical society. In part it read as follows:

> The Conowingo is formed by the confluence of two small streams whose origins are in springs situated on the range of Buck Hills, about two miles apart. The one runs southeast, the other southwest, to the point of confluence, which is two miles southeast of Buck and

three miles southwest of Quarryville. From here diagonally across the townships of East Drumore and Fulton for a distance of thirteen miles, wanders this noble stream. In the past and present, the Conowingo, on account of its great fall, has furnished water power to turn the wheels of a furnace, a rolling mill, a foundry (all of which proudly bore its name), a sickle factory, a sorghum factory, two cleaver mills, nine flour and feed mills and seven saw mills, all of which comprised the twenty-three business places of the Conowingo, and thirteen of which still testify to their usefulness by doing a thriving business.

Taking the headwaters as a starting point, rather than the oldest structure, we find Jacob Bair and his wife Elizabeth built a grist mill at this point in 1776. The mill was built of stone and covered with cedar shingles brought from New Jersey. The timbers were of white oak. * * * This mill stood until 1850, at which time its walls were so cracked as to be considered unsafe, and the wrought-iron nail-heads which fastened the shingles stood out like miniature posts above their worn surface. Then it was taken down and the burrs removed to the mill lately owned by Mr. Shultz. The mill property and adjacent lands were purchased from the Bairs by Jonathan Good in the year 1800. Mr. Good erected a furnace some fifty yards east of the mill, and in 1810 sold it to George and John Withers, of Black Rock fame. From these gentlemen it passed into the hands of James Hopkins, Esq., of Lancaster City, and he took into partnership with him his brother-in-law, James Orrick, the firm being Hopkins & Orrick. Conowingo was then a manufactory of stoves. Some of the old ten-plate stoves moulded there are still in use.

In 1830 came James H. Hopkins, son of James Hopkins, to Conowingo. The old firm was now dissolved, and James M. took charge; and after his father's death, which occurred in 1834, he became sole owner and proprietor of Conowingo Furnace. * * * In a few years the furnace was turned into a cold-blast furnace for the manufacture of pig iron. This product of Conowingo became widely known for its hardness and enduring properties, and was much sought after for railroad purposes. The first rails laid on the Baltimore & Ohio road were made of Conowingo pig iron, and remained in use until supplanted by steel. In 1853 a bar of iron sent to the great London Exposition received honorable mention.

Prior to and during the war, while charcoal iron commanded a high price, this plant was operated to advantage. * * * Limestone was accessible at Quarryville. The extensive ore mines just north of Conowingo owned by Mr. Hopkins, were exhaustively worked, and long lines of teams plied daily between the different points of supply and manufacture. The iron was found desirable for the manufacture of guns, and Admiral Dahlgren publicly commended its excellence for the casting of efficient guns. The old furnace was blown out in 1868, and was the last of the numerous ironworks of Lancaster county to succumb. Anthracite coal in the manufacture of iron became so much cheaper than charcoal that it superceded it entirely.

Conowingo was a plant in its day that gave employment to many men, as well as horses and mules. It was a sort of grand depot, furnishing a ready market for the surplus grain of the neighborhood. * * * On the site of the old furnace, making use of the wheel-pit and race, was erected a modern mill in 1866, one hundred years from the time when the first mill was built by Bair. * * * Mr. Hopkins' death occurred in 1895, he being in his eighty-fith year. He was one of the last of the old ironmasters to go from us.

The Conowingo rolling mill was situated about a mile and a half below the furnace, and was erected by John Neff. Francis Kendric, Thomas Crawford, and George White, in August of 1813, entered into a partnership to purchase eighty-six acres of land adjoining the furnace property, and to erect a rolling and slitting mill thereon. This partnership continued about ten years, after which it became the property of Neff and Kendric, who sold it to Robert Coleman. * * * Coleman sold the mill to James Sproul, who had extensive interests on the Octorara, and in 1840 it became the property of James M. Hopkins by purchase. The mill was then operated for a short time by Mr. Riddle, and lastly by Colonel Peter Sides in 1843. The building has disappeared and the floods have long since torn through the dam-breast.

In 1854 John Gordon erected a foundry about a mile below the old rolling mill, where a shop and sawmill had stood for some years. At that time it was called Jordon's Foundry, and since it has passed into the hands of Martin Hess is now called Conowingo Foundry. Directly east of the foundry, over the brow of the hill, some three hundred yards, on the property belonging to the heirs of Harvey Long, is found what seems to be a peculiar wall. If ever a portion of a structure at all, it is undoubtedly that of the oldest in the neighborhood. [It is more generally thought to be a natural formation.—Editor].

South of the ruins and southeast of the foundry a similar distance we find the waters of the Conowingo and those of McFarland's run forming the dam of what is now Mr. E. Stauffer's mill. This mill was built a four-story frame structure by William and Harry Long in 1848; and after being in operation for some time it was sold to Abraham Groff. At Mr. Groff's death, about 1875, it was purchased by E. M. Stauffer. * * * [In 1889 it was destroyed by fire, but soon rebuilt, and taken over by Aldus Groff—Editor].

A stone's throw from the dam, up the McFarland run, once stood John Long's sickle mill. Mr. Long with others manufactured the Drumore sickle, with a combination of good qualities, so as to make the brand most desirable. Competition with foreign manufacturers existed at this time, for it is stated that the Drumore sickle was of such a desirable quality that the English blade was almost driven out of the market. They were sold at one time as low as four dollars a dozen. John Long was the last sickle-maker in Drumore, he having carried on business until his death in 1855.

Colonel Hugh Long, father of John Long, was probably the first sickle-maker in Drumore, but it seemed to be one of the main industries of the section. There was a sickle-mill on Fishing creek, above the Penrose mansion; another on the Robert Moore farm; one on Skelpie run, built by Thomas Johnston and William Wright. "Stephen John Hamilton had a steam sickle-mill on his farm; one stood near the blacksmith's shop of Samuel Wybels, and one in the forks of the road leading to Long's mill, on the Nathaniel Myers farm. One stood in the lane on the old James McPherson property." John King, who owned a tilt-hammer run by water-power, half a mile east of Fairfield, manufactured scythes and also forged sickle-irons. There was a sickle-mill at Moderwell's, on a branch of the Octorara. A considerable business was done in sickles, the product going to all parts of the United States, through wholesalers of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Most of the bar iron used was made in Martic and Black Rock forges, but the steel had to be imported from England.

Lancaster county has to thank Mr. D. B. Landis, of the old Landisville family and now of Lancaster, for much that is written regarding the mineral development of Hempfield township, and also for Landisville history, the result of his original research. Writing in 1904, regarding the iron industry, Mr. Landis stated: "Among the iron furnaces in the vicinity of the Hempfields the Cordelia at Ironville was perhaps the best known, and operated more than twenty-five years ago. * * * Isaac McHose, of Reading, owned this plant in 1884. The Chickies Iron Company also ran a puddling mill near Columbia in 1884." As to the Chickies Furnaces, and to ironworking in general in the Columbia-Marietta district, the before-quoted paper of Horace L. Haldeman is authoritative of events up to 1896. He wrote as follows:

So far as the records in my possession show, the furnaces to use anthracite coal in Lancaster county were:

Shawnee Furnace, at Columbia, built in 1844-45, by Robert and James Calvin. Archibald Wright and nephew erected a second furnace here in 1854.

Henry Clay Furnace, on the Pennsylvania railroad and canal, between Chickies and Columbia, was built in 1845, by Peter Haldeman, of Columbia.

Chikiswalungo Furnace, later changed to Chickies, at the mouth of Chickies creek, was built by Henry Haldeman, who resided just below Bainbridge, for his sons, Professor S. S. Haldeman and Dr. Edwin Haldeman.

Marietta Furnaces (two), erected by Mr. Shoenberger and Henry Musselman, one in 1848, the other in 1849. Later the firm became Musselman & Watts. The latter, Henry M. Watts, was a son-in-law of Mr. Shoenberger.

Rough and Ready Furnace, later changed to Cordelia, which is situated on the Shawnese run, about two and a half miles northwest of Columbia, was built in 1848 by Cross & Waddell.

Conestoga Furnace, in Lancaster, was built as a charcoal furnace in 1846, by Robert and James Calvin, and George Ford, a Lancaster lawyer. Later, the furnace was changed to use anthracite coal.

Safe Harbor Furnace, near the mouth of Conestoga creek, was built by Reese Abbott & Co., a few years after 1846.

Sarah Ann Furnace, on the north side of Big Chickies creek, was erected in 1839 by

> Jacob Gamber. It was later owned by Governor Daniel R. Porter, who changed it to anthracite.
>
> Donegal Furnace, on the Pennsylvania canal, between Chickies and Marietta furnaces, was built in 1848, by James Myers, of Columbia, Dr. George N. Eckert and Daniel Stein.
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> St. Charles Furnace, at Columbia, was built in 1852, by Clement B. Grubb, of Lancaster.
>
> Eagle Furnace, which adjoins the Chickies property, was built in 1854, by S. F. Eagle, Peter Haldeman and Joseph Cottrell. This furnace was purchased by the owner of the Chickies Furnace, when its name was changed to Chickies No. 2.
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> Musselman Furnace, later changed to Vesta, was the last blast furnace erected in our county. It was built by Musselman & Watts, the owners of the Marietta Furnaces, in 1868.
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> Owing to the various changes in the modern conditions of producing pig iron, all except three of the above thirteen blast furnaces have either been abandoned, or torn down and sold for "scrap" iron; of these three the two at Chickies are now in operation.

Apparently, the Chickies Furnaces did not much longer continue in operation, judging by the following, written in 1904 by Mr. D. B. Landis: "The familiar names of Haldeman, Watts, Musselman, etc., are no longer seen at the once busy places above Chickies, as the dismantling of these famous furnaces was accomplished about half a dozen years ago."

Quoting again from Mr. Haldeman's article:

> The first in Lancaster county to use anthracite fuel were the Shawnee, at Columbia; Henry Clay, above Columbia; and Chikiswalungo, in the order named.
>
> The eight furnaces along the Pennsylvania canal, between Columbia and Marietta, were built there owing to facilities that that waterway gave them for transportation, all their coal being received and iron shipped by canal. The ores at first came from the surrounding local mines and were hauled to the furnaces in wagons.
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> In 1828 Henry Haldeman purchased the Chickies property from the estate of Christian Hershay, deceased. There was then standing on the property a small sawmill on the grounds of the present mansion. Shortly after purchasing the property, he erected the present larger sawmill at the mouth of Chickies creek. This mill was run for him by Samuel Zink. In 1836 Henry Haldeman took his son, Prof. S. S. Haldeman, into partnership in the lumber business. In 1842 Henry Haldeman retired from the partnership, transferring his remaining interest to his second son, Dr. Edwin Haldeman, then a practicing physician. The firm then consisted of Prof. S. S. Haldeman and Dr. Edwin Haldeman, under the firm-name of E. Haldeman & Co.
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> Prior to Henry Haldeman's purchase of this property, there was a fulling-mill on the same, the remains of the dam for which can yet be seen under one of the present turnpike bridges. There was also a ferry across the mouth of the creek used by travellers before the river turnpike road was built, there being no bridge at that time.
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> In 1845 Henry Haldeman built the Chickiswalungo Furnace. This furnace and all of his other property he gave to his sons, Samuel and Edwin, on July 4, 1845. The furnace first went into blast January 15, 1846. It was originally but thirty-two feet high and eight feet across boshes, and was modernized from time to time, but the original stack remained until 1886, when the old plant was practically dismantled and a new one erected, including machinery boilers and hot-blast stoves. From the time the furnace was built up to July, 1893, a period of over forty-seven years, the furnace was never out of blast for more than six months at any one time. During the depression in the iron business in 1893, it went out of blast, but is now in operation (1896).
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> In 1852 Paris Haldeman, a younger brother, was admitted in the firm of E. Haldeman & Co. In 1869 Prof. Haldeman retired from the business and the heirs of Edward B. Grubb, of Burlington, N. J., entered, they having purchased the Eagle Furnace, adjoining the Chickies property. This copartnership continued after the death of Dr. Edwin Haldeman, in 1872, until the Chickies Iron Company was formed in 1876. In 1888 the firm of Haldeman Grubb & Co. was formed, consisting of Paris Haldeman, C. Ross Grubb and Horace L. Haldeman. Paris Haldeman retired from active business in 1891, leaving the membership of the firm, C. Ross Grubb and Horace L. Haldeman.

The Chikis Rolling Mill, in East Donegal township, near the mouth of Chikis creek, was built in 1865, and had one single and three double puddling furnaces; the owner was John Becker. The Lancaster Rolling Mill, at Rohrerstown, was erected in about 1860; it is referred to in the Hempfield township chapter. The Shawnee Rolling Mill, on Shawnee run, in Columbia borough, was built in 1854, by Smith, Bruner, Saurbeer, and others, to manufacture rails. The plant consisted of sixteen puddling and four heating furnaces, four train rolls; and latterly the product was ship and boiler plates mainly. The capacity was 15,000 tons a year. The Chestnut Hill Iron Ore Company, which is referred to elsewhere, succeeded Columbia Steel and Iron Company as owners.

The Susquehanna Rolling Mill, in Columbia, was built in 1860, by Columbia men, headed by George Bogle, J. G. Hess, H. S. Hershey, and others. General William Patton took hold of the plant when failure seemed certain. He reorganized the company about 1872 as the Susquehanna Iron Company, and took over the general management. It has outlasted all of the other rolling mills of Lancaster county.

The Safe Harbor Iron Works, consisting of a blast furnace, foundry, and rolling mill, were located near the mouth of Conestoga creek, in Conestoga township, and, of course, not very far from Colemanville. The furnace was built in 1846, and the rolling mill, for rails, in 1848. It was the enterprise of Philadelphia men, David and Samuel J. Reeves, Dr. Pancoast, and Charles and George Abbott. The discovery of good deposits of iron ore in the Colemanville vicinity was the reason for the enterprise, and for a while the mills were important centres of industry. "The principal product was railroad iron, great quantities of which were used by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company when the railroad came into possession of the present company. These works continued running steadily from the completion of their bulding until 1865, when the dam across the Susquehanna river, which connected the Conestoga canal with the Tide-Water canal, was destroyed, thus cutting off the means of transportation." Fourteen years later the plant was again opened up, with David and Samuel J. Reeves as owners and under the supervision of the Phoenix Iron Company, the mill being put in operation to manufacture puddling iron for the Phoenix plant at Phoenixville. To provide the needed transportation means, the company, in 1879-80, built a railway siding one mile in length, to connect their plant with the Columbia & Port Deposit railroad, which had then only recently been completed.

The Conestoga Furnace, on Hoffman's run, in the southern part of the city of Lancaster, was built by Robert and James Calvin and George Ford, in 1846. It was a charcoal furnace, and the bulk of the wood supply came via Conestoga navigation. At the time of the opening of the Quarryville railway, it was being operated by Peacock and Thomas. In 1887 the plant had a capacity of about 150 tons a week.

The Penn Iron Company was organized in 1873, or at least its rolling mills in the northeastern section of Lancaster were being erected in that year. The Penn Iron Company, Limited, took over the Lancaster Locomotive Works, which was established in 1853 by Daniel Cockley, John Black, Christopher Hager, and others. The plant was situated east of Ann street, and fronting on the Columbia — Philadelphia railroad. The first locomotive built was placed on that road in December, 1855. Thirty locomotives were built before the national monetary stringency or panic in 1857 had such a disastrous effect upon the Locomotive Company that an assignment of its affairs became necessary in October, 1857, to M. O. Kline, treasurer of the company. In 1861 the plant was leased to James A. Norris, and, on his death a few months later, was sold to Edward Norris, and busily operated during the Civil War. In 1879 the Penn Iron Company took over the Locomotive Works and used them in the production of merchant bar iron, car forgings, and bolts and nuts, railway fastenings. From 1874 to 1878 the Locomotive Works had been disastrously operated by a firm known as the Lancaster Manufacturing Company, a stock company composed of many Pennsylvania railroad officials. This connection and the easily obtained orders therefrom, proved the undoing of the company. The organization of the Penn Iron Company occurred in 1879, by Lancaster and Philadelphia merchants, among them A. J. Steinman and A. H. Peacock of Lancaster. Mr. Steinman about two years later bought the controlling interest and reformed the company, and later became almost sole owner. The plant in 1887 was employing regularly about 400 persons, and produced about 14,000 tons of its class of manufactured iron yearly.

The period of greatest activity in ironmaking in Lancaster county was probably in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, states Dr. Roddy. In 1833 Lancaster county had five charcoal furnaces, eleven forges, two rolling mills, and two nail factories, with an output of 10,000 tons a year. In 1869 there were fourteen anthracite furnaces, producing 71,000 tons; two charcoal furnaces producing 2,000 tons; four forges with an output of 4,000 tons, and five rolling mills, producing 19,400 tons, or a total of 100,000 tons, all in active operation. The panic of 1873 materially affected the local companies, and from that time the iron industry of Lancaster county became decadent. The principle of concentration began to be more and more evident, the operations of Carnegie and other steel manufacturers of Pittsburgh and elsewhere bringing about this evolution. At the time of the outbreak of war in 1917, Lancaster county had only one furnace and one rolling mill in operation, those of the Susquehanna Company, of Columbia. Their operations, however, equalled half that of all the operating plants of 1869, and found employment for about 600 men.

NOTE—Just before going to press, in August, 1923, it was reported that the Reading Iron Company, which had purchased the property of the Susquehanna Iron Company, had decided to dismantle the old Susquehanna Rolling Mill on South Front street, Columbia, and intended to scrap that part of its machinery which could not be utilized at the Old Columbia Mill, the furnaces of which were again lighted on August 22, 1923, preparatory to an immediate resumption of work. The East End Rolling Mill is in operation at present.

CHAPTER XXXIX

LANCASTER, THE ARSENAL OF COLONIAL AMERCIA.

Lancaster Rifle-Makers of Provincial and Later Times.

Governor Ponwall visited Lancaster in 1754, and found it to be an important gunmaking centre, and his testimony draws attention to an industry in which Lancaster comes uniquely into the early industrial history of North America.

Lancaster was indeed the Arsenal of America in the late provincial days. The first rifles manufactured in America in noticeable quantities, were Lancaster products. The following extracts are from a Tennessee work, A. C. Buell's "History of Andrew Jackson," and full credit is accorded to Lancaster for having introduced rifle-making in America. In part, the book reads:

> From the beginning of the contest between France and England for mastery in North America to the submission of the last remnant of fighting savages the rifle has been the sign in which Americans have conquered America; * * * yet libraries may be searched in vain for the history of its origin and its development. Such a tool in the building of empires ought to be worth at least one page somewhere in the annals of the nation it has created and defended. But thus far that page has been begrudged. Let us write one.
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> The art of making rifles was brought to this country in the year 1721, when a small colony of Swiss refugees from religious persecution settled in what was then known as the "Conestoga country" of Pennsylvania, but now Lancaster. It was a singular dispensation that brought this colony of rifle-makers to our soil under the auspices of the peaceful and non-combatant 'Proprietary' of William Penn and his Quaker progeny. The Swiss colony that settled at Lancaster, came from the canton of Basle, or Basel. They were all mechanics, and most of them gunsmiths. Prior to their advent, the only firearms known in America were smooth-bore muskets and fowling pieces.
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> At first, the Swiss at Lancaster made rifles on the model of their own rather clumsy weapons, and carried ounce balls. Their barrels were thirty to thirty-two inches long, and were rifled to a twist of about one-half revolution in the length of the bore. The frontier settlers and hunters at once saw the superiority of these rifles to the smooth-bores they had previously used, both in range and accuracy, and the industry grew rapidly. But the type was radically changed. The frontiersmen demanded longer and lighter barrels and smaller bullets. The Swiss gunsmiths at first protested, but the demand soon created the supply. In a few years the short, heavy, large-calibred Swiss "yager" was laid aside, and the new distinctive American rifle took its place * * * This standard type soon became known throughout the colonies as "the Lancaster rifle," and prior to the conquest of Canada its manufacture was practically monopolized by the town from which it took its name. After 1760, makers who had learned the art at Lancaster branched out for themselves and set up shops all along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and the Southern colonies.
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> The New England people never took to the rifle in those days, and when the Revolution broke out there was not a rifle-shop in existence anywhere east of the Hudson river. In 1768 Sir William Johnson induced several skilled gunsmiths to migrate from Lancaster, and they set up shops in Esopus, Schenechtady, Johnstown, and Canajoharie.
>
> The names of the early riflemakers bespeak their Swiss origin: Gaspard, Dechert, Busch, Leman (or Lehman in the old documents), Loder, Youmans, Riddel, Sneider, Stengel, Mayesch, Palm, Volvert, Franck, Follecht (or Folleck), Drippard, Gresheim, Lennard and others of less note. A little later, when English or North-Irish colonists had learned the art, such names became famous as Hawkins, Bosworth, Bartlett, Ludington, Best, Starr, and Reynolds. The manufacture of rifles had become so important an element of military strength at the outbreak of the Revolution that the Continental Congress in 1776 took virtual possession of the Lancaster shops * * * Among the old records of that Congress is an order for the arrest of Louis and Michael Busch, of Lancaster, for disregarding the ordinance of the Secret Committee.

There are some errors in the above-quoted Buell account, but the important point is that Lancaster comes into national records as the pioneer seat of rifle-making in America. Nevertheless, at one time during the French and Indian War, when the Lancaster townsmen were gathered in the Square to discuss means of defense against the supposedly impending attack upon the town by Indians, some were alarmed to find that only fifty guns were available for three hundred persons, and not a pound of ammunition. Such was the deplorable state in the centre of American rifle-making in wartime. During the Revolution, Lancaster gunsmiths were busy, among them being John Miller, Joel Ferree, John Fondersmith, Charles Jones, George Baur, James Reed, Robert Jones, Philip Wolfheimer, Jacob Dickert, Peter Reigart, Michael Withers, Christian Isch, John Messersmith, Peter Gonter, Frederick Farnot and Peter Roeser.

It seems strange that this list, and also the Buell account, makes no reference to the connection William Henry had with rifle-making in Lancaster.

Though perhaps not the largest manufacturer of rifles in Lancaster before or after the Revolution, the local industry rested mainly in his hands during the struggle for independence. He was a lad of fifteen years, and fatherless, when he came to Lancaster in 1744 to learn the trade of gunsmith in the shop of Matthew Roesser. In 1750 he engaged in making arms on his own account, forming partnership with Joseph Simon, "a wealthy Jew of high character." The partnership was dissolved in 1759, and thereafter William Henry expanded his trading to include most lines of hardware. Possibly, rifle-making became secondary with him thereafter. In a "Biographical History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," written by Alex. Harris in 1872, William Henry is referred to as "an ingenious and successful mechanic of Lancaster, and for many years conducted a large gun manufactory and ironmongery, at the southeast corner of Center Square." William Henry's gun factory was, however, outside of Lancaster. He was armorer of the Pennsylvania forces attached to Braddock's expedition in 1755, and in the subsequent operations of the French and Indian War. During the Revolution he was the fiscal agent for the State and Confederation in the Lancaster zone, one of the most important. In his official capacities as assistant commissary general, and fiscal agent, and as superintendent of arms and accoutrements, he was responsible for most of the production and procurement of munitions of war, and, it seems, did considerable rifle-manufacturing himself, at his gun works on Mill creek, perhaps at another factory also. President Wharton wrote to Colonel Henry on September 6, 1777, regarding the appointment of the latter "to manufacture arms for the coloniel troops." Governor Wharton's communication as "President of the Board of War" was to express a hope that Colonel Henry had "made a beginning to employ workmen to make arms." Francis Jordan, Jr., in his "Life of William Henry," makes the following reference to William Henry's activities in this connection: "The crying need of the hour, and one which threatened serious consequences if not promptly met, was an adequate supply of arms for the troops impatiently waiting to take the field, or to replace weapons lost or destroyed in action. To meet this demand, which was pressing from every quarter, Henry's gun works located on Mill creek where what is known to-day as the Old Factory Road crosses that stream, and the best equipped in the colonies, were working night and day to their utmost capacity; and the Board of War, realizing the gravity of the situation and the importance of keeping his works in uninterrupted operation, exempted his workmen from liability to military duty."

Thus it will be seen that the industries of Lancaster entered prominently into the history of the grim struggle which ultimately brought independence to the colonists, giving birth to the great nation. As will be realized by a reading of the industrial history of Lancaster during the World War period, she has in the most recent test proved that the spirit of Lancastarians is still "the spirit of '76," that the standards set by their patriotic and industrious forefathers is their pattern and aim.

It may be well to continue this armament phase of Lancaster history to the present here, before reviewing other pioneer industries. In 1789 there were seven master-gunsmiths in Lancaster, and she held her place as the gun-making centre of the United States. In the Buell account before-quoted, the name of Leman appears; and although that is a well-known name in Lancaster rifle-making history, it does not seem to enter into it until about 1834. Henry C. Leman, who became one of the widest-known Lancaster rifle manufacturers, did not begin to make guns until 1834. He then set up a gun-shop in Lancaster, and in 1837 received his first Government order, the contract being for one thousand rifles. Others followed steadily until 1861, when Mr. Leman was offered an order for 250,000 rifles for the United States Government. Mr. Leman did not take that large order, but nevertheless did considerable armament work during the war, refitting rifles. At that time, as the result of more than two decades of high-grade workmanship, the Leman rifle was widely known throughout America. Its reliability was known to the Indian as well as to the white, and perhaps appreciated by the former even more; indeed, it is stated that one could barter with the Redskins for almost any of their possessions, "but never for a Leman rifle."

During the participation of the United States in the World War, many munitions were made in Lancaster. Thousands of shells for 4.5 guns were made in the specially-built shell-shop of the Armstrong Cork Company, and preparations were being busily made to enter into the manufacture of 6-inch high explosive shells in the same plant at the time the Armistice was arranged. Of the employes at the Lancaster Linoleum Works, no less than six hundred were engaged for ten months in shell-making. Gun-parts for the 7-inch caterpillar type were also made at the shops of the Christiana Machine Company; and "among the first plants of Lancaster to turn over its entire output to the Government when war was declared, was the Bearings Company of America," its products including mount bearings for naval guns. Other local industrial efforts of war purpose will be referred to in the World War review.

Lancaster is no longer a rifle-manufacturing centre, and its only gunsmiths are Domnitz Brothers and George W. Werner. The old Leman Rifle Works became, in 1875, the original plant of the Champion Blower and Forge Company, which now has fifteen factory buildings.

CHAPTER XL.

HISTORIC INNS OF LANCASTER.

With Some Reference to Early Roads and Stages.

In these days, when opinions differ so emphatically on the question of Prohibition, the average citizen would perhaps be astonished to learn how essential the pioneer tavern was to the pioneer community; he would be surprised to know that in effect it served the community as usefully as does the community-house of to-day. And there is little reason for doubting that its service was highly appreciated. That its function was public service is at once indicated by its early official name, "public-house." It was in many instances the only house which the public might always feel free to enter. Regrettable and riotous scenes occurred at times in or near the tavern, but the innkeeper was not held accountable for such outbreaks by weak men who had lost control over themselves by imbibing too freely. And there were probably not so many such occurrences in pioneer days, when most farmers distilled their own whiskey, and did not look upon the tavern as the place in which to take an excess of spirituous liquors. They gathered at the tavern for companionship, and oftentimes would spend an evening over a glass. The tavern-keeper was looked upon as a public servant, providing an indispensable public service. "Tavern-keeping was considered a meritorious calling. He, the landlord, was the counsellor, the financier, and the banker of the neighborhood." There was little hesitancy as to the granting of license; few public officials would have dreamed of refusing to sign a license, for the public-house "was the club-house of the neighborhood; if a person had nowhere else to go he was received with welcome at the tavern." He could enjoy its warmth on a cold winter night, be entertained by fiddling, and at times by dancing, without necessarily having to spend much money. He could not squander much in drink, when whiskey could be had at three cents a glass and brandy at five cents, including the expensive "loaf" sugar. And he need not go hungry, for a large pie could be purchased with a "fip" (6¼cents). a dinner and horsefeed would probably not cost more than two or three "levies" (two fips make one levy). Cigars, tied in bundles of a hundred, retailed at "four for a big red cent," and all who stayed overnight had a cigar free after each meal. There were few total-abstainers in those days; it was before the day of the Prohibitionist; indeed in those days, "a Prohibitionist would have been considered a public enemy, and not fit to live in a well-ordered community."

The place of importance the Tavern held in the plans of William Penn is well indicated in a communication written above his signature in 1701, concerning the settlement of his lands near the Susquehanna river. In that letter he promised to construct a road from the Susquehanna river, probably along what became the King's highway, to Philadelphia; and he promised free grants of land to those who would establish inns along the highway, "It being needful that several Stages or Inns Should be settled upon the S. roads for ye accomodacon of passengers and ye more easy and Speedy Setlment of ye S. Tract for ye Incouragmt of ye sale and settlement of ye Proprietrys other back lands." Research into the history of Lancaster county makes clear to the student the fact that more villages "grew around" a tavern than around any other pioneer industry. Oftentimes the innkeeper was the main business factor of the place. He was generally the cross-roads storekeeper as well as innkeeper, a partition being the only division between bar-room and store. Sometimes he was the miller also. Generally, he was one of the leading men of the neighborhood, taking the initiative in most enterprises, even in church establishment. The first tavern and store at the Moravian church settlement at Lititz was owned by the congregation, and for a time was the residence of the bishop (1775); the tavern belonged to the community. The organization of Lancaster county was begun in a tavern—Postlethwait's, in Conestoga township, and the first courts were held at that point also. Therefore, the place of the Tavern in the history of Lancaster county is evident.

Historic Taverns—Among the historic taverns of Lancaster county, Postlethwait's, for the reason stated, probably deserves the right of first mention. John Postlethwait kept a tavern "near the Conestoga on the Great Road, which led from Philadelphia through the Gap to the Indian town in the Manor" some time after 1709. He was not in Conestoga township when that political division was delineated in 1718, but is named in a deed dated in 1727. However, he may have erected his log tavern earlier. (See Conestoga Township chapter, for very much more information regarding Postlethwait's Tavern).

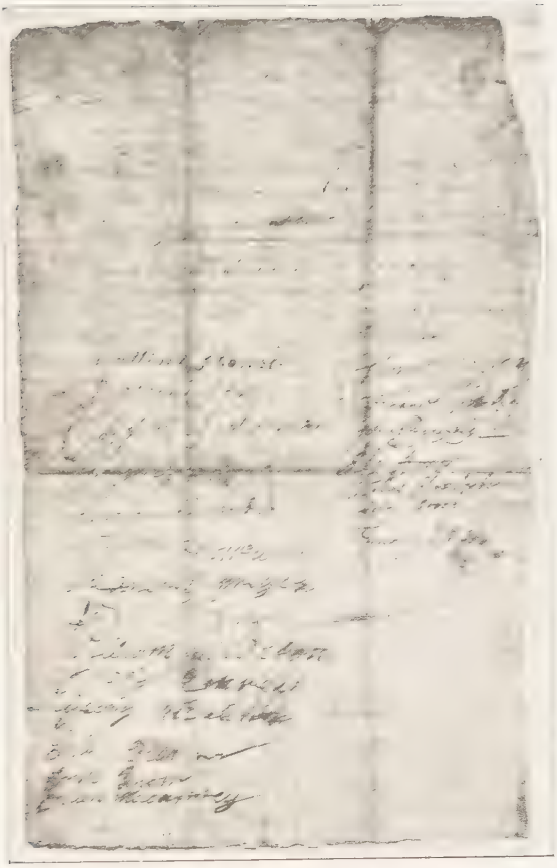
Postlethwait's was the temporary seat of justice in Lancaster county, but one would hardly think that of the places recommended for consideration as the permanent county seat the two most logical sites were taverns. Postlethwait's and Gibson's. Gibson's was selected, and the townstead of Lancaster developed in the vicinity of Gibson's Tavern.

Tavern history is almost inseparable from road and stage history. The taverns were generally at the cross-roads, and the stage-coaches came along the highway. The stage-coach in the early days of the King's Highway, which ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster and beyond, from about 1733, was generally a Conestoga wagon; and the volume of traffic would be sometimes so great that it was necessary to number the wagons as they came to the ferries, so that each might keep its place in the line of teams waiting to be ferried across. Sometimes one hundred and fifty four-horse and six-horse wagons would be in line, and the wait at the Susquehanna ferry would be twenty-four or thirty-six hours. Hence the tavernkeepers were called upon for accommodation for horses and teamsters. Along the King's Highway from Philadelphia to Lancaster, a distance of sixty-eight miles at the most, there were sixty-two inns. Some catered mainly to the stage-coach trade; others principally cared for the freight trade—for the teamsters and the teams. The latter called for very large outbuildings; but very often the end of the day found the teams at a small inn, in which case the teams would pass the night hitched to the wagon-tongue, and the teamsters would make themselves comfortable on the bar-room floor.

One of the earliest roads throughout or across Lancaster county was known as Old Peter's road; it was not much better than a slashed Indian trail. There was the Horse-shoe road, upon part of which the New Holland turnpike was later constructed; the Paxton road, later known as the Harrisburg and Downingtown turnpike. The first macadamized road in Pennsylvania—indeed, in the United States, it is said—was the Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike, commenced in 1792 and finished in 1794. There were other roads in all directions from Lancaster, which became "one of the busiest if not the very busiest stage towns in the United States"; which was in keeping with its other distinction of that time, that of being the largest inland town in the United States.

One of the earliest taverns in the county was one which at one time was actually owned by the Penn family. It was in the Manor Reserve at the Gap, and had been built by Francis Jones in 1726. It reverted to the Penns at his death, but in 1746 was granted to Isaac Taylor, the third husband of Jane, widow of Francis Jones. Another early hotel at the Gap was built by Francis Leech about 1750, and known as the Gap Tavern. The Slaymaker Tavern was one of the most historic of Salisbury inns; Amos Slaymaker, its landlord, became a member of Congress. A teamster's hotel in Salisbury township was the "Rising Sun," which gives the name of the village, and was built by Colonel Maxwell Kennedy. The White Horse Inn, in Salisbury township, comes into Revolutionary history; "when the British army occupied Philadelphia, and Congress sat in Lancaster, George Washington and his wife, on their way to the latter place stayed overnight at the White Horse."

The Cross-Keys Tavern, at Intercourse, was built in 1754; and that growing place owes its existence to the inn. The Spread Eagle was a famous hotel of Upper Leacock; it was built in 1788 and the first elections in that township were held in it. The Bear Tavern, at Oregon, in Manheim township, was a very old inn at the time Major André, then on parole from Lancaster, where he had been a military prisoner, visited the vicinity to fish for catfish. Boyd's Tavern, on the Lancaster and Marietta turnpike, was one of the largest of the old wagon taverns in the county; the Black Bear Tavern on the Columbia and Lancaster turnpike, 4½ miles east from Columbia, was the venue of many fights between Lancaster and Columbia young gentlemen in slavery days. Christian Stoneman erected a two-storied stone tavern at Little Conestoga, on the right side of the road from Lancaster to Wright's Ferry, in 1729; the Black Horse Tavern was another famous hostelry of the Hempfields of provincial days. Some of the old taverns of the Donegals were the rendezvous of fur-traders in the earliest days, of soldiers in the years of frontier warfare, and of patriots, sturdy Presbyterians, in Revolutionary days. Andrew Galbraith comes into local church history as one of the founders of Donegal Presbyterian Church; the Galbraiths had one of the first grist mills; they had a tavern, and brewed their own beer, all before Lancaster county was formed. They also were fur-traders. Captain Samuel Smith had a tavern at Canoy Indian Town prior to the formation of Lancaster county. Captain Samuel Scott settled on Little Chikis Creek, at the crossing of the old Pextang and Conestoga road, in about 1729 or 1730, and when the road was opened two years later, opened a tavern. It became famous during the French and Indian wars; "when officers and troops marched to join Braddock's and Forbes' armies, they invariably halted at Scott's tavern to dine, it being a convenient distance from Lancaster." The Bear Tavern, a log house built in 1730 at Elizabethtown, was a place widely known at the time of the French and Indian War. It was originally the Indian store and trading-house of Captain Thomas Harris, and was a favorite resort of fur traders. He built a large stone tavern in 1745. It is still standing and is now the handsome residence of Dr. De Vere Treichler. Captain Harris commanded a company of rangers during the frontier unrest, from 1748, and sold his tavern to the Lowreys, who rented to Barnabas Hughes, agent of Wharton & Company, of Philadelphia, who had considerable dealings with the fur-traders. Barnabas Hughes made it his headquarters, and bought it a year or so later; and in 1751 he laid out a town which he named after his wife, Elizabeth. He also was in service during Braddock's campaign; in fact, Barnabas Hughes was the first to bring the news from Carlisle of the disaster Braddock's forces had sustained. There was another very busy Elizabethtown hotel, the General Washington, which was the stage hotel in the heyday of the stage coaches, when Elizabethtown was one of the stage stops. The General Washington had stabling for sixty horses, and often was taxed to its capacity. Sporting Hill, near Manheim, had an inn of the real old-fashioned type; its old settlers were so fond of gathering in it that they forgot to build a church; for the greater part of a century Sporting Hill was without a church. Yet its residents were renowned for their honesty and integrity. Marietta had a different experience however. In its first hectic days as a borough, it was "infested with gamblers and



WASHINGTON HOTEL
EAST KING STREET

speculators," who made the taverns their headquarters and "like birds of prey lived off the earnings of others." The first hotel in Manheim was the Black Horse, built by Jeremiah Henselman probably one hundred and sixty years ago; another historic one in that borough was the Spread Eagle, built by Colonel Bartruff in 1804. The pioneer hotel in Rohrerstown (now part of Mount Joy borough), was the Exchange, founded by Alexander Campbell in 1768. Almost as old was the Cross-Keys at Richland, another village now in Mount Joy. It was a popular inn, frequented much by teamsters, a century or more ago. When the town of Warwick which is now part of Lititz, was platted and in 1811-13, and the lots were sold by lottery, the grand prize was a lot improved by a "large two-story limestone house with a cellar under it." In all probability it was the inn kept in Revolutionary days by Nicholas Stroh who permitted it to be used so frequently by plotting Loyalists that his wife threatened to tell her father, Jacob Huber, and have them all hanged as traitors. Many of the boroughs and other centres of population in Lancaster owe their existence to a lottery scheme, featuring an inn on a busy cross-roads as justification. About one hundred and seventy years or more ago, John Bricker built the tavern at Brickersville, and his "public-house" was the polling-place of a large election district for many years. Another famous hotel of Northern Lancaster was the Clay Hotel, in the village of Clay; it was built in 1766 and is still inhabited, "and able to stand the storms of another century." In that house during the Revolution, the drawing for a draft of soldiers was made by the innkeeper's blindfolded daughter, Christina Huber. For more than a century it was the venue of elections. The taverns of Adamstown of a century or more ago were Redcay's, Roger's, and Rohrer's; the first-named was quite popular as a stage hotel from 1772, when the Reading to Lancaster stage route was opened; the tavern was originally known as Schwartz's. Adamstown was famed for its "apple-jack," and later for its "Echtenach rye whiskey." Reamstown hotels of provincial days were the Eagle, Cross-Keys, and Buck; the last-named is the present Reamstown Hotel, and so that its patrons might be able to distinguish it from the others, even though they might not be able to read, its large signboard prominently featured a buck. In the extreme northwest corner of West Cocalico township, which seemed to the Hon. W. U. Hensel to be the "peak of the roof" of Lancaster county is one of the genuine old-fashioned inns—in a district so remote that the telephone even has not yet reached parts of it—of the real old-fashioned inns; there can be seen the tavern-store; there, at a country cross-roads, Mr. Hensel found a tavern, "with an open door between bar-room and store-room," and a landlord who was of the steady reliable type of the pioneer innkeepers, "a man of intelligence, education and force of character." Historic Ephrata has some inns in keeping with its age, the Eagle Hotel and "Ye Village Inn." A famous old inn of Old Sadsbury is the Green Tree Inn, thought to have been owned at one time by James Fulton, father of Robert Fulton, of steamboat fame. Whether the great stone mansion known as "The Ark," that stands near Quarryville, was used as a tavern by Martin Barr, who erected it in 1790, is not clear; certainly the Barrs did a large distilling business, especially "Lame Jacob" Barr, whose time seemed to be mostly spent seated on a hogshead, taking his wagonload of very good whiskey either to Lancaster or Philadelphia. The Whitesides of Colerain hauled much whiskey to Lancaster. Congressman John Whiteside, who had a worthy Revolutionary record, was an innkeeper in Lancaster borough one hundred and twenty years ago, opening the Lion on Centre Square, and later keeping the Fountain Inn; he was twice elected to Congress. When an Act of Assembly divided Lancaster county into four election districts, in 1785, the polling place of the Second District, which embraced the whole of Southern Lancaster including Sadsbury and Martic townships, was "at the public house of Colonel James Porter, in Drumore Township." The Porters were of distinguished Revolutionary record. Another man of Drumore who was a distinguished Revolutionary officer was Archibald Steele, "The Minute-Man." He left the plough in the furrow immediately he heard of the call from far-away Bunker Hill. Only a few months earlier he had married the daughter of Innkeeper Gibson of Lancaster; nevertheless he shouldered a musket and started off from Unicorn, with half a dozen other young men, to walk to Boston, four hundred miles away. The Unicorn Hotel, in Drumore, was for long the polling-place of the Second District, from 1792. Strasburg was a favorite halting-place in the days of the Conestoga wagon, and was a considerable village more than one hundred and seventy-five years ago, wholly because of this fact; indeed, the place consisted in provincial days of eight or ten taverns, the inhabitants being mainly those connected with the inns, hostlers, barnmen, and the like. The principal Strasburg hotels of stage-coach days were the Washington House, and the Golden Swan; John Funck, the landlord of the latter painted a portrait of Bishop Asbury, the pioneer Methodist bishop, and it was so true to the subject that it now has a place in the Asbury Memorial Hall at Washington, D. C. David Witmer in early republican days kept the stage tavern at Paradise; it was known as "At the Sign of the Stage." It was at that inn, presumably, that George Washington dined once, though at that time there were five taverns in the small village which after the Revolution became an important stage town. It was the headquarters of that section of the turnpike which began at Downingtown on the east and ended at Lancaster on the west; change of horses was made at Paradise, and all mail was sorted and redistributed from the hotel. General Lafayette was one of the later distinguished visitors who alighted onto the marble horse-block in front of the stage hotel at Paradise. In the early days of the Revolution, the roads were all more or less military roads; and, strange as it may seem, the King's Highway, with its many taverns, seemed the most barren of hospitality. In December, 1776, when the British were expected to seize Philadelphia, John Hubley, a member of the Provincial Council, despatched by wagon to Lancaster "an iron chest containing several thousand dollars and a cask of "our most valuable papers." Ten days later he wrote from Lancaster to the Council of Safety, warning of the attitude of the wayside innkeepers. He gave the information "that the soldiers who had already marched to Philadelphia had been badly accommodated by the tavern keepers along the road, in the way of provisions and lodgings. He advised that if they did not mend their ways after being warned, the soldiers should be allowed to kill cattle and keep themselves." Along this highway between Philadelphia and Lancaster, Christian Wolf, a boy of fourteen years, galloped regularly during 1777, carrying mail, which was then mainly military dispatches and Government correspondence. He had many exciting experiences, for along the route lived many Tories who seized every opportunity of affording information to the British; but the alert postboy evaded every snare set for him. While the British were in Philadelphia he did not make the journey, but he resumed the duties of postboy after the evacuation. He was in Philadelphia when news came of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. It was he who brought the good tidings to Lancaster along the King's Highway, through the dark night, the boy dashed at full gallop, covering the sixty-eight miles to Lancaster in record time. He reached Lancaster at one o'clock in the morning, and the watchman immediately and boisterously went through the sleeping city spreading the news. The effect was memorable. Instantly "windows went up, many a night-cap was protruded, lights flashed along the streets as if by magic, neighbors congratulated each other, and the whole city was in a tumult; bells were rung, bonfires and illuminations lighted up the town, and the spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm was everywhere apparent." It was a great experience for the postboy.

Lancaster became the State Capital in 1799, and thereafter for some time there was especially heavy road traffic east and west. But by that year, the science of quick movement by stage had been so far perfected that the journey from Philadelphia to Lancaster was made in a day, Innkeeper Matthias Slough, who was also one of the proprietors of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Dispatch Stage Line, announcing that a stage would set out from his house, at the Sign of the Swan, at five o'clock each morning, and reach Philadelphia the same evening. In 1771 the journey by stage to Lancaster took two days. The stage would leave the King of Prussia's Hotel in Philadelphia on Friday of each week, and arrive at Diffenderfer's in Lancaster on Saturday. The fare was ten shillings. The return journey would be made on Monday and Tuesday. By the way, Diffenderfer's Leopard Inn, on East King street, was part of the present Hotel Weber, regarding which more will be recorded later herein; John Michael Diffenderfer built the Leopard Inn in 1765.

One of the stopping places on that early stage route was "At the Sign of the Hat," in Leacock township. This inn comes into records of fifty years later as one of the quiet retreats at which Masons held their lodge meetings during the anxious Anti-Masonic period. Another busy halting-place along the King's Highway during the Revolutionary days was at Dering's ford, over Conestoga creek in Lampeter township. Much history was written at that ford and in the ferryhouse and tavern on the bank. During the Revolution, Dering's ford "was almost continuously thronged with the passage of wagon-trains and herds of cattle, destined to the army quartermaster, marching and returning troops, and other military movements; here, the American Congress forded the water in 1777, when it hastily removed from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and thence to York." The ferryhouse and tavern at the Conestoga ford were built by Samuel Bethel, of the Cross Keys Inn in Lancaster, in 1762, and Henry Dering bought it in 1777. Those were days in which the ruffian went uncurbed, and Dering soon found the lonely tavern too unsafe a place in which to keep his family. "Often the family were obliged to flee to the cellar or barn, to escape from the intoxicated soldiers and ruffians." Once some wounded soldiers who were being nursed by Mrs. Dering, were attacked by drunken ruffians, and one officer, a Captain Vanhorn, who was barely convalescent and was too weak to defend himself, jumped out of the window to avoid death, and was killed in the fall. Soon Henry Dering moved his family into Lancaster. In 1778 he was burgess of Lancaster, and later was Assemblyman from Lancaster county (1789-90).

The present Conestoga Inn at the ford was built by Abraham Witmer after the Revolution; his courageous initiative and fine public spirit in building the massive stone bridge over the Conestoga at that point is elsewhere told. The Bridgeport Hotel, immediately east of Witmer's bridge, was built probably before 1740; it was profitably featured as the reason for the Bridgeport townsite lottery in 1819.

Many of the early taverns changed their names so often that, without knowing the sequence of ownership, one could only identify them by knowing the location; but there is one at least that has held the same name for almost two centuries. The Bird-in-Hand Hotel in Lampeter township was one of the earliest inns along the road; it was the headquarters for the road surveyors in 1734. The present Bird-in-Hand Hotel is the fourth that has stood upon the same site.

There are some other historic inns in Lancaster county about which nothing has been written herein; but reference to the respective township and borough chapters will furnish much additional tavern history. Therefore the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the historic inns of Lancaster—the townstead, the borough, and the city. Eighty years ago (1843) the principal hotels in Lancaster City were: the Leopard, the Pennsylvania Farmer, the Bear, the Bulls Head, the Wagon and Horses, all on East King street; the North American, the Cluster of Grapes, the General Washington, the Farmers', the Thomas Jefferson, the Horse, the Globe, the Steamboat, the Franklin, the Eagle, and the Black Horse, all on North Queen street; the Fountain, on South Queen street; the Swan, on Centre Square; the Red Lion, the Lamb, and the Cross Keys, on West King street. The correct title of all at that time, and earlier, was "At the Sign of the Leopard," "At the Sign of the Pennsylvania Farmer," and so forth. A tavern without a sign would be about as incomplete at that time as a tobacconist's shop without a Red Indian image, or a city residence without a cast-iron fawn on the lawn.

Eighty years ago the stage-coach was at its last gasp, or was truly "going West." The railroads had driven it from the East, and soon, even in the "grain-clad prairies" of the Middle West it was classified among historical relics. And with its passing, the day of the wayside tavern passed; not forever, it seems, for there are increasing indications that, with the coming of the automobile and motor-truck, the wayside tavern is coming again to life. But the hotel traffic of the last eighty years has rested mainly with the city hotels. Lancaster City has a few very fine hotels now, notably the Hotel Brunswick, the Stevens House and the Hotel Weber, which, last, could put the original Leopard Inn into a small part of its present floor-space.

Lancaster City Inns—The first tavern kept in Lancaster was Gibson's, by all accounts. Rupp stated that in it Gibson "kept tavern" in 1722; another account doubts whether Gibson opened his tavern much before 1729, when Lancaster county was formed. According to Rupp, "Gibson resided near a fine spring, with a large hickory tree before his door," adding that this "was the favorite tree of the Indian tribe who lived in the vicinity, and were called by the Whites, from that circumstance 'Hickory Indians.'" Hazard's Register, vol. IV, p. 391, states that "when (Lancaster was) first laid out there was one house in it, and that was a tavern, the occupant being a man named Gibson." This is a misstatement, for there are many evidences that in 1730, when Governor Hamilton offered two places, one known as High Plain or Gibson's Pasture, and the other as the Roaring Brook (which was the Water street creek, as the site for courthouse and jail, there were forty or fifty families living in the immediate vicinity. Diffenderfer states that "we know pretty definitely that Gibson's Tavern was located on East King street, not far from the Square," and he supports the belief that Gibson was innkeeper in the hamlet of Hickorytown from about 1722. It seems that Gibson was a squatter, though all innkeepers were privileged squatters in those days. But Gibson's land was evidently offered by Governor Hamilton in 1729-30, and Gibson does not seem to have been an innkeeper so late as 1729; his name does not appear among the nine who were granted innkeeping licenses at the first session of the court of Lancaster county in August, 1729, and his name does not appear as a landlord until 1740. However, some mead of credit is due to Gibson, for a tavern undoubtedly attracts settlement, and Gibson's Tavern was probably the factor that influenced some of the forty or fifty families to settle, and thus give some semblance of entity to Hickorytown, when that locality was under consideration as the shiretown. In 1730 thirty-six tavern licenses were granted by the court, but Gibson's name was not among them. He was county treasurer that year, and in later years became a prominent member of St. James' Episcopal Church. Therefore, the first innkeeper of Lancaster was true to type, in being one of the leading citizens.

One of the licensees in 1730 was Samuel Bethel, who opened at the Sign of the Cross Keys, on West King street. For very many years it was a popular tavern, Samuel Blunston, the pioneer Quaker preacher, being a regular guest in its early years. He brought his daughter on one or more of his visits; and Innkeeper Bethel wooed and won that comely damsel. Bethel died in 1840, and his widow married another famous Quaker, Peter Worrall, who thereafter assumed the duties of host at the Sign of the Cross Keys. Worrall sat in the State Assembly from 1747 to 1754, resigning because he could not support the levying of a tax for the purposes of war against the French and Indians; he moved away from Lancaster in 1755. The landlords at the Cross Keys from that time to that of Joseph Jefferies, who came from Columbia after the Revolution and was landlord until 1797, are not known. Possibly George Palmer was the host at the Sign of the Cross Keys for some time. The only evidence now available that George Palmer was a tavern-keeper is a paper now possessed by the Lancaster County Historical Society. It reads as follows:

1753.		Lancaster. Mr. Edward Shippen	Dr. £
May	2d	To 5 Magistrats Diner & Club.	0.12.6.
	3d	To 9 Magsts, Dr. & Club.	1. 6.6.
	4th	To 4 Magosts, Diner & Club.	0.10.6.
Aug.	7th	To 8 Magoster. Dinr & Club.	1. 0.0.
	8	To 8 Magr. Dr. & Club.	1. 0.0.

	To Club at night on business.		0.12.0.
9	To 9 Magr. Dr. & Club.		1. 5.6.
10	To 10 at Dr. & Club.		1.10.0.
			£7.17.0.
	P. Contra Credr. By the current years Tavern Lycence.		2. 6.0.
		Bal.	5.11.0.

24th. Aug. 1753.
Reced of Edward Shippen Esqr.
the above balance of five pounds
Eleven Shillings in full of all
Accounts and Demands P. me
Geo. Palmer.
Witness:
Chas. Morse.

Christopher Brennan was landlord at the Cross Keys from 1797 until 1804, and Hugh Wilson from 1804 until 1810. Succeeding landlords were many.

The Black Horse Inn was built in 1736. It stood upon lot 169, where in 1883 a three-story building was erected in its place, the ground-floor being the post-office. It seems possible that the Black Horse was erected earlier than 1736, for when it was being demolished almost one hundred and fifty years later, one of its foundation stones was found to be marked "1717." Lot No. 169, on the west side of North Queen street, was conveyed by James Hamilton, proprietor, to Henry Bostler, in 1836. Subsequent owners or part-owners include Conrad Schwartz (1742), Lodowick Stone (1747), Michael Zeigler (part, 1759), Christian Wertx, (1764), Lawrence Herbert (1777), Frederick Frick (1778), Adam Weaver (1779), George Weaver (1810), John Bachman (1814), Abraham Ditlow (1839), and Henry Erb, Abraham Hostetter, John Schaeffer, Abraham W. Russell, Jesse Lutz, and A. C. Keppler.

The Grape or Cluster of Grapes was one of the most interesting of the early taverns. It was built by John Harris in 1741. In 1769 it was sold at sheriff's sale to Adam Reigart. It may have been then that the inn received the name by which it has gone into history; it was in that year that a Lancaster blacksmith fashioned the cluster of grapes that hung by a ponderous ornamental iron bracket from the front of the building for so many years, eventually to be deposited by the Hon. W. U. Hensel among the other Revolutionary tavern signs he had collected at Bleak House. Reigert was innkeeper at the Grape until 1794, through the exciting years of the Revolution, when the house was one of the Government headquarters. The Supreme Executive Council met at the Grape Hotel, and the Committee of Observation used it; from the Grape was issued the order commanding merchants suspected of selling tea to appear before the Committee of Observation. Several other governmental bodies deliberated in that house. General Washington stayed at the Grape when in Lancaster, it is believed, and later it was a favorite dining place of Buchanan. John Michael succeeded Reigert as innkeeper in 1794, and put up a new sign, Conestoga Waggon, but the former name still clung to the place, and it was known as the Grape, or as the Cluster of Grapes, or as the Michael House, while that family owned the tavern. John Michael, Jr., succeeded his father in 1805, and was landlord until 1839, in which year he moved to an adjoining lot upon which he had built a three-storied house.

The tavern sign was moved and affixed to the new building, though the hotel was more generally known as the Michael House thereafter.

The Fountain Inn was one of the notable inns. It was built on South Queen street, in 1758, by Ulrich Reigert, and his son Christopher became landlord that year. He was host at the Fountain Inn until 1783, and his widow (who married Thomas Edwards) kept the house until her death in 1805. While the Lancaster county courthouse was being built, Reigert's ballroom was used as temporary courthouse, the sessions of 1781-84 being held there. The Supreme Court of the State sat in the same room in 1785. This can hardly have been the ballroom in which occurred the Rovelutionary gaiety referred to by Thomas Marshall in his famous diary of those eventful years. Entry made on January 31, 1778, reads: "There was a grand ball last night, or entertainment, kept at the house of William Ross, the tavern-keeper, which it is said was very brilliant, at which, it's said, were some one hundred men and women assembled, dressed in all their gaiety, cold collation with wine, punch, sweet cakes, music, dancing, and singing." William Ross, the tavern-keeper, cannot be traced. Entry in Marshall's diary, March 6th, reads: "Last Sixth Day another ball or assembly in Lancaster, where it is said cards were played at a hundred dollars a game. President (Governor) Wharton there. O, poor Pennsylvania. It is said that the people who keep the ball in Lancaster allow the Hessian band of music Fifteen Pounds for each night's attendance." One of the newspapers of 1810 (January 6th), announced that dances were held in Mr. Reigert's large room, at the Fountain Inn; but it was made clear that "gentlemen will not be permitted to dance in boots." The tavern was known as the Prince Ferdinand during part of the time Mrs. Susanna (Reigert) Edwards was hostess. Her son, Henry Reigert, inherited the property in 1806, and opened the inn as the Fountain. In 1811 he sold to John Whitesides, who continued it as Whiteside's Fountain Inn. Theatrical performances were held in the tavern in 1811, and from handbills it is clear that the theatre had a gallery. Robert King became landlord after Whitesides' death, in 1830.

The Swan (or as it later became better known as the Golden Swan) Hotel, was erected in 1754, by Jacob Slough, on land he had purchased from Henry Bostler, situated in the southeast angle of Centre Square. It is possible that Henry Bostler earlier had a tavern on the site of the Swan, and that Slough enlarged it. Matthias Slough, son of Jacob, took over the duties of landlord from his father in 1761, and was the host at the Swan until 1806. Matthias Slough was born in 1733 or 1734, and so was quite a young man when he took over the management of the Swan; nevertheless he had earlier been prominent in Lancaster affairs as assistant burgess in 1757-61, and as a charter member of the Lancaster Library Company in 1759. He was county coroner when only twenty-one years old, and held the office for thirteen years, for six of the years being county treasurer as well. When the "Paxton Boys" dashed into Lancaster in 1763 to execute their fell design upon the Indians housed in the workhouse, they turned their horses, to the number of a hundred or more, into the yard of Mr. Slough's inn, "and proceeded with the greatest precipitation to the workhouse, where they stove open the door and killed all the Indians." Matthias Slough thus had a dual duty to perform; he had to hold an inquest over the victims of the raid, and he was forced to entertain the raiders. Innkeeper Slough was a member of the Committee of Observation in 1774, and an assemblyman from that year until 1783. During the Revolution he was active in the field, being colonel of the seventh battalion raised in Lancaster county. He was conducting a store as well as a tavern business when the Revolution opened, and when peace came, he again devoted himself to his private interests. He was popular, and his house was the gathering-place of former Revolutionary officers. At one gathering, one officer took umbrage at a remark passed by another officer and they, Captain Chambers and Major Rieger, fought a duel, on May 11, 1789. Captain Chambers was wounded, and died a few days later. He was a charter member of Lodge No. 43, Free and Accepted Masons, of Lancaster, which for several years held their meetings at the Swan. (1788-92). Colonel Slough was one of the superintendents of construction of the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike in 1792, and soon afterwards became one of three who formed partnership to establish a stage line between the two points. He became wealthy, some of his wealth being made in the purchase of horses for French officers in the American army. Thomas Marshall refers to the subject in his diary, on July 19, 1780, thus: "Visited by William Henry; took a walk in the garden and slayed some time in conversation. He said that (Matthias) Slough, had acted very imprudently, as he heard; that he had caused the gold, before he paid it away, to be clipped very close and thereby procured a large sum by this, his depreciation, very unjustly." Possibly it was because of these rumors that certain inhabitants of Lancaster, on September 20, 1780, testified that "during the period in which Matthias Slough, Esq., of this borough, was engaged in the purchase of Horses for the Service of his most Christian Majesty, he, to the best of our observation, paid the most sedulous attention to the Discharge of the Trust reposed in him"; they further certified that "the Horses sent off by him at different times to Hartford, were in good order in general when they left this Borough." He owned much land near Lancaster, and in 1799 sold about eighty-four acres of it to the borough for $3,129. It became the poor house farm. Matthias Slough moved to Harrisburg in 1806, and there died six years later, in his seventy-ninth year. His son Jacob succeeded him as landlord of the Golden Swan. According to Mrs. Mary N. Robinson's "Gleanings from an Old Newspaper," there were three "Swans in Lancaster at that time, the White Swan, the Black Swan, and the Golden Swan, the Slough inn being the last named. It is said that both Washington and Lafayette stayed in that hotel. The inn passed out of the possession of the Slough family in 1824. Eventually the building became the offices of the "New Era" newspaper.

Perhaps a diversion will here be permitted in order to bring into the record Thomas Marshall's description of two stage trips he made between Lancaster and Philadelphia in 1778. Marshall set out from Lancaster on June 24th, the diary-entry reading: "Baited at the sign of the Hat; then proceeded to the sign of the Wagon; dined there; from there went to the sign of the White Horse, and soon went to bed. * * * Stayed for breakfast; stopped at the Union; at the Black Horse baited. * * * Crossed the bridge at the Market street ferry." His description of a return-trip on September 12-13th, reads:

> Rained pretty smart until after we passed the Schuylkill. Proceeded over the bridge at French Creek; came to Potts'; fed our horses; then proceeded and reached Jones' Tavern,

where we dined. Reached Capt. Reese's tavern at the Blue Ball by dusk. Here we took up our residence for the night. On the whole, we had middling good weather, yet both we and horses were tired as the roads were so exceedingly hilly and stony, and I think longer and worse than the great road is over the Valley Hills. We scarcely met any travelers on this road, but saw plenty of squirrels. We drank coffee for supper and slept in our great coats, stockings, etc., for fear of fleas and bugs. We rose early (on the 13th). I paid the reckoning, thirty-eight shillings and ten pence. Set off for Lancaster; passed through New Holland * * * The roads here were in general good, fine woodland and many plantations, with a quantity of wild pigeons and squirrels, regaling themselves in the fields and in the woods, with some flocks of partridges. We reached Lancaster past ten.

The end of the journey was at the Sign of the Leopard, Michael Diffenderfer's inn, fronting on East King street, near Duke street. Michael Diffenderfer came to Lancaster in 1765, from Manor township, where he had kept a tavern. Earlier in New Holland, the Diffenderfer family probably being the first to settle in that neighborhood. On October 1, 1765, Michael Diffenderfer purchased "a lot of ground on the north side of King street and the east side of Duke street," Lancaster, and, having secured a tavern license, he forthwith built a house upon his lot. It was probably built during the winter of 1765, and in it Diffenderfer maintained a tavern service until his death. It seems that at one time the house was known as at the Sign of the Buck, but more generally it appears in historical records as at the Sign of the Leopard. The "Father Abraham Pocket Almanac," a Philadelphia publication for the year 1771, gives the following information as to the early stage, and Diffenderfer's (Tyffetaffer's) inn: "The Lancaster stage wagon sets out from Rudolph Bonner's at the King of Prussia in Market street on Friday, and arrives at Tyffetaffer's at the Buck in King street, Lancaster Saturday; each passenger paying ten shillings; and leaving Lancaster on Monday comes into Philadelphia on Tuesday; each passenger the same price." There was a Buck tavern on Centre Square in 1800-05, the landlord of which was Daniel Herr, therefore in all probability the original Diffenderfer inn had by that time, perhaps much earlier, taken the name of Leopard.

Michael Diffenderfer, founder of the tavern which was destined to grow into the fine Hotel Weber of to-day, was one of the most prominent men of the borough; furthermore, he was an ardent patriot. His son David was a Revolutionary officer, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Monmouth in 1777. Michael Diffenderfer was a county commissioner from 1770 to 1772, and a burgess of Lancaster borough from 1778 to 1783. After the failure and imprisonment of the great Manheim ironmaster and glass manufacturer, Wilhelm Heinrich Stiegel, the Stiegel mansion was sold by the county sheriff (in 1779). Michael Diffenderfer was the purchaser, though it does not seem that he lived in it. Eventually he sold the Manheim property to William Bausman. Michael Diffenderfer was landlord at the Buck, or the Leopard, at Lancaster, until he died, in 1789. Philip Diffenderfer, son of Michael, was innkeeper and owner of the Leopard until June 29, 1805, when he sold to Jacob Duchman, who was landlord for many years, ultimately being succeeded by his son John. Later landlords at the Leopard include General Witner, Lewis John, and Solomon Sprecher, George Sencnig, Thomas Rowe, Jacob S. Smith, Samuel Martin. Samuel R. Weber became landlord and owner about eighteen years ago, and is now the oldest hotel-owner in Lancaster. He has added steadily to the accommodation and excellent service, until the Weber, which is now the hotel-name, is a favorite commercial and convention hotel.

It is obviously not possible in a county compilation such as the present work, to review all of the historic hotels of the past. Actually, in Lancaster borough alone, in 1765, the year in which Michael Diffenderfer received his inn-keeping license, there were no less than fifty-three persons licensed to keep a tavern in the borough. Some of the most historic have already been reviewed. The Shober House, on the corner of Orange and Queen streets, was built in 1757. It was for some time known as the Eagle; in its rear, on Orange street, about ninety years ago, was Reitzel's Hall, a famous place of amusement. The Lancaster County House, on King street, was built on a lot sold by Michael Gross to William Bausman in 1757, though its opening as a tavern is placed as in the year 1754, when William Bausman was granted license. A larger three-storied house was eventually built, and the property passed ultimately to James Buchanan, who rented it for tavern purposes. "The old tavern remained in the hands of James Buchanan, to whose estate it belonged at the time of the ex-President's death." The Indian Queen on East King street, just above Church street, was a very old tavern. It was demolished in 1883, so that a markethouse might be erected. The stone tavern was probably built about 1760 by Simon Kuhn. The Indian King, on the southeastern corner of South Queen and German streets, was a popular tavern in early republican days. In the first decade of the nineteenth century it was kept by Robert Wilson, and at about that time the meetings of Lodge No. 43, Free and Accepted Masons, were held in it, the new Masonic lodge room being the temporary courthouse. An old stone building on the west side of King street, near James, was known as the Cat Tavern in Revolutionary days. General Hazen and his staff were quartered at the Cat, while in charge of British and Hession prisoners at Lancaster. On East King street, near Lime street, was the Ship, opened by Major John B. Light in 1784, and later by William P. Atlee. It later became the property of Dr. John L. Atlee. William Feree opened at the Sign of the General Washington in 1797, and at that time it was the Lancaster terminus of a stage line run by John Reilly between Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Frederick, Georgetown and Baltimore. The Farmer's Bank was housed next door to the General Washington in 1814. But William Ferree was not the first landlord at the Sign of the General Washington; there is record of it nine years earlier, and it may have been an old house under another name prior to the Revolution. It was known as D. Miller's Hotel in 1814. The King of Prussia (before 1796), the Bear (1799) on King street, the Rainbow, in Adamstown, the Pennsylvania State Arms (1799) on North Queen street, the Wagon, on East King street, kept by Jacob Frey prior to 1800, the Willow Grove, kept by Samuel Boyd in 1800, the Bird-in-Hand, on East King street, the Lion, on Queen street, a few doors north of the State House, kept by John Whitesides in 1803, the General Wayne, kept by John Miller, the Plough and Wheatsheaf, kept by Adam Weaver in 1807, the William Pitt, kept by Henry Diffenderfer in 1808, the Lamb, kept by Daniel Witmer prior to 1809; the Cooper House, on West King street, built in 1812 and opened in 1813 as the Red Lion, by William Cooper, were all Lancaster taverns of a century or more ago. Slaymaker's Hotel also comes into that class. It was known as the Pennsylvania

Arms, or the State Arms, and ultimately became Slaymaker's Hotel, possibly to avoid confusion with the Pennsylvania State Arms. One historian states that the Pennsylvania Arms, on North Queen street, was kept by Dr. Isaac Cohen in 1810, and in that year the State Arms, on East King street, was kept by H. Slaymaker. The State Arms was licensed to Henry Slaymaker in 1800. Then, or soon afterwards, the Slaymakers, Robert Erwin Amos and Henry, in partnership with John Tomlinson, established a stage-line, the Good Intent, between Philadelphia and Harrisburg. Tomlinson owned the White Horse in Philadelphia, Amos Slaymaker built the large Slaymaker tavern at Salisburyville, between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth milestones, at which change of horses was made, and passengers allowed twenty minutes in which to dine, and Henry Slaymaker opened the State Arms in Lancaster. This hotel, states Judge Landis, was on the north side of King street, between Centre Square and Christian street, immediately west of the old Bursk property now owned by McCrory. In that house General Lafayette stayed when he visited Lancaster in 1825. In 1804 the Good Intent stage-line was carrying mail between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, via Lancaster, in four and a half days; in 1833 the Good Intent Line covered the distance in three days. Jasper Slaymaker succeeded Henry Slaymaker as owner of the State Arms in Lancaster. "On April 1, 1830, James Buchanan and John Reynolds, administrators of Jasper Slaymaker, deceased, conveyed the tavern property to Hunt Downing and Jonathan Miller, and on August 19, 1835, David Miller, high sheriff sold the same to John Jungling, who subsequently conveyed it to Benjamin Champneys."

David Miller, "Daredevil Dave," so-named perhaps because he once dashed up the courthouse steps on horseback and galloped into the court-room, was landlord at the General Washington for many years. He also at one time owned the North American Hotel, the predecessor of the Hotel Brunswick, opposite the railway station at North Queen and Chestnut streets. The North American-Hotel was apparently opened in 1834, but evidently an earlier tavern stood upon the same site. The Hon. W. U. Hensel, in an address he wrote in 1915, for the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet placed in the lobby of the Hotel Brunswick, stated as the spokesman for the Lancaster County Historical Society:

> The title to the lot on which this monument has been erected is one of the clearest to be read in Lancaster. It can be traced from the original proprietor to the present owner, without showing change of boundaries for a hundred and fifty years * * * Its continuity as the site of a licensed hotel was likewise unbroken. When George Hoffnagle sold it, in 1777, he was an innkeeper, and from that time until it was sold as part of the estate of the famous General David Miller, a two-and-a-half story stone tavern stood on the North Queen Street corner, being the North American shown in the illustration of 1843, from Sherman Day's collection. Miller you will remember was one of the most brilliant and gallant Lancasterians of his time * * * Dave Miller was the only man in transportation who could entertain his patrons at his Lancaster hotel, transport them to Philadelphia cheaper than you could ride there now, and accommodate them at one of the three hotels he successively kept there.

Jay Cadwell bought the property in 1860, and soon afterwards built a three-story brick hotel and a row of two-story stores. The hostelry became the Cadwell House. In 1862 he sold the hotel property to Hon. Isaac E. Hiester, and the hotel eventually became the Hiester House, though not until after Mr. Hiester's death, in 1871. Henry L. Barnett, "a retired railroad engineer," had kept the North American for some year, and later was landlord at the

Cadwell House, also at the Hiester House, though the ownership of the hotel property after the death of Mr. Hiester fell to Mrs. Lily Eshleman Bates. There were several subsequent formal transfers, "but when it was next actually sold, it was subdivided for the first time. Paul Heine bought the Chestnut street end, Mrs. Bates having changed the name of the hotel to The Imperial. In 1912 Mr. Heine began the demolition of the old building, and in its place arose the present first-class Brunswick Hotel, opened December 1, 1914. Partly because of its proximity to the railway station and partly because of its good accommodation, the Brunswick, in its earlier names, has been the scene of many historic gatherings. The tablet unveiling, to which reference has been made, was to commemorate the visits to or the speeches made, from the hotel balcony by President Abraham Lincoln, James Buchanan, and Theodore Roosevelt, and by General Winfield S. Hancock and Horace Greeley, nominees for President.

The Stevens House, which has always been one of the best Lancaster hotels, is of comparatively recent establishment, as Lancaster hotels go; it is still in its first half-century, having been built in 1874, on the Krugh property, southwestern corner of West King and Princess streets; but it is a fine property, and perhaps is the most exclusive hotel. It was managed by a corporation from the outset. The Hotel St. George has quite recently come into the range of residential hotels of Lancaster. It is managed by enterprising men, who offer good service to the traveling public.

One of the most popular eating houses of the old-fashioned type is the Swan, at South Queen street and Vine. It is just about to reach its hundredth year, having been erected by Dr. Clarkson Freeman about 1824, and opened as a tavern that year by Archibald D. Warren. At first it was known as the Lancaster City Hotel, or Lancaster County Hotel. Warren was succeeded as landlord by Leonard Eichholtz, Jr., scion of a distinguished family. Several other well-known names have been identified with that tavern, George Bechel, Joseph Hubley, and others. For several years Mrs. Clark revived the former standing of the house, and her daughter, Mrs. Spangler, is continuing it in good service.

Among the good residential hotels of Lancaster of the present must be included the Pennsylvania, a place of one hundred rooms, and the Wheatland, both on North Queen street, and the Lincoln, on South Queen street. There are several others that should have been noticed, but space is not available.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND.

Cresap's "War"—Mason and Dixon's Line.

While Cresap's "War" was not fought in the "Lower End" of Lancaster county, and only indirectly concerned the settlers in southern Lancaster, it had its cause in the dispute which was not finally disposed of until Mason and Dixon sat the boundary line between the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. . In later stressful days the term "Mason and Dixon's Line" came to carry another very potential meaning, the delimitation of boundary between Free States and Slave States.

The dispute which made the Mason and Dixon's line necessary is National and State history, and is to some extent known to most Americans; but it is directly Lancaster county history, and therefore should be reviewed to some extent here. In 1629, Lord Baltimore took forty Catholic colonists with him to Virginia. They were not welcomed by the Protestant colonists of Virginia, and soon returned to Britain; whereupon King Charles the First gave to Lord Baltimore a charter for part of the land which lay within the grant to Virginia, so that therein Lord Baltimore might be rightly able to afford persecuted Catholics safe refuge. The land for which patent was granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632, extended to the fortieth degree north latitude, but was restricted to unsettled and uncultivated land. The Dutch were before him, however; they settled at the mouth of Lewes creek in 1631, but were driven off by the Swedes in a short time, and the latter settled in the Delaware peninsula in 1635. Twenty years later the Dutch drove out the Swedes, and dated their settlement back to 1631. Lord Baltimore took possession of his grant in 1634. Penn came later into the lists of claimants through purchase of land from the Duke of York, whose it was by right of conquest. In 1664 James, Duke of York and later King James II, was given a grant of land eastward and northward from the east side of Delaware Bay; he captured the west side from the Dutch. William Penn in 1681 received his patent from Charles II, his territory being bounded on the south by Maryland, and on the east by the Delaware. Penn in 1682 purchased from the Duke of York the territory now embraced in the State of Delaware. When the Duke of York became King of England, Lord Baltimore could not well continue to protest against what he deemed an encroachment upon his patent; and he reluctantly agreed that the land between Delaware and Chesapeake bays should be equally divided between Penn and himself, the division line to extend south as far as the latitude of Cape Henlopen, and north to the fortieth degree of latitude. But it was discovered by Penn's commissioners that the fortieth degree of latitude would include the proposed site of Philadelphia, which, of course, could not be relinquished. This dispute threatened to rob Pennsylvania of its most vital interests, and very seriously affected William Penn's plans for the development of his province. Negotiations were continued, but it was not until 1732 that Penn's sons compromised with Lord Baltimore. At that time it was mutually agreed that the twelve-mile circle from Newcastle should remain, and that the peninsula as before agreed upon should be equally divided from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the latitude of fifteen miles south of the proposed site of Philadelphia's southern boundary, and that this parallel of latitude be continued west, forming the dividing line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. "It as also agreed that the line from the Cape Henlopen latitude, dividing the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, should extend in a northly direction until it reached the periphery of the Newcastle circle, forming a tangent to the circle, and from the tangent point should extend due north along a meridian line until the latitude of fifteen miles south of Philadelphia was reached, the southwestern angle of which lines should constitute the northeastern corner of Maryland."

There were several surveys made during the next twenty years or so, but all were unsatisfactory to one side or the other; in fact, surveys had been prosecuted by the authorities of Maryland for almost forty years, from about the time that the settlement of Lancaster county began. And this concerned the settlers in the lower end of Lancaster county very much for many years, their land titles being dependent on the outcome of the dispute. In 1718 Maryland began surveying land near Conestoga, claiming it as Maryland soil. In 1722 the Maryland authorities were actually surveying and warranting land fifteen miles above Conestoga. In 1730 Thomas Cresap moved up the Susquehanna river and settled opposite what is now Washington borough. About the same time, the Germans began to settle beyond the Susquehanna. Soon there was serious conflict. Edmund Cartledge is said to have tried to kill Cresap, who asserted right to the Blue Rock ferry. He threw Cresap into the river, and seized his ferryboat, or flat. When Cresap complained to the justice in Lancaster county "the justice only made sport of him," for it was realized that Cresap was four miles north of the latitude of Philadelphia, and therefore about twenty miles north of the legitimate northern boundary of Maryland. It seemed almost as though the Pennsylvania authorities sided with Cresap; at least, the Assembly "said the Irish of Lancaster county were acting without authority in harassing him." Soon there was armed strife at Wright's. The Governors tried to fight out the border question, and practically the whole of 1733 was given to futile negotiations between the two governors. In 1734 further attempts were made by the governors, with no better success.

Meanwhile, matters on what might be termed the frontier were going from bad to worse. A Pennsylvanian had been sized by Maryland officials and taken as a prisoner to Baltimore. The Lancaster county sheriff retaliated by arresting eight of Cresap's tenants, and crossed the river to seize Cresap also. The latter, however, had gathered his friends, and they had fortified themselves in his log house, which Cresap dared the sheriff to enter. Cresap shot at and wounded one of the attacking party, and the attack failed. The wounded man died.

In 1735 "the first pitched battle in the Cresap War" was fought near Wrightsville. While Wright was engaged with a number of men harvesting his wheat, "Cresap, captain of the militia of Maryland, with some twenty persons, men, women and lads, armed with guns, swords, pistols and blunderbusses, with drums beating, came toward the field." Before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania a few months later, John Wright said that he "demanded of Cresap what he meant by appearing in so hostile a manner, to the terror of His Majesty's peaceful subjects, employed about the lawful business of husbandry. Cresap answered that he was informed several Pennsylvanians were coming over the river, and he was come to fight them, if they would see fit to engage. At the same time he had a drawn sword in one hand and a cocked pistol in the other, both of which were presented at this affiant's breast, who as a justice, having commanded the said Cresap and his company to keep His Majesty's peace, at his peril, told them he would keep at his lawful business unless prevented by force. This resolution, says Wright, and his commanding of Cresap to keep the peace had some weight with Cresap's followers, for his soldiers thereafter returned, and refused to fight (1 A., 464.)" But trouble soon afterwards developed in an attempt by the sheriff of Lancaster county to collect taxes from settlers on the west side of the Susquehanna, which until the erection of York county was within the bounds of Lancaster county. Thirty men on horseback and armed with cutlasses and clubs, pounced on the sheriff's posse, and rescued the delinquents who had been arrested by the sheriff. The warfare assumed a larger and better organized status in 1736. Three companies of Maryland militia, or at all events three hundred volunteers, "organized and mobilized near the locality of Wrightsville, to meet any force Lancaster county should send out to oppose it." Commanded "by several officers of the militia of Maryland," they appeared before the house of John Wright, and when questioned by "a company of Lancaster county magistrates" who were gathered at Wright's, said they came by order of the Governor of Maryland, "and that thirteen companies of the militia were mustered." They proceeded to break open and rob many houses and to terrify the border settlers. The Pennsylvanians were prepared to accept the gage of battle, and in a short time the sheriff of Lancaster county had a force of 150 well-armed men at his command. They crossed the river to meet the sheriff of Baltimore county, who was reported to have arrived at Cresap's at the head of 200 mounted men, under military officers. The forces met at John Wright's but fortunately did not immediately fight. A conference was arranged for next day but was not held, for during the night the Maryland troops "suddenly left." The Lancaster county troops therefore disbanded next day.

However, the "war" was not ended. Pennsylvania was determined that its authority should rule in the disputed territory, and, a warrant having been issued for the arrest of Cresap on the charge of murder, it devolved upon the sheriff of Lancaster county to execute the warrant. Suitably supported, he crossed to the western bank of the Susquehanna, but was seen; and "when about landing on the western side, the militia of Maryland who were there beat their drums and prepared to make a stand; but after firing their blunderbusses they retreated into the house of Thomas Cresap. A desperate defence was made, and the house had to be set on fire before Cresap would surrender. They made a desperate sortie from the burning house, but Cresap was taken prisoner notwithstanding and taken to Lancaster jail, where he lay almost for a year, a year in which the border warfare was particularly bitter. Higginbotham, "a freebooter," took Cresap's place at the head of the Marylanders and tried to drive the Germans who had settled on the western side of the Susquehanna back to the eastern bank. "He broke into their houses with axes, wounded and carried them away prisoners, and drove the women and children forth in the month of January into the woods." A daring and successful attempt to release Cresap from Lancaster jail was made in October, 1737. On Wednesday, October 26, at midnight, "John Charlton, captain of the Maryland garrison, with sixteen men, armed with guns, pistols, cutlasses, etc., broke into the keeper's part of the jail, pulled the keeper and his wife out of bed and presented cocked pistols to their breasts, demanded the keys of the jail. that the doors might be set open, which was done and the Maryland prisoners let out."

Cresap renewed the border warfare, but was soon again a captive. However, "before he was tried the King of England sent a command to the Governors of both Pennsylvania and Maryland, which was brought before the Council, January 3, 1738, requiring both governments to desist from further war upon each other." Cresap was released, and there is no record of whatever became of his case. "Thus ended the long boundary struggle, which lasted during at least half a century, and did more than any other thing to keep Penn away from his province during a large part of the first ten years of his government here; and also kept infant Lancaster county suffering during four years of hardship and terror in the throes of Cresap's War."

But many years were still to elapse before the boundary line was clearly set and marked. Jersey commissioners ran a line in 1738, and other parties surveyed the lines in 1750, but it was not until 1760 that the agreement was consummated which finally ended the controversy, so far as legal process was concerned. After still further surveying attempts, the two proprietaries agreed to engage Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two eminent civil engineers of London, England, to run the line. They entered upon their task in 1763. The surveyors crossed the western side of the Susquehanna in 1765, and the next year completed their survey. Milestones were set as markers, and a larger stone every fifth mile.

By authority of an Act of Assembly passed in 1887, a commission was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania to examine and report on the Mason and Dixon's line stones. Those in Lancaster county were found to be somewhat defaced, and one "buried beneath soil by time and change," but the wonder is that the stones were still there, after a lapse of more than one hundred and twenty years. (The line was completed to the Susquehanna on June 17, 1765). The commissioners found that there were four one-mile stones and one fifth-mile stone in Lancaster county, located as follows: The first stone east of the Susquehanna on the farm of William P. Haines, known as Frazer's Point Farm, about 500 yards from the water; the next stone was a mile east of this, on the farm of Thomas Grubb; the next stone was a fifth-mile one, on the farm leased by the heirs of Isaac Tyson, of Baltimore; a mile to the eastward the next stone as on the land of John Gray. The marking of the line a mile west of Mr. Haines' farm is in the bed of the Susquehanna, where three links of a chain are fastened in the rock on an island, near the York county side. This rock is submerged, excepting at very low water.